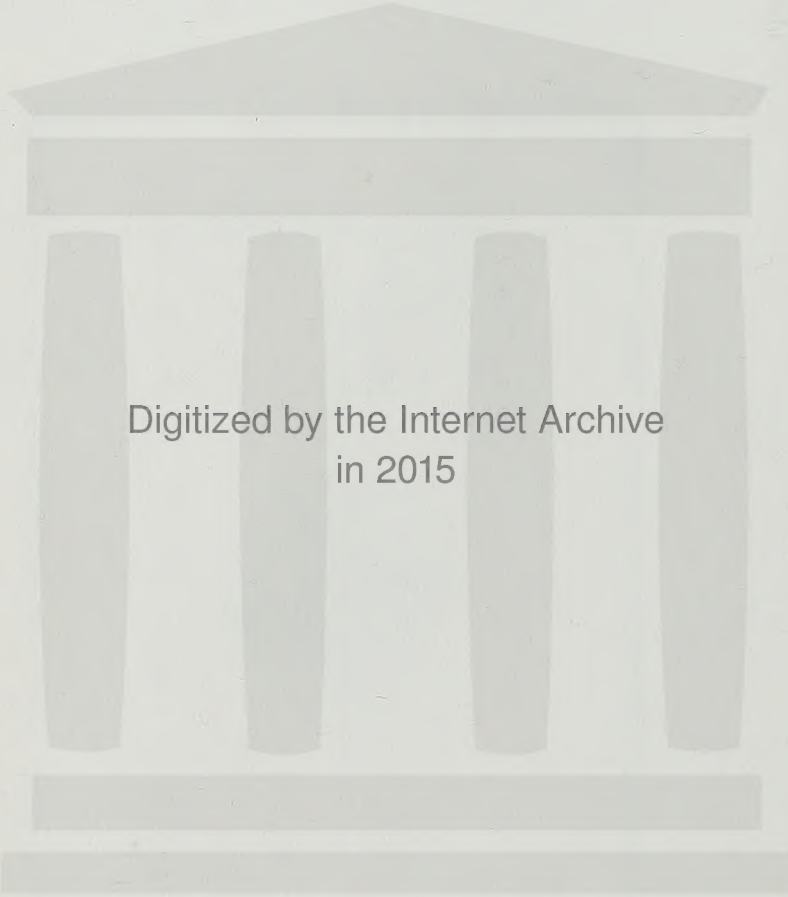


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The **CHRONICLES** *of* **OKLAHOMA**



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Cover: View of Tullahassee Mission from a rare photo taken about 1875. Picture taken outside the front yard gate looking west. Standing in the walk, foreground are Miss Baldwin and Miss Augusta Robertson; background, Rev. James Perryman and Rev. W. S. Robertson; and leaning against tree is Miss Brown, teacher, with Indian girls on the grounds. The historic site of old Tullahassee Mission is in Wagoner County in vicinity of present village of Tullahassee. Photo in Oklahoma Historical Society.

SAMUEL AUSTIN WORCESTER: A DEDICATION

By Muriel H. Wright

"On the twentieth of April, early in the morning, word went out among the Cherokees that their Messenger had gone home. He had left them the Heaven-Book in their own tongue, they said.

"They buried him in the burial ground at Park Hill, where Ann had lain without him nineteen years. And they wrote a few words on his stone, telling in the inadequate way of words what he had done for them: 'For 34 years a Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions among the Cherokees. To his work they owe their Bible and their Hymn Book.'

"The Cherokees have long since forgotten the theology that Samuel taught them with thoroughness and persistence, as the only final truth. Indeed, they probably never grasped it, with their Indian consciousness. But they remember something more vital than a system of theology. Even now, to the third and fourth generation, they remember that a good man came among them, and cast his lot with theirs. When they were sick, he was their physician; when they were in trouble, he suffered imprisonment for them; when they were exiled, he shared their banishment. Words, of which he was so great a master, were not needed for the lesson he taught them. They learned a way of life from him, and they have not forgotten it."

—Althea Bass

*in Cherokee Messenger**

One hundred years ago, April 20, 1859, the book of a great life was closed in Oklahoma. Much has been written and said about the life of Samuel Austin Worcester, yet this centennial year of his passing at old Park Hill marks a special time to recall some of the story of this one of the founders of the Christian faith, culture and civilization on the western frontier of his day. And a large part of his story is his deep affection and interest in his family. There was lovely, Ann Orr Worcester, the mother of his children, whose untimely death at the birth of little Mary brought the children into the hands of a good woman, the second Mrs. Worcester who was Miss Erminia Nash, a teacher at Dwight Mission before her marriage. Few, if any, families have a place comparable to the Worcesters through more than a century in Oklahoma's history. The incidents of their lives along with descriptions of their devotion to a high calling, their sorrows, their troubles and even their small, human failings sometimes revealed in a flash of humor from Samuel would fill many books. Here follows a brief sketch to recall the main threads of his life.

* *Cherokee Messenger* by Althea Bass (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1936) is the classic on the life of the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester.



(From Daguerreotype)

SAMUEL AUSTIN WORCESTER

Samuel Austin Worcester, born January 19, 1798, the son of a Congregational minister, the Reverend Leonard and his wife, Elizabeth (Hopkins) Worcester, was reared in the family home at Peacham, Vermont, where his father taught him to farm and set type. Always a pious, studious youth, he graduated from the University of Vermont in 1819, of which his uncle, the Reverend Samuel Worcester, was president and one of the organizers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810. Samuel Austin graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in July, 1825, and a few weeks later was ordained a minister in the Congregational Church (Park Street, Boston). He immediately started for Brainerd Mission in Eastern Tennessee, taking with him his young bride, Ann Orr Worcester. When they first came to Brainerd, the Cherokees said of Samuel: "He is wise; he has something to say. Let us call him A-tse-nut-sti, the messenger."

There were two years in the service as a missionary at Brainerd, and then he moved his family to New Echota, the new capital of the Cherokee Nation in Georgia, where his dream of translating and publishing the Bible in Cherokee began to materialize. The Cherokee Council enacted a law providing the establishment of a national printing press, and turned to Mr. Worcester to carry out the project. Through a loan of funds from the American Board, he had a font of Sequoyah type cast in Boston and purchased a font of English type with a fine printing press which he set up at New Echota. From this press under Mr. Worcester's superintendency came parts of the Bible in Cherokee and other religious works but the foremost publication was the first American Indian newspaper (1828), *The Cherokee Phoenix* with columns in both the Cherokee and English.

Printing the newspaper and religious works on the New Echota press was soon interrupted when the State of Georgia sought by force to close out the Cherokee government and remove the people of this nation from the state. Mr. Worcester was arrested in the summer of 1831 for continuing to reside in the Cherokee country without having taken an oath of allegiance to the Georgia State government. He spent sixteen months in the Georgia penitentiary, during which his case was carried to the U. S. Supreme Court (Worcester vs. Georgia). The Court in its decision declared the State laws of Georgia over the Indian country unconstitutional, and the law that indicted Mr. Worcester null and void. He together with several of his associates in the mission field who had suffered imprisonment with him, including Dr. Elizur Butler, were released from the penitentiary in January, 1833. Yet the trouble among the Cherokees did not end since the removal of all the Indian tribes from the eastern states to the Trans-Mississippi region was underway.

Mr. and Mrs. Worcester moved their family to the country of the Western Cherokees in the Indian Territory, arriving at Dwight Mission the last of May, 1835. Mr. Worcester petitioned the Western Cherokee Council meeting at Tahlonteeskee for permission to establish a printing press near the Illinois River, and the petition was granted, a personal victory for him. A large new press with fonts of type was ordered from Boston, and set up temporarily at Union Mission. The first books printed in Oklahoma were soon coming off the Union Mission Press. In December, 1836, the printing establishment was moved to its permanent location at Park Hill selected under the petition granted by the Cherokee Council, and Mr. Worcester took up his work of writing, translating and publishing carried on to the end of his life. Before 1859, the Park Hill Press published upward of 1,400,000 pages of religious books and papers, textbooks, almanacs and law volumes for the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek and other tribes in the Indian Territory. Besides this great work, Mr. Worcester's understanding of medicine, bookkeeping, together with his preaching and teaching and demands of the farm home had a part in his daily life in the Indian Territory.

The home of Samuel Austin and Ann (Orr) Worcester was near the printing house at Park Hill.¹ Their children were in order of birth: Ann Eliza, Sarah, Jerusha, Hannah, Leonard, John Orr and Mary Eleanor.

Four of the daughters reached maturity, and they and their families in turn carried the torch of the old family tradition down through the years in Oklahoma. Ann Eliza through her scholarly work is illustrious in history. She married the Reverend William Schenck Robertson, one of the great missionary leaders in the Indian Territory.

Sarah was the beauty of the Worcester daughters. She graduated from Mt. Holyoke College in Massachusetts, and taught in the Cherokee Female Seminary near Park Hill. She married Dr. Daniel Dwight Hitchcock, a graduate of Amherst College and Bowdoin Medical College, who was the son of Jacob Hitchcock, teacher at Dwight Mission (1820), and Nancy (Brown) Hitchcock. Several years after Sarah's death (1857), Dr. Hitchcock married her sister Hannah, the widow of Abijah Hicks of Cherokee descent. Mary Eleanor married Dr. Mason Fitch Williams.

Original documents numbering literally thousands of handwritten manuscripts, reports, letters and notes attesting the contributions of the Worcester and the Robertson families of wide significance in an era of American history are pre-

¹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman in *Park Hill* (Muskogee, 1948) tells much of the Worcester family history.

served in several historical collections over the country, including the large collection at Tulsa University and those at the Gilcrease Institute of History and Art (Tulsa) and the Oklahoma Historical Society (Oklahoma City). There are also many such documents in the records of the American Board (A.B.C. F.M.) preserved in the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Several letters from the hand of Samuel Austin Worcester and others are given here in *The Chronicles* in memory of the life of this great man.²

A NOTE ON "WORCESTER VS. GEORGIA"

New Echota, Cherokee Nation, February 1, 1833

Dear Brother and Sister,

I sent you last week a number of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, by which, if you receive it, you will learn, perhaps to your surprize, that I am no longer in prison. You will now, probably, be chiefly solicitous to know on what terms we were released, and what motives induced us to accept the course which we did. By our communications to the Governor you will learn that we have concluded not to prosecute our case any further before the Supreme Court. This conclusion was adopted in accordance with the advice of the Prudential Committee, and their advice was given unanimously, all the members being present except Mr. Reed, and all the officers at the Rooms concurring except Mr. Green, who dissented, thinking, I suppose, that we ought to prosecute the case to the utmost. But as the opinion of the Committee was in accordance with our own, you will wish to know why we thought it inexpedient to prosecute the case further. I will give you, very briefly, some of the reasons.

We had no longer any hope that the Cherokees would be benefited by our perseverance. We had, indeed, scarce a shadow of hope that the decree of the Court would be executed so as to release us. It would require the military force of the United States to effect our release, and to us, it was almost certain that Jackson would never call forth any such forces. And if he did, and released us by force, it would not benefit the Cherokees. It was certain that he would not interfere for their protection. He had repeatedly declared himself on this point. And as to our returning to preach the Gospel to the Cherokees, the prospect of regaining that privilege was better if we should desist, than if we should persevere. The law was repealed which prohibited our residence here, so that if we were out of prison there was nothing to hinder our return. These were the points which at first led us to enter the field of controversy, and on these nothing was to be gained by continuing the controversy longer. As to our personal interests, we could not regard them as of sufficient value to set against the public good. We endeavored to act from consideration of a public nature only. And now the only motive of a public nature for perseverance was a wish that the authority of the Supreme Court should be sustained. That court has decided in our favor, and its authority was disregarded, and to have that author-

² Letter in the Alice Robertson Collection, Tulsa University. Acknowledgement in appreciation is here extended Hope Holway for a number of transcripts of the original documents, from which these letters were selected, found in her special research for materials relating to the Worcester family presented in this memorial number of *The Chronicles*.

ity prostrated, as it would seem to be by our yielding, was, for the country's sake most earnestly to be deprecated. But what was the prospect from perseverance? Nothing but a more complete prostration of its authority for the people had elevated to the chief magistracy a man who had declared with sufficient explicitness, that he would not maintain that authority. And it seemed doubtful, at least, whether it would not be better not to put the power of the court to the test at present, but to let the matter drop, in hope that, if another occasion of the kind should ever arise, it might be when a man of different principles should be at the helm of Government. I have said its authority would seem to be prostrated by our yielding. But it is only the fact of the execution of its decision being doubtful which makes it seem so—for if it were certain that we **could** maintain our right by perseverance, no one would think of the authority of the court being prostrated by our choosing to relinquish our right. We had been often and earnestly solicited, by the Governor I might almost say,—for what a man does by another is nevertheless his work—by different individuals in the confidence of the Governor, to withdraw our suit, with the promise of an unconditional release, if we would do so. One main argument used by them was, that if the Supreme Court attempted to force the state into obedience, it would be the means of throwing Georgia into the arms of South Carolina, in the controversy respecting nullification, which the Governor and his party, being union men, were exceedingly desirous to avoid. To us it appeared very desirable that S. C. should stand alone, and although the nullifiers of Georgia were more **consistent** than the union party, since the union party were also for **nullifying** the decision of the Supreme Court,—yet it seemed better that the state should be inconsistent by being partly right and partly wrong, than consistent by being wholly wrong. Besides these considerations, as the question **now** at issue was of a political, not a moral nature, it seemed doubtful how far the funds of the Board ought to be employed in prosecuting the controversy. I say the question **now** at issue, because I consider the questions respecting the right of preaching the Gospel to the Cherokees, and respecting the **rights** of the Cherokees and the faith of the nation as pledged to them, as set aside, because the law which affected the former was repealed, and respecting the latter no hope remained. Of our legal counsel, Mr. Sergeant was in favor of our desisting from the prosecution; Mr. Wirt gave no opinion—seemed rather desirous that the authority of the Supreme Court should be tested, but had scarcely any hope of success.

Influenced by the considerations which I have named, we requested our counsel not to make any motion before the court, and informed the Governor of what we had done, at the same time declaring to him our full conviction of the justice of our cause. If we had not made this declaration, but simply informed him what request we had made of our counsel, he would probably have released us the next day, for he had assured some of his friends (though we did not know it at the time) that if we should give him such a notice, he would release us in 24 hours. I say we did not know it, though we did know that he had said almost as much to Col. Mills. But our declaration of our unaltered conviction of the correctness of our principles and the justice of our cause provoked him exceedingly, and he at first expressed a determination not to release us. His most judicious friends endeavored to persuade him that he ought not to take exceptions to it, but in vain. At length Mr. Cuthbert, who has interested himself much to procure our release, sent us word that the Governor had said, that if we would write him a letter, disclaiming any intention to offer an insult to the state—for such he affected to regard it—and appealing to the justice and magnanimity of the state, whether

we might not be set at liberty, he would release us within 24 hours. To the former part, disclaiming any intention to offer an insult, we had not the least objection—a **petition** we were not disposed to make; but particularly as the Governor has said beforehand that no application from us would be necessary, only let him know that we had instructed our counsel not to prosecute the suit. We concluded, however, to send him the second note published in the *Phoenix*; by which we intended he should understand, that we had not thought proper to petition for a release, but simply, by withdrawing suit, to leave ourselves at his disposal. Ann thinks we should not have sent it; and perhaps we ought not, but we saw no objection to it, though the Governor, by making only such extracts from that and the former communication, and in such connexion, as suited his purpose, and not publishing the whole, gave them such an aspect as we did not intend. But to return—the Governor declared our communication to be satisfactory;—but by that time had become angry with Mr. Cuthbert, who is editor of the principal paper of the Governor's party, for having presumed, without his leave, to say in his paper, that we should probably soon be released. It looked like **driving** him and he did not intend to be driven. So he had to keep us three days longer to teach Mr. Cuthbert that he was not to be driven to the fulfillment of his promises. Our first notice was sent to him on Tuesday, Jan. 8th—we were released on the next Monday—and I arrived at home on Saturday, Jan. 19. Ann asks a little space on this page, so I conclude this abruptly.

Your Affectionate brother
S. A. Worcester

Dear Sister,

If I had not been directed to write to Mr. Savage, I should occupy the remainder of this sheet in writing to you. But as it is I have only room to thank you and the other members of your family for the articles which you & they sent to me in the cask from B. Though I did not find our name, I thought I could distinguish among the articles designated, those which you gave, & it was a satisfaction to me to be able to do so. I thank you for the assurance that you & your family have thus given, that I am not forgotten by them, as well as for the supplies with which you have furnished me. The children were much pleased with their presents from their cousin Catherine. I wish very much that some of your family would write & give me all particulars respecting the rest. Mary Jane Annis and all. Many thanks to Aunt Thurston. Mr. W. unites with me in much love to herself and husband.

Your affectionate sister
A. W.

PETITION TO THE WESTERN CHEROKEE COUNCIL IN THE FOUNDING THE PARK HILL PRESS³

Rev. and Dear Sir:

Day before yesterday I wrote to you in much haste from Cherokee Agency, communicating the result of my application to the Genl. Council for leave to erect a printing establishment near the Fork of Illinois, & desiring the decision of the Committee, whether I should build under the conditions specified in the resolution of the Council. This I did in the anticipation that I might not, after my

³ Alice Robertson Collection, Tulsa University.

arrival at home, have opportunity to send to the Post Office in season for the next mail, but as I now anticipate such an opportunity, you will probably receive this and that at the same time. I desire a speedy answer, because, if I build, it is important to be making arrangements without much delay.

The following is a copy of my communication to the Council:

"October, 1835"

"To the 'Honble' the Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation, & the Committee & Council.

"It is probably known to most of you individually, that the undersigned has for several years been employed in preparing & publishing books, in the old nation, in the Cherokee language, printed in the character invented by Mr. Guess. Having been driven from my station in the old nation by the measures of the State Govt. of Georgia, I was directed by the Board of Missions, by whom I am employed, to remove to this nation, and set up a printing press, and publish Cherokee books here. With the approbation of all the late Principal Chiefs, I have set up the press temporarily at Union; but have not been yet able to print anything there, except copies of the Cher. Alphabet, and a little book for children. As Union is not a convenient place for the permanent location of the press, I now humbly ask the National Council, if they approve my object, to pass an act, authorizing the establishment of the press at or near the station occupied by Mr. Newton, near the Fork of Illinois. I wish the Council distinctly to understand, that the books which I wish to publish will be portions of Scripture, Hymns & other religious books, and school books, or books containing useful information for the instruction of children and youth. I shall be careful not to intermeddle with the political affairs of the nation. I have engaged Mr. Wheeler, a citizen of the nation, to print my books, and Mr. Boudinot, a native Cherokee, who is expected from the old nation, to assist me in translating. The Council, I believe already know the character of the books which I have printed heretofore. I seek the welfare of the Cherokee people by the promotion of knowledge. The council can judge whether my object is good, and if they believe it to be good, I trust they will allow me to establish the press at the place I have mentioned, and to erect the building necessary for the purpose.

"S. A. Worcester"

This application I presented to the chiefs, who readily expressed approbation, and submitted it to the Committee, that is the higher branch of the legislature. They all agreed that the request should be granted, except one, who I was told allowed that it was a good thing, but he had said that he never would vote for such and establishment—(I understood missionary establishments) and therefore he would not vote for this. The Committee, however sent it to the Council, without sending their own vote. The President of the Council was evidently opposed to it. He was the most intelligent man in the body—educated at Brainerd. He did not declare himself directly opposed, but threw out hints, cautious and surmises, sufficient to hold the less enlightened in suspense, and then while they expressed doubts, proposed to call in some man, who could enlighten them, and mentioned the name of one of the Executive Council who is acquainted with public affairs, and has been long engaged in political business, but who is generally represented as a decided enemy to missionaries. This man was called. He said the object was good, and he would have no objection to their granting it, provided they took sufficient measures to secure the Nation against future aggres-

sions and impositions which might ultimately grow out of it. Otherwise the Nation might yet have the improvements to pay for. So the Board were perhaps about to serve the old nation, i. e. if Ridge's treaty were to prevail, for the treaty provided that the U. S. were to pay for abandoned missionary stations, but the price was to be deducted out of the nations land. [He] would have them guard against such catches in future. The President of the Council had already given substantially the same representation. Their adviser then retired, and the vote was taken on granting the petition, and decided in the negative, only one voting in the affirmative. The gentleman who had been called in to advise, in the mean time went to the Committee room, and expressed his views more briefly there. The application being sent to the Committee, they returned it to the Council, saying that the Committee were in favor of granting it, under certain conditions, and desiring the Council to reconsider their vote. The President of the Council returned it, with the request that the Committee would make known what the conditions were. The Committee, being closely engaged, sent it to the chiefs, with the request that **they** would submit a resolution. The chiefs, the next day, submitted the resolution which I sent to you, with the exception that 15 acres of land were allowed for cultivation, and 50 head of cattle. The Committee agreed to it, and sent it to the Council for concurrence. The Council agreed, only that they would have the land and stock curtailed; but the President insisted upon it being postponed, and refused to put it to vote. The members of Council then sent it back so the Committee would curtail the land & stock. The Committee then invited the lower house to a joint sitting, which resulted in the adoption of the resolution as I sent it to you.

All the movements protracted the business from Friday evening, when I first presented my communication to the chiefs, until the next Thursday noon, when the resolution was finally adopted—chiefly because, when the communication was sent to either house, other business would be on hand. The whole discussion gave me opportunity to learn something of the views of the people, and of those now in authority particularly respecting mission. The object which I presented was decidedly the most popular branch of missionary labor which could have been named; yet you see with how much difficulty, and under what restriction, leave was granted for the establishment. If, however, the President of the lower house alone, had been as much in favor of it, as he was opposed it would, I suppose, have gone through both houses without delay, and perhaps without restriction. As it was, there did not seem at last to be any opposition to the resolution as it was adopted, except on the part of one or two individuals. The **object** all acknowledged to be good and important.

The Cherokee, I believe have generally the impression that, when all the nation have removed hither, which they anticipate, there will be a great scarcity of land. This creates the apprehension that missionary stations will exclude citizens from valuable places, and that stock owned by missionaries discommode their neighbors. They complain of the greatness of the farm & of the stock at Dwight, not considering that it is mostly Cherokees & their children that are fed by this means. The lower house were for allowing me but one acre of land for cultivation. This however, arose partly from the circumstances that, when the Prest. of that house questioned me in regard to farming, I remarked, in Council, that he knew how I lived at New Echota cultivating scarcely one acre of ground—that I was not a farmer there, and would not be here—that land enough for buildings, house lot, stable lot & with a garden spot would suffice.

This they interpreted as asking for one acre only, and thought it best to take me at my word. These were chiefly unlettered Cherokees, & of small information.

The view which the two individuals of whom I have spoken gave of the provisions of Ridge's treaty respecting missionary stations, is that which the Cherokees generally entertain, & it is vain to present to them one other view. If I recollect rightly—for I have not the treaty—the terms of the treaty bind Government to pay for the improvements at such stations, and then the schedule at the end includes this estimate of these payments among the items which go to make up the amount which the Govt. will give the Cherokees—i. e. something like \$5,000,000. Now the Cherokees look upon this as pretending to give them about \$5,000,000 for their country, while they deduct from it what is to be paid for these improvements; thus virtually making the Cherokees pay for them. And it is easy for those who are opposed to missions, to represent the Board as being at the Bottom of manœuvre, and so as continuing to make the Cherokees pay the improvements the Board have made.

The Cherokees are also, I find to some extent, disposed to complain of the multiplication of families at a mission station. If I should ask leave of the next Council to bring in a bookbinder, although he should have a family, it would be granted. They can be made to see the use of it. If Mr. Wheeler should die, or an account leave the service, no doubt I could obtain leave to bring in another printer, though with a family. But if I should ask to have Mr. Elsworth come as superintendent of secular concerns, I should have much fear of a refusal, because the ignorant part would not see the use. Yet I should expect success in his case, because he is known, and because his family is so small & not likely to increase. I think Mr. Boudinot's influence with the Council in such matters would be considerable, at least in regard to the station with which he will be connected. I think so from the manner in which he was spoken of.

Excuse me for troubling you with a few words more respecting the 5th condition on which my request was granted. I do not indulge much apprehension that it will interrupt the progress of our work, at least for a long time. The establishment is not likely to be "deemed unprofitable" while the work goes on, without occupying much land, or troubling the neighbors with many cattle. Then as to being expelled for violation of the laws, such a thing *may* be, but I do not think the probability of it so great that it ought prevent the effort to do the people good. Unless the occupants of the station are very indiscreet, such a measure is not to be apprehended, i. e. unless the state of things in the nation should change much for the worse. Twice Mr. Aldrich, Baptist missionary, has received orders to leave the nation—but the circumstances were somewhat peculiar, so that the fact does not add to my apprehensions.

I have perhaps done with the subject as it regards the contemplated station, but venture to add some remarks of a more general nature.

I think there is reason to doubt whether this nation will immediately or very shortly allow the addition of any missionary station except the establishment of the press. If any are to be established, it must be on a small scale, at least as to the cultivation of land, and the holding of stock. It is important to the prosperity of the work, that the missionaries already here confine themselves within narrow limits in these particulars.

The little book for children to which I alluded in my application to the council, is merely a little book of eight pages, filled chiefly with pictures, but containing the alphabet and a little more. I had come here for the purpose of revising two forms which I supposed I should find in type, but Mr. Wheeler had been sick, and they were not ready. Having two days at command, & being anxious before council to throw out something from the press to attract the attention of the people, & having two days at command, I employed them in preparing that, & helping to print 200 copies.⁴ It pleased the Cherokees well. We shall probably print some more as it is, & after Boudinot's arrival enlarge it to something of more value.

Since Mr. Wheeler has recovered, we have been hindered for want of a press man. We had intended to employ Mr. Candy, but he has been, & still is unable to work. Mr. Wheeler is now at work at the press alone—of course laboring under disadvantage. He has printed a little book for Mr. Fleming,⁵ & is now printing an edition of Scripture Extracts, & has part of the Hymn book in type.

Mr. Wheeler wishes for particular instructions in regard to the manufacture of rollers, and the ink table to be used with them. He does not know what are the latest improvements, nor does he know the proportion of the materials in the composition of which the rollers are made. I wrote Mr. Hill for a *Typographia*. If that contains all requisite instructions respecting the rollers, it is sufficient. If not, be so kind as to procure them from some competent person, and send them to me.

I have not heard from Mr. Boudinot since his return to the old nation from Connecticut. I presume he will do his best to come this fall, but he was detained so long in Connecticut, that I have some fear respecting it.

I have received your letter of August 7th. Respecting arrangements with Mr. Wheeler, I will write in my next.

We left Dwight with our family on the 15 ult. We are all at present in pretty good health, with Mr. Wheeler's family.

I remain yours with much regard & affection,
S. A. Worcester.

ACT OF THE CHEROKEE COUNCIL

WHEREAS, Application to the General Council by Mr. S. A. Worcester for leave to erect a printing establishment near the Fork of Illinois for publication of Books in the Cherokee Language, under the direction, and at the expense of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Resolved, by the Committee & Council in General Council convened, that Mr. Worcester be & thereby is authorized to erect a printing establishment at the place and for the purpose specified in the foregoing preamble under the following conditions. Viz,

⁴No copy of this Cherokee Primer has been seen. These copies mentioned by Mr. Worcester were proofs of a primer that he had planned but was not published immediately in final book form by the Union Mission Press.

⁵The reference here to Mr. Fleming's book is *The Child's Book*, the first book published in Oklahoma, bearing the imprint of the Union Mission Press, John F. Wheeler, Printer, 1835. A rare copy of this primer in Creek, *Istutsi in Naktsoku*, by the Rev. John Fleming of the American Board, is in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Whereas, Application to the General Council by Mr. S. P. Worcester for leave to erect a printing press establishment near the Fort of Illinois, for the publication of books in the Cherokee Language, under the direction, and at the expense of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Resolved, by the Committee on Envois in General Council, that Mr. Worcester be thereby is authorized to erect a printing establishment at the place specified, and whose expenses in the foregoing preamble are the following conditions: viz,

1. That the establishment shall not interfere with the lawful rights of any citizen of the Nation.

2. That the amount of land cultivated for the benefit of the establishment shall not exceed ~~five~~ ^{ten} acres.

3. That the amount of cattle & horses held at the establishment, owned by any person, not citizens of the Nation shall not exceed ~~twenty~~ ^{one} head of cattle, & ~~eighty~~ ^{one} head of horses.

4. That every person, not a citizen, connected with the establishment be required to live in strict obedience to the laws of the Nation, and to "live along" in all civil affairs of the Nation, and devote his time & talents to the education & publication of Cherokee books, & to supplying the literary, moral & religious instructions of the people.

5. That at any time, the establishment should be removed, profitable, the National Council may require its removal, in which case the land shall revert to the Nation, and the improvement thereon, may be sold to any citizen of the Nation, within two years after the time required for its abandonment, and not sold within that time shall be.

as the property of the Nation, provided that if the necessary parts of the place should be expelled from the Nation, for the violation of the laws, the improvement thereon shall be forfeited to the Nation, and be at the disposal of the General Council. Dollars by

Oct. 29. 1835 — A. P. C. J. P.

Wm. Thornton Clerk.

James M. W. by lead Clerk, pro tem. Com.

John D. J. by

W. M. W.

W. M. W.

Chas. A. J. by

W. M. W.

1. That the establishment shall not interfere with the lawful rights of any Citizen of the Nation.

2. That the Amount of land cultivated for the benifit of sd. establishment shall never exceed five acres.

3. That the amount of Cattle & Swine held at the establishment by any person or persons not Citizens of the Nation shall never exceed twenty five head of Cattle & Swine.

4. That every person not a Citizen, connected with the establishment be required to live in strict obedience to the laws of the Nation, and to stand aloof from all political affairs of the Nation, and devote his time & talents to the preparation & publication of Cherokee Books, & to efforts for the literary, moral & Religious instructions of the people.

5 Art. That if at any time the establishment should be deemed unprofitable, the National Council may require its abandonment, in which case the land shall revert to the Nation, and the improvement thereon, may be sold to any Citizen of the Nation, within two years after the time required for its abandonment, and if not sold within that time shall become the property of the Nation; provided that if the occupants of the place should be expelled from the Nation, for the violation of the laws, the improvements thereon shall be forfeited to the Nation, and be at the disposal of the General Council.—Toluntusky Oct. 29, 1835

Wm. Thornton clk.

Isaac Bushyhead

clk. pro. tem. coun.

Jas. H. Payne

Sect.y Chiefs

A. Price prest

Com.

Riley Thornton

prst coun.

John Jolly X his mark

J. Vann

Jn. Brown

NOTE ON THE NEW ECHOTA TREATY⁶

Park Hill, Feb. 8th, 1839

Mr. James Orr,

Dear brother,

Seldom have I been so much astonished as by the intelligence contained in your letter of the 5th Inst. received last night. You ask whether I did indeed advise Mr. Boudinot or Ridge to head a party and form a treaty. I suppose you ask it merely that you may have my answer in black & white; for I think you must have heard me express my views on the subject by word of mouth. Well you shall have my answer on paper. So far from having ever given any such advice, I have always & uniformly, from the first to the last to friend or foe, to those concerned & to those not concerned, distinctly and decidedly expressed my disapprobation of such a course.

⁶Letter in Gilcrease Foundation of History, Tulsa.

Some part of the error, I think, must consist in Dr. Palmer's misunderstanding of Dr. Butler's words. The advice is said to have been given "When the National Council refused to treat with Schermerhorn." Now Dr. Butler can hardly have so forgotten dates, as not to remember that I had left the old Nation for Arkansas before Schermerhorn arrived there. He must know well that I never saw the face of either Boudinot or Ridge from before the time of Schermerhorn's first proposition to the National Council till after the ratification of the party treaty. Dr. Butler, too, it is said, heard me say it; where as I have never seen Dr. Butler's face from before Mr. Schermerhorn's arrival in the Old Nation to the present day, so far, then, as dates are concerned, Dr. Palmer must have misunderstood Dr. Butler.

As to the rest, Dr. Butler may, at some former period, have heard me say something, which he may have construed into advice that a treaty should be formed by a party; but it must have been a very gross, and would appear to me a very strange misconstruction. Mrs. Boudinot informs me that once, in her presence, on occasion of a letter being read in which I had expressed my disapprobation of what Mr. Boudinot had done, in signing the treaty, Dr. Butler wondered that Mr. Worcester could say so when he had heard him say to Mr. Boudinot, "Cannot you get your people together and persuade them to remove?" and that she laboured in vain to convince him, that, even if I did say that, it **did** not amount to advising Mr. Boudinot to endeavour to form a party treaty, whether or not I ever said any thing to that effect to Mr. Boudinot either in Dr. Butler's presence or out of it, I did not recollect. Two things I know. First, that even after I became convinced that the decision of the Supreme Court, which Dr. Butler & I had obtained, would avail nothing for the protection of the Cherokees, I did wish that the nation could be brought to see it to be their interest to remove, secondly, that I always, from the very first suggestion of the idea, most earnestly deprecated the bringing about of that removal by means of a treaty to be formed by a minority, or by any other than properly authorized persons.

The following extract of a letter from me to Mr. Boudinot, written after the ratification of the treaty, will sufficiently explain my views:

"Illinois, Dec. 17th, 1836"

"In relation to the course you have taken in forming the late treaty, I hardly know what to say, or whether to say any thing at all, as you do not profess to have given me a full view of your reasons, but reserve them in part until we meet. As, however, you will perhaps be somewhat interested to know what my opinion is, and will be likely to hear at least or surmiss from other sources which will of course be less satisfactory than the direct expression of my own views, it may possibly be well for me to state my present impressions. And leave them to be corrected, if need be, by your future statements. So far, then, as your motives and objects are concerned, I have the fullest conviction of the uprightness of your intentions, and the sincerity of your aim to promote the best interests of your people. Yet of the correctness of the course itself, so far as you have yet exhibited your reasons, I cannot say that they have satisfied my mind. The substance of your reasons, so far as stated, appears to be, that the end was of vast importance, and the means were the **only** means by which it could be effected, I suppose that however painful to patriotic and benevolent feeling the thought of relinquishing it, yet it **must** or **ought** to be relinquished, unless it can be accomplished by **lawful** means. The part, therefore, which

remains to be filled up in your argument, so far as I perceive, is to show the **lawfulness** of the **means**. This, I must confess, I do not perceive. If you show this, it is all that needs to be shown."

It may be sufficient to add, that Mr. Boudinot has not been able, by subsequent arguments, to convince me of the lawfulness of the means used; so that I remain of the same mind.

You are at liberty to use this letter as the defence of truth may seem to require.

Your Brother in Christ
S. A. Worcester

I have seen a letter of Mr. James Orr, in which it contained a statement made by Dr. Butler to Dr. Palmer, that he, Dr. Butler heard the Rev'd S. A. Worcester advise me Boudinot or Mr. Ridge to head a party and form a treaty, or do anything tending thereto;—and that, in all my conversations & correspondence with him, touching the situation of the Cherokees, from my first acquaintance with him to this present time, he has never used language that I could, by any forced construction, interpret as containing such advice.
Park Hill Cher.-Nation
Feb. 11, 1839

Elias Boudinot

A LETTER FROM YOUNG DAUGHTER SARAH

Dear Sister, I write this note without the knowledge of either Father or mother⁷ and I would not have uncle or aunt see it for **anything**. As you are so soon to become a member of our family again, I thought I would be doing right in letting you know some of the domestic trials you will be exposed to; for I do not know but you have forgotten how things used to be. You remember (do you not?) how mother used to find fault with us about little things when we did not think ourselves to blame. It is just so now. I am often tempted to get angry and sometimes yield to temptation. The other day we were speaking about the rooms and I said "The floors upstairs are very dirty:" not meaning to find fault in the **least**. Mother said to me, "You ought not to come home from school and find fault with things about the house," and some things more, I don't remember what. I have the care of the rooms a part of the time and I should think she would expect me to tell her when they are out of order. At another time Mary was sitting at the table and picked up a piece of meat in her fingers and bit it. I exclaimed "Why Mary!" Mother said, "Well you were so long about cutting it that she could not wait and you **ought not** to rebuke her so severely." The other day we were dipping candles and as I sat down at noon to dip I remarked that I thought that the wind blew too hard on them. It would make them ridgey. Mother replied, "You think differently from what your mother does." The day was **quite warm**. In the evening I remarked. "They don't seem to grow very fast, they are ridgey though. Then mother gave me a long talk. Among other things she said, "For **several days** I have **hardly done a thing** but what you have found fault with it. What **has** possessed you? I don't understand you. You **must** leave it off. As if mother did not know and was doing **wrong**. I **can't** bear it. I have borne it as long as I possibly can. You ought not to criticize what your parents do." And it is not me alone that is found fault with. It is so with others. A few days ago John was pumping by very short strokes which wears the

⁷ Erminia Nash Worcester.

pump very much. Dwight said him, "John you will wear out the pump that way. Take **longer** strokes." Mother overheard him and said, "John pump as you were doing before. You can't pump so long if you take longer strokes. It is too hard." Now if Dwight had not spoken to John & told him not to pump so, mother would not have cared **one grain** how he pumped. It used to be just so with Miss Thompson and Miss Avery. They would tell the children and mother would tell them right off **not** to do it. And the children learned to think that if Miss R. & Miss A. told them to do anything they need not do it unless mother said so. It will be **just** so with **you** when you get home and I tell you these things not to find fault with mother or to lower her in your estimation but only to let you know what you may expect. Miss Thompson advised me to write to you about it. I have not cited these instances because they are any worse than others (for they were not so trying to **me** as others have been) but merely because they occurred while writing and they have happened very recently. There will be times when you cannot speak about **any** thing about the work without receiving a severe reproof: no matter how pleasant you speak. There is not so much in the **words** as in the **tone** and **manner** of expressing them. (Mother's I mean). To make it **certain** that uncle will not see this please put it in the fire as soon as you have read it. If you answer me please send me a note so that nobody may see it but myself. I **may** be doing wrong to write you, and if you think so you may tell me of it.

Sarah⁸

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF PARK HILL⁹

In 1836 my father chose the site of his mission at Park Hill, and in 1837 took his family there, when, then, there was no neighbor within $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, a mile & $\frac{1}{4}$ from the school-house where Mr. John Newton taught a mission school, but taking also into account its central position with reference to the Cherokees, as giving the most suitable place for the mission press, from which he would constantly send out Cherokee reading matter for the Cherokees. The choice, later, by the people of a place only five miles away for their capital (now Tahlequah,) proved the wisdom of his selection.

The name Park Hill, was given to the hill of that name by Mr. Newton as he told his pupils one day in my hearing (I being one of them). He told us that riding out one morning to the hill he saw several deer, together on its side, which suggested to him the name for both hill and neighborhood. An incorrect account of the origin of the name I have seen in print.

Mr. Newton's home was afterwards, when vacant, loaned temporarily to Archibald Campbell, who retained it, and the school was moved into the Mission printing office. J. F. Wheeler, my father's printer built the house later purchased by Rev. Stephen Foreman, and Elias Boudinot his interpreter, one near, which was, after his murder, purchased for church and school house, and used for the latter purpose until destroyed by fire in (?).

⁸ Letter to Ann Eliza Worcester written about 1846 before her return home from New England, in Alice Robertson Collection, Tulsa University.

⁹ Unfiled Robertson material in University of Tulsa Library. Muscogee, Nov. 6th, 1890



(Photo, Alice Robertson Collection, Tulsa University)

SARAH WORCESTER HITCHCOCK

As to the date of location of the school-near Campbell spring, I cannot be exact, but think it was probably established there early in the 30s as Mr. Newton, before settling there had taught at a place on the other side of the Illinois river.

Mr. Newton, was not licensed to preach until after his removal with his family to Boonsboro, Ark.

As to location at the forks of the Illinois I know nothing, unless it was there that Mr. Newton taught before his removal to Park Hill. If so, it remained abandoned during my father's life.

(A. E. W. Robertson
to an editor of a local paper)

Ketchum, Okla., June 8, '28

Dear Miss Alice—

Enclosed find Early recollections of your grandfather. Hope they are not too late to be of any service to you.

Rev. S. A. Worcester came to Indian Territory under charge of A.B.C.F.M. The Cherokees then living in Georgia, gold having been discovered, the citizens were anxious to be rid of them. The Cherokees loving their homes and the graves of their fathers were grieved to be compelled to leave them.

Wagons were provided for the old, feeble, and mothers of small children. I believe for each thousand. Rev. Worcester and Buttrick were arrested and taken to the State Penitentiary—at the gate, refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the State of Georgia they were arrested, taken to the gate they were offered release if they'd take the oath but refused believing in the justice of their cause; led to the pen, they were compelled to walk while the officers rode. They were there 16 mos., sleeping on puncheon floors. My mother and aunt being children of a former chief Little Turtle were orphans left in care of the missionaries came to Ind. Territory in 1838. The 1st Station was at Union, the 2nd at Park Hill so named because of its beauty and the numbers of deer living on it.

As Rev. Worcester was only minister, he had the care of three churches—Fairfield, Lees Creek and Park Hill. On the way to, and from Lees Creek there lived a woman named Gailbraith where he stopped for dinner, she had dressed chicken ready for frying, coffee and corn meal dodgers—baked in skillet on the hearth. He organized the 1st Temperance Soc. on the 4th of July. He had the young boys & girls march singing, and carrying white banners—with picture of a girl & boy stamping, stamping on a snake—tables were spread and dinner served for the children who had taken the pledge of total abstinence. His death occurred about 20th of April. That morning I was sent to notify his [grand?] daughter Hannah, who was wife of Abijah Hicks—a habitual drinker, who after his conversion was a zealous worker—he kept a small store at P. Hill—getting goods at Van Buren. He was murdered near Lees Creek, buried in an unknown grave—his youngest son now owns the Vinita Book store. The last teacher of Park Hill, was Miss Hattie Sheldon, of Utica, N. Y.—was cheerful loving woman. She married James Latta who was the overseer of Murrell's ranch. She was the mother of four children, one of whom, Thomas, is now connected with the *Tulsa World*. Robert Meigs of Tahlequah and I are only survivors of those happy days.

Rev. Worcester was a great lover of cats, he chiseled out troughs in the sand stone steps by the kitchen steps—on his return from the cowpen the cats met him & he poured milk for them in the troughs in the steps. As he kneeled in prayer during family worship they—the cats—would walk upon his back and we children would giggle at the cats instead of listening to the prayers. It was his habit to sweep the church on S. P. M. I went along loving to be with him—he took such long steps, I had to trot to keep up.

He was quite tall and stooped, having fallen in the well he was digging—so he wore a long full garment. He also translated the Bible into the Cherokee—hymns, which are still in use among the full bloods—had a printing office where Cherokee hymn books and *Advocate* were printed. Edwin Archer being printer, whose young daughter Carlotta is now living.

As the missionaries were union sympathizers of the U. S.—they had to leave the country.

Rev. Worcester's grave is in a private cemetery near Park Hill where his body lies beside his two wives—Ann Orr the mother of his children and Erminia Nash who felt unworthy to have a grave beside him—lies across the foot of his—Mrs. Robertson is there with several children. Miss Alice hopes to be beside them. Caleb Covell with his 1st wife is there.

When the relatives of the family put the iron fence around the cemetery Will Ballentine was unwilling to help with the expense—so his father's grave lies outside, trampled by stock and head stone down and broken.¹⁰ When I heard that Emma H. was in Vinita I was anxious to see her—but she was gone before I got into town.

Sincerely,

M. C. Holderman

P.S. Forgot to say that of the 20 thousand Cherokees who were emigrants only 16 thousand lived to get their six months journey. Found the Territory's wilderness. For their male and female seminaries they made the brick south of T. [Tahlequah] and dedicated them in 1852.

A NOTE TO MR. ROBERTSON

Park Hill, Feb. 19, 1850

Mr. Robertson,

Dear Sir,

I have just borrowed from Mr. Foreman the P. Review containing the article on Secret Societies, but neither I nor Mr. Archer have yet had time to read. Hope we shall.

I have not yet said that Ann Eliza's school must be suspended longer than till week after next; but she does not yet recover strength so rapidly as to make me suppose that I shall consent to her resuming it then. I agree with you that she has no right to continue a course which she has reason to suppose will be a kind of suicide.

¹⁰ All graves in the old Park Hill Cemetery have been recently restored, and the acreage is now owned and cared for by the Oklahoma Historical Society as a memorial to the pioneer missionaries and others who are buried there. The cemetery is at the historic site of the Park Hill Press, about three miles south of Tahlequah in Cherokee County.

I have a good deal of fear respecting her future health, but still hope that she may be allowed many years of usefulness.

My wife unites with me in very kind regards. Hoping to see you again before long, I remain,

Your very affectionately,
S. A. Worcester

SOME LETTERS TO THE BELOVED SON, JOHN ORR WORCESTER

Park Hill, Jan. 24, 1855

My dear Son:

I should perhaps make up my mind to send you with Mr. Lyon, but that the time of his going is very uncertain, and I hardly want to get you home and have you lying upon your oars for an indefinite length of time. The reason of the uncertainty is that he talks of waiting till he can take boat at Ft. Gibson. At any rate he will not go farther than Van Buren by land; and even that may keep him waiting for some time. So I remain undecided.

When I talked of sending you to Tullahassee last, you were reluctant to go, on account of your impression that you would not be very welcome there. I think I told you to go, and so do, that they could not help being willing to have you there; or something to that effect. It would seem that I ought to commend you for having followed your father's directions; for I understand that there is but one voice there, saying that they know not how to spare you. So let it be, my son, wherever you go. Always make your presence desired, if possible.

But one thing I greatly desire respecting you. I have always earnestly wished that none of my children should go from home to New England for an education, without going in the character of friends of Christ. In that character A. E. and Sarah went, and brought no reproach upon the cause. Leonard bore a certificate of church-membership, but, alas, soon forfeited his title to it. Of course I would much rather have you go a non-professor, than a false professor. But will you not, my dear son, from this time say unto God, "My Father, thou art the guide of my youth?" Will you not—If indeed you have not already done it—accept the offer of salvation by the blood of the Son of God? and will you not own him before me, that you may be owned by him before the Father and before his angels? I long to administer to you, with my own lips, in my own church, the covenant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ. Must I be denied this privilege?

Your affectionate,
Father

Park Hill, September 28, 1855

My dear Son:

Though I have written very recently, yet as Mary is writing, and I have a few words to say, perhaps I may as well slip them in.

In one of your letters you said you were "afraid?" you should never be a Methodist. I suppose you alluded to the doctrine of perfection. The nearer you attain to perfection, if we know of it, the more we shall rejoice. If you should quite attain it, and we know it, we should indeed rejoice over you with exceeding great joy. But, having no hope that you will ever make that attainment, we

hope you will never **imagine** that you have made it: but will always be able to see enough of your own sinfulness, to keep you ever humble before God, and ever striving to attain what is yet before you. But, my dear Son, let not the fact that you have not attained what "no mere man, since the fall," ever did attain, keep you from enjoying the consolations of religion, or from performing the duties of a Christian.

Your ever affectionate
Father.

Oct. 18. I thought I had sent this long ago, but it has been found in the house. I have not time to write much now. We are as well as when I wrote before. Sarah returned last week, considerably better than when she went away. Sukey, however, has been unable to work for several weeks, and Mary has to stay at home till she gets better or till we can continue some other way. The school at Tullahassee I suppose began day before yesterday. Yesterday was national Temperance Meeting, and Mary played the melodeon. Made out well enough to do.

Good by,
Your affectionate Father,

Park Hill, Jan. 29, 1858

My dear Son,

I have yours of the 4th inst. There is no difficulty about your going to school for want of funds at present. Go ahead. I wrote to Mr. Colby to let me know what your bills would be, and I would furnish means to meet them. And now I say, so far as debts can be anticipated, let me know the amount in season, and I will furnish the pay. And if a debt is incurred before the means of payment arrive, assure your creditors, or let Mr. Colby assure them, that the payment will be made as soon as the mail can come to me and return. I will here enclose a blank draft, which will meet the exigency you speak of—i. e. pay your bills at the close of the quarter.

I could meet all your necessary expenses for some time to come without your help; but then after a while I should run ashore; so I want to help yourself along all in your power. Even then I **may** have to call for other help before you get through. The Board would help, I suppose, if I ask it; but I want to avoid that if possible. I think well of your plan of advertising that you will tune pianos, provided, of course, that the advertisement will not consume too much of the profit. As to that take advice. If you get the place of organist I shall be glad. So in every way in which Mr. Colby agrees with you that you can earn something without too much interference with your studies, do it. But redeem your character as one that studies to the purpose.

It is not many days since I wrote to you. Set your heart on doing good, be of good cheer, and go forward. If God gives you life and health you can be good for **something** in the world.

Your affectionate
Father

[Park Hill, Jan. 29, 1858]

My dear son,

This is Hannah's birthday. She is 24 years of age today. I am going over there after a while to see her. We received a letter this week from Mr. Woodford (Grasshopper Falls, Kansas) in which he speaks of Leonard—says he often saw him when they were both in Lawrence—has not seen him since last August knows of nothing in his conduct inconsistent with the character of a christian—Mr. W.



(From Alice Robertson Collection, Tulsa University)

Samuel Austin Worcester and his wife, Erminia Nash Worcester



speaks of himself as being just engaged in settling with his future people—preparing a house & seems to remember his former friends among the Cherokees & the Cherokees themselves with much interest. He says things are in quite a disturbed state—partly in consequence of a split in the Free State party on the subject of the Jan. elections.

I shall be very glad to get *that* letter when you have time—I want to know where you board & who washes & mends for you—where & how, with whom you lodge, & a great many things in relation to your comfort, health &c. Give me the routine of a week, so that I may see a little how you are situated. In haste,

Your affectionate
Mother.

P.S. Tell me if there is anything I can do for your comfort or encouragement. Mother¹¹

Park Hill, 13th May, 185?¹²

THE GOOD MAN'S AMBITION

Not on tablets of stone, not on columns of brass,
On no monuments builded by those who shall pass
 Into dust far sooner than they,
Would I nourish one wish that my name should appear
 For the stone vain mortals
And all the proud trophies can rear,
 Shall scarcely continue a day.
A holier, purer ambition I'd cherish,
Than for honor entrusted to things that must perish:
Even this—the consciousness sweet that also to me,
 As to Zion of old, this word hath been spoken,
This word of the Lord; "On the palms of my hands I thee
 Have engraven."
Even this—the comfort of hope that for one there's a place
In the Mansions of Rest—in the Kingdom of Grace:—
That my name (when is ended the wearisome strife
Of this earth) shall be found in "the Lamb's Book of Life,"
 Recorded in Heaven.

There it is, Ann Eliza—not precisely as first written—& with the addition of a couple of lines, but just which two I can hardly tell, as I made the alteration several years ago. I entitle it "The Good Man's Ambition"—not my ambition—though it ought to be.

—Samuel Austin Worcester

¹¹ Erminia Nash Worcester. Letter in Tulsa University.

¹² Written probably in 1858 to Ann Eliza Robertson, by Samuel Austin Worcester. From Worcester-Robertson Collection, Tulsa University.

THE COLD WATER ARMY

*Annotated by Hope Holway**Cherokee Cold Water Army of the Olden Time*

*See us children full of glee,
Marching with our banners;
Drunkards we will never be;
Nor follow drunkards' manners.*

*Chorus: Come and join us, one and all.
Hear our invitation;
Come and fight King Alcohol,
Drive him from the Nation!*

*We will not fight with guns or swords,
Nor kill one son or daughter;
Our weapons shall be pleasant words
And cool, refreshing water.*

— Samuel A. Worcester

Tune: *Yankee Doodle*

"There used to be what they called a Cold Water Army and they marched to that song. They would have big picnics and Grandfather (he wrote the song) had a big apple tree with big yellow apples and they would take a barrel to the picnic. They had a branch of the Cold Water Army across the river (Arkansas) among the Creeks"

—Ann Augusta Robertson Moore¹ (about 1934)

"In general I do not know that the cause of religion has made much sensible progress among the Cherokees since we crossed the Mississippi. One effort, however, for their good, the formation of a temperance society requiring of its members total abstinence from all kinds of intoxicating liquors, has met with encouraging success and the work is going forward still. I think there are 400 members, the greater part Cherokees"

—Samuel Austin Worcester (1838)²

¹ Ann Augusta (Robertson) Moore (1851-1935), oldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Wm. S. Robertson of the Tullahassee Mission and wife of Judge N. B. Moore of Muskogee. The recollection is quoted from an interview with her by Grant Foreman about 1934, taken by Mrs. Rella Looney and typed by her. It is now in a typed volume (PN 6131 F7) in the Oklahoma Historical Society Library. "Augusta Robertson Moore, A Sketch of Her Life and Times" by Carolyn Thomas Foreman,—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (December, 1935.)

² From a letter written by Samuel Austin Worcester on June 14, 1838, to Samuel Chandler of Bedford, N. H. A copy of the letter is in the volume mentioned above in the Oklahoma Historical Society Library. The Cherokees referred to are the Western Cherokees in whose country the Worcesters had settled and founded Park Hill in 1835.

“Commencing thus early in life to march along the path of temperance, these youthful soldiers, now the beauty and hope of our country and hereafter to become its mothers, fathers, laborers, law-givers, and guides, must exercise an immense influence and perhaps are thus destined to consummate the great cause in which they have enlisted”

—William P. Ross (about 1844)³

“. From my observation and acquaintance with the Indian tribes, I am decidedly of the opinion that all restrictive laws or arbitrary action by superior power is productive of evil consequences The effect of the present law is to introduce by stealth liquors of a bad quality and at exorbitant prices, while the consumption is induced by frolics in a spirit and temper in proportion to the efforts to restrain the inclination.”

—Pierce M. Butler (1843)⁴

“. I could not at that time have been more than four years old, was marching at Tahlequah in the Cold Water Army, a Cherokee children's temperance organization. That was my first recollection of Tahlequah. We carried long purple plumes of flowers we called the Osage Almanac, because they said the Osages used to plant their corn and then go out on the staked plains on a buffalo hunt, and when these tall purple stalks blossomed out they knew it was time to go home and eat their roasting ears.”

—Alice Robertson⁵

³ William P. Ross (1820-1891), nephew of John Ross, graduate of Princeton, editor of *Cherokee Advocate*, Principal Chief 1866-7 and 1872-5. One of the “most prominent men of the Nation” mentioned by Mrs. Edith Walker and Secretary of the Cherokee Temperance Society about 1844. The comment sounds like a portion of a rallying speech and is quoted by Grant Foreman in “A Century of Prohibition,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (June, 1934).

⁴ Pierce M. Butler (1798-1847), elected Governor of South Carolina in 1836 without a campaign, because he believed “the office should seek the man.” He was appointed agent to the Cherokees in 1838, and the *Cherokee Advocate* of September 30, 1847, pays him the tribute of being just and showing sympathy for the Cherokees. He was the Colonel of the Palmetto Regiment in the Mexican War, and was killed at Churubusco in 1847. The comment above is from Agent Butler's 1843 report to the U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Indian Territory was prohibition country under the Congressional Act of June 30, 1834. (For a sketch of his life see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, “Pierce Mason Butler, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952).

⁵ Alice Robertson (1854-1931), daughter of William and Ann Eliza Robertson; Republican Congresswoman from Oklahoma (1921-23). This recollection is a part of the “first chapter of Miss Alice's book that was being written by her at the time when she was stricken by her fatal illness,” from *The Arrowhead*, a monthly published in Muskogee by Vivienne Brown and Lavon Lee. The issue of August, 1931, contains an article, “My Memoirs” by Alice Robertson, purporting to be this first chapter. A copy of the monthly is in the Alice Robertson Collection, University of Tulsa Library.

“Sons of Temperance had a big turn-out; processions, etc. I did not go to the doings, but those who went from here did not much admire their doings.”

—William Schenk Robertson (1852)⁶

“The Cherokee Temperance Society, afterwards renamed the ‘Cold Water Army’ to include the children as well as parents, was started by Rev. S. A. Worcester, shortly after the removal of the Cherokees from the State of Georgia. Mr. Worcester, as the Secretary, kept the record and therefore spoke with authority. Of the organization he says—‘The members sign the following pledge—‘We hereby solemnly pledge ourselves that we will never use, nor buy, nor sell, nor give, nor receive as a drink, any whisky, brandy, rum, gin, wine, fermented cider, strong beer, or any kind of intoxicating liquors.’”

“On the list of signers to the pledge there are the names of 1560 Cherokees and perhaps 200 more whites and blacks, making a total of 1760 persons who abstain entirely from the use of intoxicating drinks of all kinds and from all traffic in them In this (Cherokee) Almanac from time to time he gave his views on the evils of strong drink and paved the way for the temperance society he organized shortly after reaching the new country west of the Mississippi

“One of my earliest recollections is the rallying of the Cherokee Cold Water Army at the convening of the National Council in Nov. of each year, when the delegates from every District (14 in number) assembled to form a ‘March of Allegiance’ around the Capitol Square, carrying banners and singing temperance songs, written and set to popular airs of the day by my Grandfather, at which time we listened to temperance speeches by the most prominent men of the Nation and members of the Cherokee Council, and at the same time *every* body was served with barbecued meat, chicken, pies and cake, which the mothers, wives, and sweethearts prepared. I can remember my mother saying she stood over the furnace—kettle in the old Mission kitchen and fried three bushels of doughnuts for one such occasion.

“Also, Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson, my mother’s oldest sister, accompanied her father on yearly visits to the different

⁶ William Schenk Robertson (1820-1881), husband of Ann Eliza Worcester (so son-in-law of Samuel Worcester) and superintendent of Tullahassee Mission. This comment is quoted from a letter to his parents written from Park Hill, August 9, 1832. This letter was among others loaned to Grant Foreman by Robertson’s daughter, Ann Augusta Moore, and is now in type-script in the volume mentioned above. Whereabouts of original unknown. This is a strange comment from such a member of the Worcester family, but there is no further explanation. Perhaps he considered the “doings” as too frivolous and spectacular.

districts of the Nation, to play the melodeon for the singing of the temperance songs at the gatherings for instruction and encouragement until the fame of the Cold Water Army spread far and wide and a similar organization was asked for by the Choctaws and Creeks.

"But the disturbed condition of the country just before the Civil War caused the discontinuance of the Denominational Missions and also the Cherokee National Schools and put a stop to the Cherokee Cold Water Army, which was never reorganized after Mr. Worcester's death, though the influence of it continues to the present and will go down to Eternity as a mighty safeguard to the Cherokee people from the scourge of the liquor habit."

—Mrs. Edith Walker⁷

"The National Cherokee Temperance Society, organized in 1845 by my father, Samuel Austin Worcester⁸ The Cherokee Council at that time met in a big shed in the center of what is now the "Capital Square" at Tahlequah, and in that place the Temperance Society began its existence. The annual meetings were always held during the sessions of the National Council and the officers of the Society were, many of them, members of that body The only qualification for membership in the Society was to sign the Society pledge

"My father taught his children and all who came under his influence to help in the temperance work We children knew that what we could do we were to do with no word of objection. Our father took us with him to the meetings and we all had our parts to perform. My brothers made music when they were hardly taller than their violins. One brother spoke the first 'speech' he ever made (in public) at the age of sixteen on Temperance.

"We went to many Temperance meetings—some in the woods on the banks of the beautiful clear running streams or near some one of the many fine springs so plentiful in our Nation. The people gathered from near and from far. Meat was barbecued (so delicious as we never get these days), bread, cakes, and pies provided.

⁷ Mrs. (Ann) Edith Walker (b. 1856), daughter of Hannah Worcester and Abijah Hicks, and so grand-daughter of Samuel Worcester. These recollections are in typescript in a volume titled "Missionary Correspondence," an item of the Grant Foreman Collection in the library of the Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma. We also note that she closes as follows: "At the request of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes, Oklahoma was *born* dry and we are proud to say we still hope to see the day when National Constitutional Prohibition will win its victory in the U. S. A. and be a beacon for all Europe to follow."

⁸ A temperance society was founded at New Echota in the 1820's but languished and died. The one to which Hananh refers was founded soon after the arrival at Park Hill, 1836-7.

"Through the kind courtesy of the Christian Commander of the Post of Fort Gibson, Col. Gustavus Loomis,⁹ my father was permitted to have the attendance at some of his meetings of the 'finest band in the U. S. Army', then stationed at Fort Gibson, and once a choir of nineteen soldiers sang temperance songs . . . (my father) took with him his children and his 'seraphine'. A brush shed was arranged at a place near the first 'Old Agency'¹⁰ across the Arkansas from where Muskogee is now, and there near the Agency spring the people gathered and a Temperance Society was organized. The one who played the 'seraphine' that day was a young lady, my sister, afterward Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson of sainted memory

"Some time since there was published in the Fort Gibson Post an account of the last rally of the 'Cherokee Cold Water Army.' That was another work of my father; a company of boys and girls under the age of sixteen. He wrote songs for them, taught them to sing them and march to them; he spent hours and days making banners for them and different devices. Many happy days we had preparing for and attending the meetings. We sang, 'Come and join our Temperance Army, singing Water, Sweet Cold Water.'

". The annual meeting was always held on the 4th of July at Tahlequah. Some of us had to ride the five miles in the slow and clumsy ox-wagon with the boxes and baskets of provisions for the dinner, while the more fortunate ones went in a "4-mule wagon" sent through the kindness of a wealthy neighbor (Mr. George M. Murrell) with a negro driver to carry 30 or 40 children Those who rode behind big, plodding old "Pete and Broad" had to start earlier than the others (though all were up and stirring before daylight to get ready). We had to bear it as well as we could to see the other party go dashing by us, singing-shouting, with streamers twenty feet long flying and other banners waving.

"That last, last meeting before the Civil War put a stop to all such things, was on July 4, 1860, after the death of its founder. On that day 125 children marched in line around the public square at Tahlequah. Every child carried a little banner with a printed device; the girls' banners white, the boys' pink, besides the twenty-foot streamer at the head of the line with "COLD WATER ARMY" in large letters painted on it and many other banners of different devices and mottoes

⁹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman; "Col. Gustavus Loomis, Commandant Fort Gibson and Fort Towson,"—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (September, 1940.)

¹⁰ The Old Creek Agency (1835-1853) just east of Old Marshall Town and west of the Verdigris River, in Wagoner County."

..... Two of my children marched in that company and a third one, too small to keep up, was carried by her father alongside."

—Hannah Worcester (Hicks) Hitchcock¹¹

*Song*¹²

Loud we shout "Away the bowl!"

Far away - forever;

We resolve with heart and soul

We will touch it never!

Sweet cold water, now we sing!

Water is the dandy!

Give us water from the spring,

And fling away the brandy!

Chorus: Come and join us, one and all.

Hear our invitation;

Come and fight King Alcohol,

Drive him from the Nation!

¹¹ Hannah Worcester (Hicks) Hitchcock (1834-1917), mother of Edith Walker and daughter of Samuel Worcester and Ann Orr. Edith was left one of the five small children of Hannah and Abijah Hicks, when he was ambushed and killed. Hannah later married Dr. Dwight Hitchcock, whose first wife was Sarah Worcester, Hannah's sister. These recollections are also in the "Missionary Correspondence" volume in the Foreman Collection at Gilcrease Institute, and like Mrs. Walker's recollections, apparently written for Mr. Foreman. See also "Notes on the Life of Hannah" by Muriel H. Wright. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (December, 1941).

¹² Samuel A. Worcester in the *Cherokee Almanac*, 1856.

WILLIAM SCHENCK ROBERTSON*

By Althea Bass

William Robertson had reached the age of twenty-nine before he made his sudden decision, in the spring of 1849, to go to the American Indians as a missionary teacher. His maturity was in his favor; by this time he had earned his Master of Arts degree (1843) at Union College in Schenectady, New York, and had been a more than usually successful teacher for several years, the last three in the Academy at North Port, Long Island, where he had become Principal. In that year of his decision, 1849, he had after long and searching thought become a member of the North Port Presbyterian Church. Then, learning of the need for teachers who would be sent by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to the American Indians, he had offered his services and had gone, in April, to New York for an interview with the Honorable Walter Lowrie, the Secretary of the Board. On May 2, Mr. Lowrie had written him that he had been appointed "as teacher in the large boarding school among the Creek Indians at Tullahassee." Five days later, having finished his term of teaching at North Port and resigned his principalship, he set out for the Indian country and the work that was to employ him for the rest of his life.

Born on January 11, 1820, at Huntington, Long Island, William Schenck Robertson was the third of seven children of the Reverend Samuel Robertson who was minister of the Presbyterian Church there. William grew up in the atmosphere of affection and piety and sound learning that life in the manse in one small town after another in New York State afforded. He had a great love of the outdoors and of plant and animal life, and spent much of his free time botanizing in the woods and along the lakes that were always within easy reach of his home. Since he had meant, throughout his early life, to become a doctor, these outdoor studies—with courses in Natural History and Natural Philosophy that he studied at Union College—constituted a more than usually thorough pre-medical training. His bent in this direction was stimulated by a close family friendship with Dr. Asa Fitch, that devout man of science who was to become Entomologist for the State of New York and America's first

* This brief biography is a condensation for *The Chronicles* from the manuscript of a full length biography "William Schenck Robertson" by Althea Bass. Mrs. Bass (Mrs. John H.) of Norman, Oklahoma, is the author of *Cherokee Messenger*, a biography of Samuel Austin Worcester, now a rare, out-of-print volume (University of Oklahoma Press).—Ed.

economic biologist. His teaching, in the beginning, was to furnish means for further medical study, until he discovered that teaching, in itself, was the goal he wanted to reach.

The Creeks had not made the progress that some of the other Indians had made by the middle of the Nineteenth Century. Embittered and disillusioned by their experiences at the hands of white agents and contractors, they had expelled all white teachers and missionaries from their nation in 1836, and had fallen behind in spite of their native intelligence and their great ability as agriculturists. In 1843, aware of their disadvantage, they had allowed the Reverend Robert Loughridge to take up residence among them and to open a school at Koweta. Five years later, convinced of the benefits of the school and of the sincerity of its teachers, they had agreed to establish day and boarding schools and to encourage education on a national scale. Tullahassee Manual Labor School was the first of these boarding schools. It was situated on seventy acres of rich farm land on what was called "The Point," at the confluence of the Verdigris River and the Arkansas, "in a healthy and beautiful country, 9 miles west of Fort Gibson and 2 miles north of the Arkansas River," Mr. Lowrie had written. In spite of the beauty and fertility of the location, there were disadvantages that might have defeated a less courageous and rugged man than William Robertson: following high waters, malarial fevers prevailed; supplies were expensive and hard to come by, since they must come up the Arkansas River when it was navigable; there was no physician nearer than Fort Gibson or Park Hill. "The Board do not tempt their missionaries to the work by high salaries," the Secretary had explained, when he wrote that William Robertson's salary, as a single male missionary, was to be \$166.00 annually. When he married, this would be increased to \$200.00.

The new teacher was to be in charge of the forty boys who would be enrolled in the school. Although some of them might be as old as his North Port Academy pupils had been, they would be less advanced. Most of them would be beginning to learn the alphabet and, while some of them could read and write, most of them would not speak or understand English. Since this was to be a manual labor school, and partly self-sustaining through the products of farm and garden, William was to have the supervision of the boys outside as well as in the classroom, until the full mission force arrived. Then, in theory at least, a farmer would be in charge of the boys' work in the garden and on the farm. Sometimes, in the years to come, that theoretical farmer was a member of the staff; at other times, William was both teacher and farmer, as well as minister and physician.

On July first, 1849, William Robertson reached Tullahassee, having traveled from Philadelphia to Baltimore by boat, from Baltimore to Cumberland by rail, from Cumberland to Pittsburgh by stage, and from Pittsburgh by steamboat down the Ohio and the Mississippi and up the Arkansas to Fort Gibson. The great school building, planned to be ninety-four feet long and three stories high with a wing for kitchen and dining room, was scarcely more than begun. He found the Loughridge family living in a cabin on the grounds, who had come there from Kowetah Mission so that Mr. Loughridge could supervise the work of building. And he found Miss Nancy Thompson there. She had left Park Hill, where she had been an assistant in the American Board's mission to the Cherokees, to assist in the mission household at Kowetah; and now that tuberculosis had laid its hold on Mrs. Loughridge, Miss Thompson was as indispensable as she was humble in this new undertaking. To the end of their lives, in 1881, William Robertson and Nancy Thompson were to be fellow-workers at Tullahassee.

In January, 1850, with the new building still incomplete, the first teaching at Tullahassee began. Since there was still no increase in the staff, William taught both boys and girls as day pupils, dealing principally with the alphabet and with *efv*, dog, and *pose*, cat. By March, when the building was finished, the first boarding pupils were accepted, fifteen boys and the same number of girls, making an enrollment of nearly fifty. Two of the most advanced students from Kowetah, Mary Lewis and Elizabeth Stidham, came to assist in kitchen and dining room and dormitories; and David Winslett, a half-breed of sunny disposition and radiant intelligence, came to help in the classroom and as translator.

Before this date, William had met and fallen in love with Ann Eliza, daughter of the Reverend Samuel Worcester of the Cherokee Mission at Park Hill and teacher of the mission school there. She was earnest and devout, the treasure of her family and of all the missionary families who knew her; she had been educated in the East, largely at St. Johnsbury, Vermont, where her fine mind had flowered under excellent teaching in Latin and Greek and where she had been almost too much tempted, she felt, by her interest in music and art. She and William were married by her father on the morning of April 16, 1850, and after greetings from family and students and "the gentry" of Park Hill, the young couple mounted their horses to ride to Tullahassee, where they arrived in time for the wedding supper in the school dining room. The next day found William again in the classroom, and Ann Eliza making notes on the first Creek words she had learned. In spite of the fact that the Government and mission boards alike



(Photo in Oklahoma Historical Society collections)

Group photo taken at Tullahassee in 1870's. Back row, standing left to right: Miss S. Brown, Miss E. T. Baldwin, Samuel W. Robertson. Second row, seated left to right: Miss Nancy Thompson, Rev. Wm. S. Robertson, Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson, with Augusta Robertson seated in front.

discouraged the continuance of Indian languages and customs, the Robertsons were agreed on the importance of their learning the Creek language and reducing it to writing. Only a small percentage of the Creek children could be sent to school to learn to read and write English; the rest, and all of their elders, must have books in their own language if they were to become literate. Songs, readers, tracts, the Bible itself in Creek, became the goal toward which the Robertsons worked unceasingly.

Soon Ann Eliza, like her husband, took her place in the class room, teaching the girls as William taught the boys. From that time the permanent pattern of their lives was set: teaching five days each week, from Tuesday through Saturday, translating in the evenings and at other times when they were free, attending church services on Sundays, discharging a multitude of duties for family and school and farm and garden on Mondays. William prescribed for the sick who came or sent to him for help; he bought produce from the Indians to supplement the school's supplies, visited and encouraged the day schools that were being established, and gathered new species of plants and animals to send east.

He wrote his parents a few days after his marriage, "School goes on now quietly and pleasantly," and added this note:

They are a fine pleasant set of children and learn finely, and I am becoming more & more interested in them. We breakfast at six, then after worship the children work till eight or half past. School begins at nine. Dine at twelve, return to school at one. To labor at 4½. Take tea at 6½. Send the boys to bed at eight. One day passes like another We expect a reinforcement of a gentleman & his wife & two female teachers soon—shall then increase the number of our boarders.

After that long day William worked, usually with the help of David Winslett, at the *First Reader* which he considered the most urgent need of the Creek Indians. His tired body, his stiff hands, his poor eyesight and the dimness of their candlelight did not deter him. The Creek *First Reader* was published in 1856, under the joint authorship of W. S. Robertson and David Winslett, with a second edition in 1867 and still others later. The Creek *Second Reader*, with the same joint authorship, was published in 1871. William also made the first rough translation of some of the books of the New Testament, working with Sandford Perryman, Thomas Perryman and other educated Creeks. Later, these translations were perfected and made ready for publication by Ann Eliza, who, William wrote his parents in 1856, had "made great progress in the Creek this year. She is now out of sight of the rest of us."

On October 9, 1851, the Robertsons' first child, Ann Augusta, was born. A second daughter, Mary Alice, was born on January 2, 1854, and a third, Grace Leeds, on December 18, 1856. Their son, Samuel Worcester, was born on September 16, 1860. Three other children, born while they were absent from Tullahassee during the disruption of the Civil War, did not live beyond infancy. William took a tender delight in his children and never failed, in his letters to his parents, to tell of their progress: of Ann Augusta, in 1856, that "it seems strange to have a little white head of my own among the classes," of Mary Alice that she was "a real bunch of pleasurable delight," of Samuel that he had "been in a fever trying to add to his stock of ivory." The children, as they grew, became an integral part of the family undertaking that was Tullahassee and felt a deep responsibility for it as long as it lasted.

As an institution of learning, Tullahassee made notable progress under William Robertson's principalship. Robert Loughridge, as head of the Mission, reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in October, 1858, that the average daily attendance of Creek boarders during the preceding school year had been $82\frac{1}{2}$, and added:

The boys are required to work two or three hours daily in the garden, farm or workshop, or in cutting wood, drawing water, &c. The girls, in like manner, are employed in knitting, sewing, cooking, washing, ironing, milking, &c The studies pursued are spelling, reading, writing, mental and practical arithmetic, algebra, geometry, English grammar, natural philosophy, composition and declamation. A small class of three boys is engaged in the study of the Latin language.

At the close of the session, Mr. Loughridge wrote that a public examination was held in the presence of a large gathering, with music, class demonstrations in reading and arithmetic, the presentation of original compositions, and original speeches by three of the boys.

The printed account of the annual public examination at Tullahassee gives little hint of William Robertson's long planning and detailed preparation each year to make that day a success. Every child was included in the day's exhibition of classroom exercises; the songs, in Creek and in English, were practised until every child knew every word; the dialogues, which William wrote to suit the occasion, and the participants were rehearsed until they took on something of the ease of conversation. Endless sewing and laundering and polishing that must be done to make every pupil's appearance a credit to the school and to his family, found no mention in the official report, but taxed the Robertsons' strength and ingenuity to the utmost.

On the eve of the public examination of 1861, the outbreak of the Civil War brought the abrupt closing of the school and the Robertsons, taking the small amount of personal property that they could carry with them, fled to the safety of the home of William's parents in Winneconne, Wisconsin, where his father was now a missionary pastor. For more than five years they lived in the north, William teaching at Mattoon and Centralia, Illinois, and then taking charge of the Indian Orphan Institute at Highland, Kansas. But he never gave up his hope of returning to the Creeks, and on November 15, 1866, in response to pleading letters from the Indians, the Robertsons set out on their return journey, by wagon, to Tullahassee. They had no specific assurance that the Presbyterian Board would support them there, and they were fully aware of the dilapidation into which the school had fallen and the poverty and confusion in which most of the Creeks now found themselves. Before leaving Highland, William was ordained as a Presbyterian minister, not because he meant to preach but in order to extend his usefulness to the Creeks who for a while had no other ordained minister within a radius of one hundred miles.

In March, 1868, Tullahassee was re-opened, with the building repaired, meagre supplies and furnishings gathered together, and the Presbyterian Board and the Creek Nation again combining in support of the school. After the deprivations and hardships of the War period, the Creeks were more eager than ever for schools and books and churches. Floods, crop failures and epidemics, disastrous as they were, were only temporary hindrances. The first students of the school were now leaders of the Creek Nation, with some understanding of the problems and the advantages of Indian education. In 1872, Mr. Robertson realized one of his foremost ambitions for the school, in the establishment of a bilingual newspaper, *Our Monthly*, the Creek Council having provided funds for the press and some of the type. Young Samuel Robertson, with help from his Creek friend Joseph Henry Land, was the printer; Ann Eliza supplied hymns and passages of Scripture in Creek; and William, the editor, contributed lessons and other helps for teachers. *Our Monthly* did much to increase literacy and spread information among the Creeks.

In those years of progress, William Robertson's responsibilities increased. He had always given informed attention to the flora and fauna of this new region to which he had come; indeed, his old friend Dr. Asa Fitch wrote him, in 1857, 'Scarcely a day passes but what I write in my Manuscripts, Tullehassie [*sic*] W. Ark; from W. S. Robertson,' and sometimes write that item half a dozen times a day. Nearly half the American specimens in my collection have been gathered

by you." School children, teachers, neighbors and friends all helped to gather the beetles and butterflies and moths that that filled the boxes William sent to Dr. Fitch. As farming increased and farm pests, such as grasshoppers and Osage orange borers, multiplied, he was in correspondence with the Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture regarding them. He helped organize the Indian International Fair, and served on its board until the year of his death. In the summer of 1876 he went east on what must have been a busman's holiday, for he was in charge of the Indian display at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia and he visited many schools, from which, he wrote Ann Eliza, he "got some good hints."

By the year 1880, Tullahassee had reached a peak of achievement, with a full teaching staff and more students—ninety five—than could well be accommodated. In the midst of preparations for Christmas, the great brick building caught fire and burned beyond repair. Two or three small buildings, once used for laundry and shop and storage, were all that remained of the school; but William, Ann Eliza and Miss Thompson took possession of these and continued Tullahassee on a small scale with the youngest boys only as pupils. Mary Alice,¹ now a clerk in Captain Pratt's school for Indians at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, not only persuaded him to take twenty-five of the oldest Tullahassee students to Carlisle but managed free transportation for them. After Miss Thompson's death, late in April, 1881, William became too exhausted to go on with his teaching, and he was taken to the home of Dr. Mason Fitch Williams in Muskogee for rest and medical treatment. Plans for the rebuilding of Tullahassee, instructions to Ann Eliza about the school and the garden, messages to the Creek students at Carlisle, filled his mind, but he could not rally strength to go on with these undertakings. On June 26, 1881, William Schenck Robertson died.

Legus Perryman, speaking for all the Creeks, declared that in all his long and active friendship for them, William S. Robertson had never meddled in their politics: "But the Muskokees say he was a very righteous man, and the light of his work will continue as long as the Muskokees exist."

¹Mary Alice Robertson changed the order of her given name, and is known in Oklahoma history as "Alice M. Robertson." She was elected in 1920, Oklahoma's first woman member of Congress.—Ed.

ANN ELIZA WORCESTER ROBERTSON AS A LINGUIST

By Hope Holway*

"I said to some ladies the other day, as I showed them a beautiful volume, 'I have just had the crowning joy of my life in receiving the Muskokee New Testament entire.' But I immediately added as I thought of the four children, all of whom God had made earnest workers for himself, 'Should a mother say that?' " ¹ So questioned Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson, writing in 1887 when she was sixty-one years old, looking back over her life as teacher, mother, wife of the superintendent of the Tullahassee Presbyterian Mission to the Creeks, and translator of the Bible into the Creek tongue. ²

After almost thirty years of work with the Creek, or Muskokee language, she had become a scholar of recognized authority in this field, and her great linguistic ability and untiring devotion to the task of giving the Bible to the Creeks in their own language had enabled her to complete the monumental work of translating all of the New Testament, as well as a large number of hymns, tracts, vocabulary studies, and short articles for the Indian Journal and other similar publications. For almost twenty years more she was to go on with this work, completing the translation of the historical portions of the Old Testament, the Psalms, much of Isaiah, the Song of Solomon, more hymns, many religious tracts, parts of the Discipline

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¹ From "The New Testament in Muskogee," *Woman's Work for Woman*, August, 1887. The magazine was an American Bible Society publication.

² Tullahassee Mission to the Creek Indians, founded by the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board in 1848 near what is now Muskogee, Oklahoma. Except for the interval of the Civil War, it continued until 1881 as a mission and boarding school for both boys and girls. See "Mission Work among the Creeks" by Rev. Robert M. Loughridge, typescript in the Alice Robertson Collection and Gilcrease Institute; "A History of the Tullahassee Mission," by Corinne Ann Blair, Master's thesis (1948), University of Tulsa; and Virginia E. Lauderdale, "Tullahassee Mission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 285-300.

of the Methodist Church, part of the Baptist Manual, and all the time continuing the vocabulary studies, although she never finished her dictionary after the letter 'E'.³

As the oldest daughter of Samuel Austin Worcester and his wife, Ann Orr, both imbued with the New England traditional respect for the intellectual life, Ann Eliza was well equipped to take advantage of the education they desired for her. She was born at Brainerd Mission to the eastern Cherokees in Georgia, and her father's strong conviction that the Indian tribes must hear of the new Gospel in their own languages was a part of her childhood certainties.

When the family traveled the hard journey to the west with the Cherokees, she was old enough to appreciate the terrible catastrophe when the printing press sank with the boat and her father's Cherokee Grammar was lost in the Arkansas River on their way to their first location at the Union Mission in the Osage country; and she could share in the satisfaction of the final establishment of the recovered press (and the family) at the Park Hill site, selected by her father, even though she grieved because her father never had time to write the Grammar again.

When she was fifteen years old she was sent to her uncle's home in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, where the Academy had just been opened under Prof. James K. Colby, graduate of Dartmouth and a classical scholar and unexcelled teacher, who persuaded the uncle to allow Ann Eliza to study Greek as well as Latin. In after years she wrote to a Seminole preacher:⁴ "How little did she then know that the future possession of the New Testament in their own tongue (the Muskokee and the Seminole tribes both speak the Creek language) was depending on her course of studies."

She would gladly have continued her studies at St. Johnsbury, but there was great need of her as a teacher of the Cherokees at her father's Park Hill station; and in 1846 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions gladly accepted her services. There she learned at first hand the need of being able to communicate with the Indians in their own language and saw with her own eyes the outstanding work of her father's Mission Press.

³ It is difficult to determine the exact nature and dates of glossaries, vocabulary studies, dictionary pages, etc., in the manuscripts. This study of words and phrases evidently occupied Mrs. Robertson during most of her active life.

⁴ From *Chaperone Magazine*, August, 1894, Vol. 12, No. 6, and from what may be a first draft of this article, even though written in a disconcerting third person, in the Notebook.

Her stay here was short, for a young Presbyterian minister and teacher, William Robertson, carried her away as his wife to the Tullahassee Mission for the Creek Indians, not far from what is now the City of Muskogee in Oklahoma. Except for the sad interval of the Civil War when the family had to flee to the north, Ann Eliza lived and worked here for thirty-five years as the wife of the superintendent of a mission boarding school, sometimes with over a hundred pupils and a large staff, which meant for her a heavy burden of sharing in the administrative work and of teaching. At one time according to her husband, she was teaching classes in Latin, Arithmetic, and "Watts on the Mind"; at another he speaks of six hours a day of class work. Hers was at least oversight of the laborious physical householding chores of those days, making the soap over outdoor fires, dipping the candles, drying the apples, smoking the meat, and washing and ironing the clothes for the whole school. Besides all this, she had four small children to care for. William remarks in one letter to his parents in Wisconsin⁵ that Ann Eliza's *amusement* is the study of Creek.

All through these years, she contended with ill health. From only a few of many references in her husband's letters to his parents we learn in 1852 that "Ann Eliza has not been able to teach this week; she is better this morning" and she adds, as she always did when he wrote his parents, ". . . sad time with my throat; for more than a week swallowing no food but the finest gruel—lanced twice"; (in 1856), "Ann Eliza is far from well; so unwell that I am going to send her home to Park Hill tomorrow in hopes that she will recruit," and in the same letter, "Ann Eliza has made great progress in the Creek this year; she is now out of sight of the rest of us"; and two years later (1858), "Ann Eliza continues far from strong; has a slight chill every once in a while . . . she has too much to do." It all sounds as if a tonsilectomy would have made a vast difference in Ann Eliza's health, as well as a reliable supply of quinine for the ever-present malaria. There were seven pregnancies, also. In 1868, Leonard Worcester writes his brother-in-law a strong letter saying that he "would not place his wife in a position where she would break herself down, as Ann Eliza has and is still doing", and there is much more about overwork and Ann Eliza.

⁵ William Robertson was one of the seven children of Rev. Samuel Robertson and Dorcas (Platt) Robertson of Winneconne, Wis., where Rev. Robertson was the Presbyterian minister. All the letters quoted in this article are in the Alice Robertson Collection, given to the University of Tulsa in the early 1930's by Alice Robertson and her sisters. There are approximately 3,000 letters in the collection, of which this is No. 44, written in 1858. Since Ann Eliza spent her last years with her daughter Alice (see note in "Cold Water Army" article in this number of *The Chronicles*), her papers and many of her father's were in Alice's possession and came to the University of Tulsa.

In the latter years of her life, after the closing of Tullahassee, which broke her husband's heart and hastened his death, she lived with her daughter Alice in Okmulgee and Muskogee, Indian Territory, in much more comfortable health, except for her fractured hip caused by a fall from a cable car while on a visit to a daughter in Chicago, necessitating a six months' stay in the Presbyterian hospital there, with never an entire recovery. Even then she says, in an undated, unaddressed letter, ". . . . still there was little of that time when I could not do something each day on the work I loved, being especially anxious to finish revising my first New Testament work [Gospel of John] for a new edition, before I should be called away."

The fifth edition of the New Testament was almost ready, each version made more nearly perfect by her careful revision, when she died in 1905, leaving behind her a prodigious amount of work produced by her skill, patience, industry, and concentration, difficult enough for a person who had had nothing else to do all her life. It is gratifying that she received recognition in her lifetime suitable for such achievement. To quote her own words;⁶

"Little idea she had of this work ever bringing her into public notice until the receipt of a letter from her friend, Dr. A. A. E. Taylor, for so many years the loved President of Wooster University, Ohio, reminding her of the quickly forgotten incident of her presenting him with a copy of the Bibliography⁷ and saying that he had at last found time for looking it through and that the result had been the conviction that such an amount of literary work as it told of should receive merited acknowledgment, even though it had been done by a woman.

Shortly afterward Mrs. Robertson received a letter, dated June 18th, 1892, from the Secretary to the Board of Trustees, University of Wooster, Ohio, which read:⁸

Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson
Muscogee, I. T.
Dear Madam:

It affords me great pleasure to inform you officially that at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Wooster, held on the 15th inst., the honorary degree of Ph. D. was conferred upon you. This was done on the recommendation of the Faculty of the University, and as a recognition of your superior attainments, especially in linguistic studies, and of your enlarged usefulness as the result of your studies and writings.

⁶ *Chaperone Magazine*, Alice Robertson Collection.

⁷ *Bibliography of the Mushkogean Languages*, by James C. Philling (1889).

⁸ This official notice of the honorary Ph.D. degree is signed by Thomas K. Davis, Secretary of the Board of Trustees, Wooster University. The letter is No. 909 in the Alice Robertson Collection.

May I be permitted to express the hope that it will be accepted by you not only as a reward for diligence and success in the past—but as a stimulus to greater efforts, and larger attainments and accomplishments in the future.

Ann Eliza deserved this honor, unprecedented at that time, for she was a true linguist with an instinctive feeling for the function of language, and, in addition, an imaginative comprehension of how to adapt the modes of one language to those of another so that the translation is easily comprehensible. Some of her comments, mostly from her *Notebook*,⁹ are illuminating:

“ the great but natural mistake of writing Indian languages for the benefit of English-speaking people, whereas they should be constructed for the Indians in the simplest way possible.

“I did consider syllabic characters but soon found the number of syllables closing with consonant sounds was so large that it would multiply indefinitely the number of such characters.

“ I am interested in every effort to increase knowledge of the Indian languages for I think them very wonderful and at the greatest remove from being a mere jargon. Indeed, I do not look upon them at all as the work of man but the Creator's gift to man.

“ so much more (than in English) expressed in nouns and verbs, making the other Parts of Speech so much fewer in proportion—especially true of the Cherokee.

She remarks once that she translated directly from the Greek when possible, because that language was more like Creek than was English.

Ann Eliza sometimes speaks of “help in the Hebrew” given to her by that Presbyterian missionary to the Choctaws, the Reverend John Edwards, who had translated much of the Old Testament from the Hebrew. In her desire to come as close as possible to the original meaning of the text, she went through a laborious process, explained by a letter in 1896 to a Sabbath School group just after the Book of Psalms in Creek had gone to press. She says that a Creek translation was first written from English, then read psalm by psalm with Mr. Edwards, as opportunity permitted, probably in literal English which he compared with the Hebrew; or, as some manuscripts in the Alice Robertson Collection indicate, he may have interlined the Creek with literal English. Twice more it was translated into Creek and revised by Creek interpreters.

Ann Eliza had a lively visual imagination for she showed great facility in translating our abstract nouns into Creek image phrases, even handling fine distinctions of degree or quality. Her memory was prodigious. She tells of using a notebook at first in which she jotted down every new word,

⁹ See description of *Notebook* in Appendix at end of this article.

but soon she was able to carry these words in her memory. Her ear was sensitive and accurate, and she was keenly aware of the niceties of pronunciation, accent, and stress which distinguish primitive languages the world over. In working with her interpreters, she had them speak the words over and over until she had caught the inflection, and then used her linguistic ingenuity to approach the meaning as closely as possible, and approach it simply. Aware of the fact that her Creek readers considered careful pronunciation a mark of superior standing, she always took the oral phrase into consideration. In re-translating the Reverend J. R. Ramsay's¹⁰ Gospel of Luke, the interpreter whom she valued most highly, N. B. Sullivan, was ill and lying in a darkened room. She would read the Greek, the English, and Ramsay's Creek to him, verse by verse, and together orally they would work out their translation. Sullivan helped her with most of the New Testament and once he commented that the work took twelve years, but it was a wonder that it was done at all: "If we finish a page a day we do well. We worked on one verse three hours." Ann Eliza's passion for accurate detail was another quality that lifted her work above the mediocre. No small distinguishing variation was ever neglected. There are letters in the Alice Robertson Collection where she discusses with other translators the shaded meaning of certain very small changes in a word. Reading these, though one knows nothing about the Creek, there comes the realization that here is an authority. She knows what she is writing about.

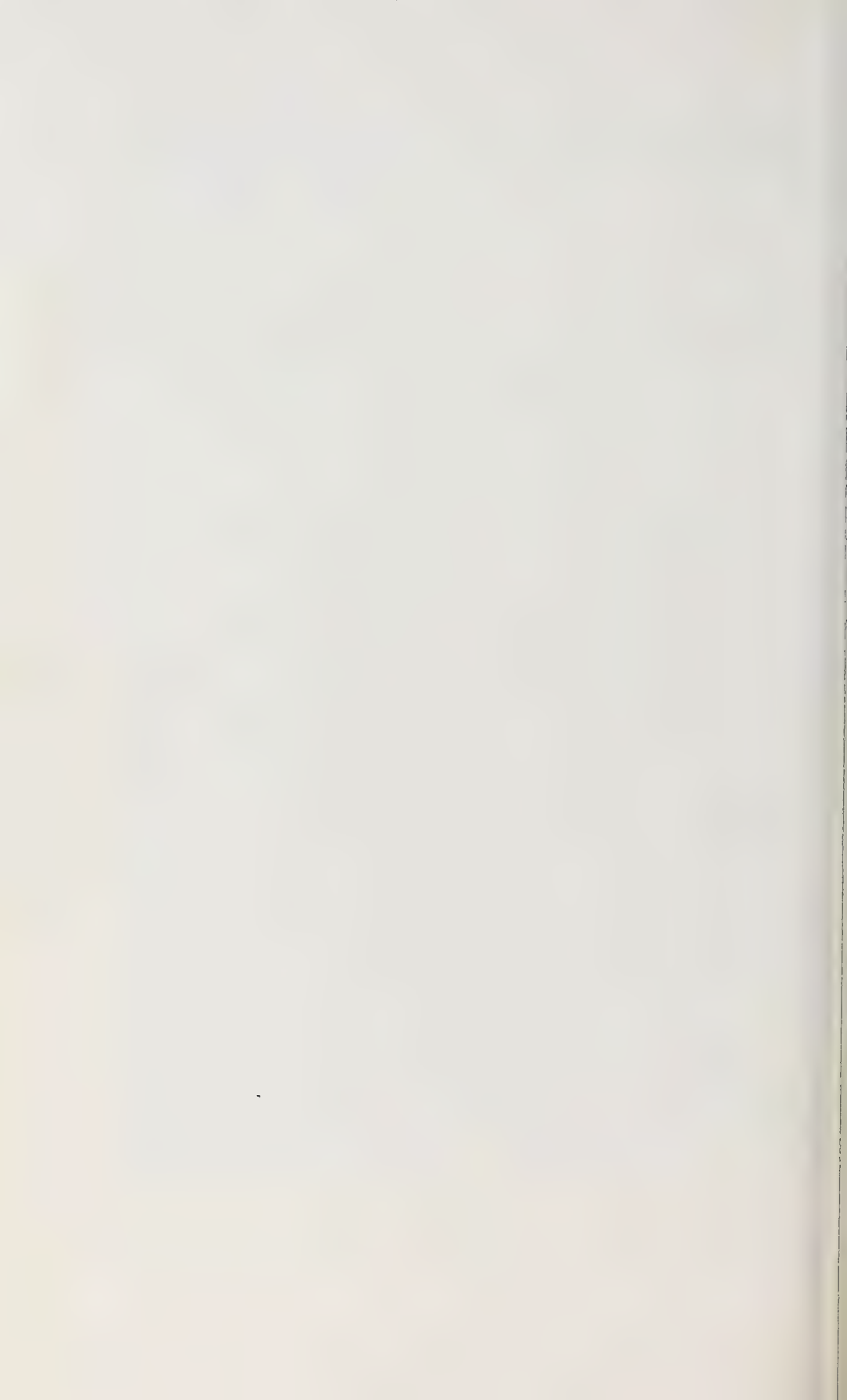
In 1901, Pleasant Porter writes to the Secretary of the Muskogee Presbytery which was preparing to pass a resolution against Mrs. Robertson being approved as the translator of the Book of Genesis, because she was planning to make changes in Mr. Ramsey's former and admittedly imperfect translation. Porter reminds the Presbytery that they have accepted and preached her New Testament in Creek as the Word of God, and why not the Old Testament? Then Porter itemizes the reasons why she should be the person to translate Genesis: (1) she has made the Bible a life study; (2) she has a natural aptness for language and understands the Creek language far better than any other of its translators; (3) she is intellectually the superior of them all and has a more analytical mind,—is a more profound thinker. "The charge that she obstinately holds peculiar views can only have reference to differences of opinion

¹⁰ Rev. James Ross Ramsay was a Presbyterian missionary to the Creeks and Seminoles and translator of the Scriptures. He was a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary (1849) and commenced work among the Creeks immediately. After the Civil War, he ministered for many years to the Seminoles, returning to his home in Pennsylvania to end his labors. He was one of Mrs. Robertson's assistants and always conceded her ability to translate into Creek.



(Alice Robertson Collection, Tulsa University)

In this group are interpreters and assistants (marked *) to Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson. Left to right; front row *Dorsey Fife, Wak-in-ha, *Rev. Thomas Perryman; back row, James C. Sefton, *Hon. David Hodge.



between herself and Dr. Loughridge in regard to the structure of the Creek language and the proper spelling of certain words; and, as I have already intimated, she is by far the most competent to discover the true structure and orthography."¹¹

Ann Eliza was fulfilling her destiny when she became the outstanding authority on the Muskokee language, but one sees that it is not her motivation that lends value today to her work, sincere and honest as her motive was¹² She firmly believed that the American Indians, and all heathen peoples, must be able to understand the wonderful Bible truths; for without clear knowledge of them they must perish, and perish eternally. Ann Eliza was dedicated to the cause of giving the Bible to the Creeks and Seminoles, and she speaks once of the necessity of the translators and assistants also being dedicated to the same great cause of saving souls. She never wavered in this faith. And then there is the great essential, she possessed scholarship as well as faith.

Ann Eliza managed her life, handicapped by difficulties, to do what she desired. She gained eminence that must have pleased her though she tried to conceal her pride. She had a sympathetic husband, for William S. Robertson was as zealous as she to reach the Creek people through their own language, for he himself was a scholar in his own right. Much of their work was done together, and she speaks of his constant encouragement to her as "remarkable." Both of them must have felt great discouragement when they received a letter¹² from John C. Lowrie, secretary of the Presbyterian Foreign Missionary Board, saying that it is "... not likely our Board will consent to incur this expense (payment of interpreters), for there is one consideration of much weight . . . the prob-

¹¹ The quotation is from Letter No. 902 of the Alice Robertson Collection. Gen. Pleasant Porter was born in 1840, the oldest child of Benjamin Edward and Phoebe Porter of the Creek Nation. He attended school at the Kowetah and Tullahassee Missions. He served four years as a Confederate soldier and twelve years as a member of the Creek Council, in which he became presiding officer of the House of Kings. During the "Sands Rebellion" of 1871, the Creek Council assigned him the leadership of the Creek light horsemen to quell the insurrection, and again he was the commander of the light horsemen during the "Green Peach War," 1882-3, services for which he was popularly addressed as "general." He served as delegate from the Creek Nation to Washington many times. Always interested in education, he served as Superintendent of Schools for a long period. His friendship with the Robertson family was of long duration, and Ann Eliza more than once appealed to him for help in giving the words of the Bible to the Creeks. For reference see John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Pleasant Porter," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (September, 1931), pp. 318-34.

¹² See Notes and Documents in this number of *The Chronicles* for the listing of Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson's work in the Creek language.—Ed.

¹² From Letter No. 299 in the Alice Robertson Collection, University of Tulsa.

ability that most, if not all the Creeks will after a while understand English, rendering it no longer necessary to use the native language, and the sooner this can be brought about, the better." And Ann Eliza must have called on all her powers of Christian forbearance when eighteen years later (1883), she received the following from the same Secretary:¹³

I am under the impression that you will not find it best to be *all the time* at work on your translations, but with your knowledge of the Creek language and people you can be very useful in visiting among them, reading and talking of the Bible to them; and so the evening of your life will be useful and happy, perhaps to a greater degree than in any other way. The Lord direct you and bless you in all your way.

There are suggestions from the Board that the *Song Book* might be published in smaller type and some hymns left out. "I fear he [Mr. Robertson] does not appreciate the embarrassed financial condition of the Board."¹⁴ Even members of the family who might be expected to be sympathetic and proud of their kinfolk, write, "I tell you, it really seems of little use to expend money and toil and life upon the Indians. Where is the lasting fruit? Witness the sad immoralities of some of your most esteemed and trusted members."¹⁵

Then, too, there are whispers that she was neglecting her children for the sake of the Indians. Son Samuel minces no words on that subject in his autobiography. Undoubtedly Ann Eliza was sometimes uneasy about this matter; wondering whether the children or the New Testament in Creek should be the crowning glory of her life. But she and William never faltered in their faith that what they were doing was for the glory of God and the salvation of the Creek Indians.

Her ill health, too, even that handicap was turned to good use. She certainly gives it credit for much of her accomplishment as she looks back in her later years. In articles, letters, and in the *Notebook* she speaks of her hours "on the lounge" as productive ones. An autobiographical sketch in the *Notebook* says:

Much of this work was done around the cares and labors of the large boarding school, and such a degree of knowledge of the language would never have been gained but for frequent prostrations and resort to the lounge, where every means of learning was improved.

John's Gospel lay in manuscript when he [Mr. Robertson] reopened the school,¹⁶ neither he or his interpreter having the time

¹³ From Letter No. 670, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ From Letter No. 277, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ From Letter No. 228, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Tullahassee Mission and School suffered much from raiding parties during the Civil War. The buildings had to be practically reconstructed when the Robertson family returned from Kansas.

for finishing it. It was unwillingness to let this Gospel lie unfinished when the people had so small a portion of the Bible that led Mrs. Robertson [she herself wrote this in the third person] to improve some of the time spent on the lounge in finishing it.

Who took Ann Eliza's place in the kitchen and dining-room while she lay on the lounge, making notes in some previous translation or adding to the piles of manuscript around her? Who was making the butter and taking care of the milk and baking the bread? There again, when Ann Eliza looks back on those years, she has no evident qualms about the burdens which others carried for her. Those helpers were serving the Lord, too, and bringing salvation closer to their fellow Creeks by releasing her from physical labor. In the *Notebook* she writes of Miss K. Winslett, the Rev. David Winslett's daughter, and remarks about several others on this at different times:

She added to her own duties help for me in my school duties so as to give me time for my Creek work. Another young teacher from Ohio did the same, giving me help in like spirit for beyond her duties. When I protested that she must do so no longer, she answered, 'Oh, Mrs. Robertson, you must let me do that much toward giving the Creeks the Bible!'

So all had worked together for good in the service of God and there need be no regrets for the means that had been used to give Ann Eliza time for the work she loved to do. The irony is that the value of this service as she saw it, will never be known until God gives up all his secrets. There is no answer now as to how many Creeks were saved by the Bible in their own language and what the nature of this salvation was. This is a question that Ann Eliza never asked. Faith was enough for her, and the pure joy of gaining mastery over this language was not clouded by any doubt as to the value of her work. She reached the eminence of scholarship not merely because she managed her life to attain it; natural endowment and the power of dedication to a great cause raised her up. Her energy and patience and her true regard and affection for her Indian pupils contributed much. Once in her *Notebook* she writes: "... rejoicing to give encouragement to any work which shall either benefit or perpetuate the name of the tribes to whom God gave this country before Columbus's great discovery. I sympathize with all my heart in their feeling that they have rights in this country and do not need to count themselves beggars."

There are many women today who would greatly admire Ann Eliza for what she did with her life to give her personal satisfaction and would sympathize with her in her "crowning joy." Yet these same women would find it very difficult to have any meeting of minds with her. They would feel it peculiar that she considered "My Gracious" and "By the Eternal" as profanity and that the word "bless" forms too

precious a part of our Bible to be degraded to such a use as "Bless my soul," or even "Bless your dear heart." Her idea is now old-fashioned, because few, if any, carry implications of words as far as that. In her, one admits that *there is the linguist*. For her, words have definite implications; they have history as well as meaning; there is purity in language as well as in conduct.

When we read in the *Notebook* a draft of a letter to Dr. Lyman Abbot, editor of *The Outlook* (October, 1901) that she is grieved because his writings have an influence towards scepticism because he does not take the Bible literally; and another letter to a church society disapproving of gifts of jewelry to ministers' wives as too costly and worldly, she moves a little farther from us. We read of her destroying a whole package of the Sunday school magazine *Sunbeam* because it contained a print of Raphael's "Alba Madonna." She is shocked because the baby Jesus has on no clothes, and she writes scolding the editor for printing a picture that maligns Jesus's mother, making Mary seem "worse about clothing her child than the 'wild Indians'."

Ann Eliza, by virtue of her patient industry, her understanding and imagination, and the unusual power of her mind, entered into the company of scholars. Today she would be comfortably at home in the halls of the Smithsonian Institution and its Bureau of American Ethnology. And, if there is conversation beyond the stars, Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson and James C. Pilling, and John Eliot, and perhaps even Albert Pike¹⁷ are never lacking converse and fellowship, for they are all members of that ageless company who are eternally contemporary.

¹⁷ Albert Pike, (1809-1891), school teacher, newspaper editor and owner, lawyer, Confederate soldier, author, linguist, and exponent of Freemasonry. He was born in Boston, educated at Framingham Academy, and was holder of an honorary degree from Harvard College. He was commander of a cavalry regiment in the Mexican War, and negotiator with Indian tribes in 1861. His was a colorful life but full of trouble. He disappointed Ann Eliza greatly, because his "Vocabulary of Indian Languages" was never published according to promise. Ann Eliza had contributed much hard work to this Vocabulary, "in the kitchen, the dining-room, the door-yard, and elsewhere," as she describes (in the *Notebook*) her efforts to correct the 1500 slips of paper on which Creek and other words in other Indian languages were written to be submitted to the linguists close to the daily users of these words.



(Photo taken 1904 in Oklahoma Historical Society Collection)

Left to right: Leonard Worcester, Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson, Mary Eleanor Worcester Williams, Hannah Worcester Hitchcock.

SAMUEL WORCESTER ROBERTSON

*By Martin Wenger**

INTRODUCTION

Samuel W. Robertson who was born in 1860 was a member of the famous Worcester-Robertson family so active in missionary work among the Cherokee and Creek Indians. His mother was the daughter of Samuel A. Worcester and his father was William Schenk Robertson, who labored long in behalf of the Creek Indians as teacher and minister. Unlike many members of the family, Mr. Robertson did not pursue religious work but instead became a public school teacher. He graduated from Dartmouth in 1883 and taught in various Vermont and New Hampshire schools until 1908. During this time he received a master's degree from Dartmouth.

In 1908 Mr. Robertson moved to California and joined the faculty of Santa Barbara High School, in 1909, where he taught for twenty years until his retirement in 1929. Mr. Robertson was married to the former Grace Knight of Vermont and they had one son, Alfred K. Robertson. Samuel W. Robertson died January 30, 1939, as a result of injuries received from a fall.

Mr. Robertson set down the highlights of his life in a lengthy narrative, about 1930. Some years ago, Carolyn Thomas Foreman recognizing its value for Oklahoma history contributed the manuscript with many added notes to the Editorial Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society. When this spring number of The Chronicles was planned to be dedicated to the memory of the Reverend Samuel Austin Worcester and his family, space limitations required the condensation of the Robertson manuscript if it was included. The responsibility of preparing the abridged narrative as it is here presented was accepted at the request of the Editor. Every effort has been made to keep in this all the passages from the original, which present insight into the life of the Robertson family. Some adjustment and consolidation of sentences have been made with an occasional deletion of a word or two in order to have the abridgement read as a smooth flowing narrative. Some paragraphs which have little bearing, if any, on Oklahoma history and life have been removed. New words have not been substituted for those of Mr. Robertson, nor has the meaning of the passages been altered by the changes. Persons wishing to read the entire autobiography with Mrs. Foreman's valuable notes will find it in the historical collections preserved in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

— Martin Wenger*

*Martin Wenger served several years as Assistant State Archivist for Colorado before he was appointed and came to his present position as Librarian in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art at Tulsa, in which a large collection of Worcester and Robertson material is preserved.—Ed.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I was born in Old Tullahassee Mission, Indian Territory.¹ The family Bible assures me that I arrived on the 18th, September, 1860. My parents were missionaries with a deep-rooted love for their work and a belief that the Indians needed their help more than my father and mother needed the comforts to be had in Winneconne, Wisconsin, in which state my father had a fine position as a teacher. They thought, too, that those same Indians needed their help more than their own children did, or that God would look after the children and see that they grew up to lives of usefulness in spite of the little attention they would be likely to receive from their parents. As to the correctness of their judgment in these two respects, I shall have to let others decide.

As the result of this conviction my next recollections are glimpses now and then of scenes in and around the "Indian Orphan Institute," not far from Highland, Kansas. A young country kid loves horses and his first great desire is to ride one alone. Late one afternoon, on the back of a faithful old nag, I was letting him walk leisurely toward the barn, when the sight of my oldest sister caused me to swell with pride and I made the old horse trot—an act I regretted very much, as I fell weeping into the chips near the woodpile. When later, at the tender age of five, I was allowed to drive the farm team alone for a half mile, I felt I had reached the maximum of childhood's joys.

My parents' hearts were set on getting back to the Indian Territory and to the work so suddenly terminated by the war because the Indians did not remain neutral. The Territory Indians, very many of them at least, kept slaves and lived somewhat luxuriously. Hence many of them joined the Confederate forces, though some went to the Union armies. As a result, the Territory became a prey to both armies, and the noncombatants' lives were not safe. But, war over, the Indians were calling for their missionary friends to come back and start the schools once more. Whether Mother or Father was the more anxious to go, I, of course, do not know, but I have a suspicion that my mother, born on missionary grounds, was not all backward in appealing to him to go to the rescue of "those poor Indians," and it was probably her appeal that helped along the decision.

¹ Tullahassee Mission was established in 1848 about twelve miles west of Ft. Gibson by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions as a mission to the Creek Indians. Between 1861 and 1867 the mission was closed on account of the Civil War and during these times troops used the buildings for various purposes. See Virginia E. Lauderdale, "Tullahassee Mission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 285-300.



(Photo taken at Age of 19 years)

SAMUEL WORCESTER ROBERTSON

There was only one way to go, and that was in the covered wagon drawn by horses or mules. The family with twin babies born in the Institute had a two-horse covered wagon for their transportation. The household goods, provisions, and cooking utensils were loaded into a wagon drawn by four mules. I remember we camped among the tall dead weeds on a river bank, the frost was heavy on everything, and the wolves howled around the camp. I have a vivid recollection of arrival at a river, the Neosho, that the ferryman said was too deep to ford. But the driver of the four mules did not believe it and so he drove right in. I can still see the mules swimming toward the other bank. The result was the saving of the ferry fee at the expense of spending a day drying the bedding and eatables.

We had relatives at Fort Gibson, our first destination. There was no bridge over the Grand River so we were ferried across on a flat boat attached to a rope stretched across from bank to bank.

I remember little of how we got from there to the ruins of Old Tullahassee Mission twelve miles away. I just have a vague memory of tall dead weeds all around the old brick building which had only walls and floors remaining. The big down-stairs rooms had been used for stables. The sixty-foot-deep well was still usable, its walls not caved in. I remember that one of the horses tied to a post in the yard managed to hang itself during the night, and when found in the morning, had been partly eaten by hungry wolves.

I remember that the growth of weeds and grass, on old fields deserted because of the war, was thick, tall and dry, a menacing fire threat. A fire across the open prairie with a strong gale blowing could outrun a good horse. It was one of the joys of my kid days to go up into the cupola of the old mission building, and watch the flames running across the prairies and rejoice because I was at a safe distance from them.

Back to old mission memories: The first big job was to get the old building and the grounds in shape to start school again. A big, three-story building, doors and windows all gone; a big hole in one wall, no fences—oh, just nothing but the hulks of the main building and a couple of old log houses used for smokehouses and wash-houses. No carpenter's shops or window sash and door factories within hundreds of miles, so orders were sent to Cincinnati, Ohio, for needed supplies and in due time goods arrived by boat down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and up the Arkansas to the mouth of the Verdigris not far from the present city of Muskogee, and were left on the bank to be hauled by pony and ox wagons to their destination. During the trip up the Arkansas, an accident

soaked most of the goods with the red water of the river, which did not benefit them very much, but in as much as they were needed at once, father accepted them from the insurance company, thus saving something on the original cost.

One carpenter of unusual ability was secured to attend to the work and it was well done. The two dollars and keep that he received was considered a princely wage, for day labor in abundance could be had for 50 to 75 cents a day.

Fences were also built to separate the girls' yards from those allowed the boys and the front yard from which both boy and girl students were excluded, so that we missionary kids might have grounds of our own.

Traveling was difficult in those days. Ten miles and back in one day was quite an undertaking in a country that had nothing worthy the name of road. Bridges were unknown and it was generally a case of having to ford the river that lay across the path, or now and then employ a ferryman with a flat boat propelled by a long pole. If the depth was too great for poles, then oars would be used. Perhaps the boat would land where it was intended and perhaps it would land way below and have to be pushed back to the landing bank. But most people went around on pony back for ponies would go almost anywhere even into swimming water. Wagons were few and crude. Harnesses consisted chiefly of hames, a pair of rope or chain traces, and a band of some kind over the back. We had a one horse wagon with small body and high seat. Mother took her four youngest kids to visit their aunt and cousins at Ft. Gibson. Two rivers to cross; the Verdigris near where Wagoner now is, and the Grand with Ft. Gibson just across it. I have absolutely no recollection of any part of the trip except crossing the Verdigris on the way home. Mother missed the ford, and sturdy old Jim got into swimming water. I stood up and clung to the seat and Grace hung onto the babies. Purchases that were in the wagon bed went floating down stream, but the old horse got us all safely on shore and a frightened mother was long in recovering from the effects of that experience.

My father was a wonderful man.² How little I appreciated as a boy his limitless kindness; his complete devotion to the cause for which he was giving his life; his sagacity in handling men; his all-around education and his ability to adapt himself to the mental powers of those to whom he gave of that educational training—the real evidence of a successful teacher.

² William Schenk Robertson, the father of the author, is the subject of a study in this issue by Althea Bass. He was born in 1820 and died in 1881.

Father was teacher, superintendent, minister, and physician at the school, often serving as preacher for outlying districts. I sometimes used to ride "double" with him on his trips, and there still abides with me memories of that thoughtful, sincere face, as he spoke through interpreters, to his all-too-ignorant audiences. He truly gave his own life that the Muskogee Indians might in a measure, at least, be prepared for United State citizenship, which came to them altogether too soon and against their wishes. "Greater love hath no man than this."

To my mother was left my "bringing up" and the disciplinary methods to make me walk in the straight and narrow path and father seldom interfered. I can remember but two occasions when because Mother was sick, he undertook the whipping act. It hurt him worse than it did me. Kindness was his stock in trade.

During my life at Tullahassee I experienced the five stages of human development. There was the fishing and hunting stage when I went fishing with bended pin and spool of thread and hunting with the same kids with clubs or bows and arrows. I was an expert arrow maker. Could feather an arrow as skillfully as the Indians themselves. With clubs fashioned somewhat like a mortar pestle we could drive squirrels from their nests and in time knock them from a limb.

Old Indian Territory, just after the Civil War, was a fine place to experience the pastoral age. There were no fences, everyone's cattle and hogs ran wild and owners of corn and potato fields and vegetable gardens had a problem on their hands to make fences that could not be gotten through by hogs or jumped over by cattle. I used to help in chasing hogs out of the yard and corn fields. Cows were turned out to pasture while the calves were kept in bondage to bring their mothers home every evening. The cows would wander far away. It was often my duty to go on foot or pony-back to hunt them up.

At the Mission there was an apple orchard, a one-acre garden in the rear, and a corn field that grew from small beginning to a forty acre enclosure. Some plows made by former slaves were rather crude and it was often a hard task to keep them in the ground to turn a good furrow. Later we had better ones and better horses, mules and oxen. I plowed with a yoke of oxen and then with a pair of horses before I was strong enough to lift the plow around at the corner though I could hold on strong enough to keep it going after the team had pulled it around. It was lots of fun. I was just learning to drive a mower when I was sent east to school.

Every live youth has some ideal to which he hopes to attain. I had mine. It was to be able to drive a four-in-hand. Driving a pair was too easy. What a joy it would be to drive

four! The hired man was a skillful driver. He taught me and for the time my ambition was achieved when I was hauling logs from the Arkansas Bottom to the mill. Two mules and two horses as I remember it.

To go back to hunting and fishing. When my father thought I was old enough to give up hunting with clubs and bows and arrows, and the dangers of tree-climbing, he let me have a little single-barrel, muzzle-loading shot-gun. Can you imagine a happier or prouder kid than I was when I loaded it for the first time, carefully measuring the amount of powder and shot to be used and properly ramming them down and performing the last essential: placing the percussion cap in place! Now for a rabbit for my first victim. I sneaked down along the hedge. Sure enough, there was the unsuspecting rabbit that I had hoped to find. At close range, I put the gun to my shoulder and fired. The poor rabbit fell over and I rushed to pick him up. Excited beyond belief, shouting at the top of my voice, I ran to the house with my booty. One of the Indian boys said, "Is that all you got? I thought you had shot a deer."

I had a good rabbit dog to accompany me when I went wandering in the woods. I went just as often as I could make my mother believe that the state of my health, especially in the form of a headache, made it best for me to get out into the open air instead of trying to learn my book lessons.

Perhaps you would like to know how I came to be born on missionary ground. My forebears on mother's side were ministers for eight generations back, and on my father's side for at least three. Great grandfather, L. Worcester, was pastor of the Congregational Church in Peacham, Vermont, for fifty years. If a Peachamite was awakened in the middle of the night and asked: "Who made you?" the reply would be, "Father Worcester." So much was he loved and respected by his flock.

My grandfather, Samuel Austin Worcester, fitted for college at the Peacham Academy, then he went to Vermont University.³ Money was scarce so he walked to Burlington with the opening of each year and back home at the close. To save graduation expenses he lettered his own sheep-skin in a most artistic fashion, and I am glad that it came into my possession thru my mother and that I can leave it to my son. College over, following his forebears, grandfather took a theological course and then decided to go as a missionary to the Georgia Cherokee Indians. He made a fine missionary until Georgia

³ Samuel Austin Worcester was born in 1789 and died in 1859. He is the subject of an article in this issue of *The Chronicles*.

decided to try to get rid of the Cherokees and their missionaries, and ordered all white men in the Cherokee lands to get out or become a citizen of Georgia. Standing on his rights as an American Citizen, he refused to do either and accordingly was arrested and jailed, convicted by Georgia courts; his case was carried by influential friends to the Supreme Court of the United States and a verdict rendered in his favor. But President Jackson, desirous of retaining the good will of Georgia, said: "John Marshall has rendered his decision, now let him carry it out." And the governor of Georgia said: "If the United States wants him free, let it send down and take him out." States Rights with a vengeance! For eighteen months, grandfather remained in state prison, serving as a common criminal until he felt to stay longer would accomplish nothing worth while, and then with making a due apology to the governor, he was freed and returned to his family.

The Cherokees were finally transferred to what is now the state of Oklahoma. With them went grandfather and his family and established himself at a place named Park Hill, not far from the present city of Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Meantime, from Huntington, Long Island, a young graduate of Union College, the son of a Presbyterian minister with a desire to be of service to mankind, volunteered as a missionary under the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, to go as a teacher to the Creeks. Naturally, in due season, the young missionary met the older missionary's oldest daughter, had her name changed from Worcester and her allegiance from the Congregational Church and Cherokees, to the Presbyterian Church and Creek Indians.⁴ I was the fourth child of this union and my mother tried in vain to have me continue unbroken the long line of ministers on both sides of the family, but I refused and ever since have stood out as the black sheep unable to adapt himself to the self-denials and religious devotion of the rest of the family. I have found an entirely different happiness in living. The thousands of youths and grownups whom I have helped along life's highway are my assurances that my life as a teacher rather than a preacher has had its abundant reward.

Just how long it was before the mission building was ready for use again, my memory does not recall. The time came, however, when father and the board of trustees sent out notice that fifteen boys and fifteen girls could be accommodated.

⁴ W. S. Robertson married Samuel A. Worcester's daughter, Ann Eliza, in 1850. At that time Ann was 24 years old. The Robertsons had the following children: Ann Augusta (b. 1851), Mary Alice (b. 1854), Grace Leeds (b. 1856), Samuel W. (the author of this biography, b. 1860), Dora (b. 1863), and John and William (twins born during the War). The latter three all died during early infancy.—"Bibliographical File," Alice Robertson Papers, University of Tulsa.

Their ages ranged from twelve to twenty and they came from far and near. The oldest boy lived three miles away, while others came in wagons from twenty to forty miles or more for a chance to learn. Many of them could not speak English, and their first task was to learn that. Father had an Indian primer in which were pictures of various animals and objects familiar to children, with the names in Creek and English below. Then short sentences in both languages, and thus the beginners had a chance to learn rather quickly. Of course, the few who had parents who could speak both languages could understand both and were a great help to those who understood their own language only. Interpreters were always essential and for ordinary occasions the few students who could speak both languages served very satisfactorily. Had I been allowed to associate with the Indian children from the first, I would have become a very capable interpreter, for early youth is the time to learn any language by associating with those whose native tongue it is. Mother did not allow me to "pitch in and learn it" until after I was twelve years old when I was old enough to escape further application of the dreaded switch. I then learned it very rapidly, and so well that I had no brogue and in the dark could not be told from a native by my speech. In fact, I was one of only two whites who could claim that distinction. I was, therefore, a pretty fair interpreter when I left home at the age of fifteen, and even now, at the age of seventy, I can read the language quite intelligently, though I can not speak it correctly.

In Old Tullahassee Mission back in the period of 1867 to 1880, it went without question that youth were to learn to work with their muscles as well as their minds—the girls to learn to cook, make their own clothes and do everything that could be asked of a home-maker of those times. The boys, to cut wood, split rails and build fences, cultivate garden patches, care for field crops and whatever other things that could be used later in home-caring-for. In the morning every one was up and ready for breakfast, chief article of which was griddle cakes cooked by girls who had gotten up at 4:30 to stand over the stove until the cakes were piled high. It took a lot of them to supply one hundred hungry stomachs. They were not griddle-cakes "like mother bakes" but of course corn meal with little shortening. Generally there was plenty of New Orleans molasses. It was washed down by coffee that had been none too well parched by one or more girls and ground in a small grinder. I had to use water with mine. I guess sometimes we had some kind of meat for breakfast, but not often. Breakfast over, morning prayers followed. Verses from the Bible, a song either in English or Creek and then all kneeled down on the rough floor for the prayer. Morning devotions over, the boys and girls marched out single file to



(Photo taken in 1896. Oklahoma Historical Society collections)

The three Robertson sisters. Left to right in front: Miss Alice M. Robertson, Mrs. Grace R. Merriman. Center, in back: Mrs. Augusta R. Moore.

be sent in divisions to work awhile before school began. At nine o'clock the bell rang for school and the boys and girls met in their separate rooms which served as living rooms also. Desks were home-made from walnut trees cut in the river bottoms and sawed in a little mill in the boy's yard. Lessons were not very profound, as most of the pupils knew little English. After school at four-thirty, manual labor was due again till nearly six. "Prayers" followed the evening meal and I can remember that many a time, instead of kneeling, I sat on the floor and went to sleep with my head against the bench, and was later aroused sufficiently to stumble out into the room where my trundle bed was awaiting me and snuggled into it as quickly as I could.

There was generally the lack of mother's care and the good-night kiss that I later saw so fondly given to my own little boy by his mother whose time could be given to him instead of being practically wasted on children who could not appreciate the efforts put forth in their behalf. Alas, it has always seemed to me that the devoted work of my father and mother and later my sisters for these descendants of the aborigines, was a case of love's labor lost. A mother's first duty is the care of her own offspring. If then she can devote her energies to the salvation of other children, there can be no sensible objection to her doing so. I presume in my case she had such implicit confidence in my ability to take care of myself that she did not realize that she was neglecting me at all.

Monday, instead of Saturday, was holiday at the Mission, because there was always a big washing to be done by the boys. Breakfast over, the boys were divided into companies with captains and assigned to their tasks. The one they liked best was that of going out into nearby woods to fell trees and chop them up into stove wood at the ever present wood pile. Pleasanter still it was, to go out rail-splitting. There was an abundance of good red-oak in the forest. I loved to help build the well known Virginia rail fences and try to make them hog and pig tight for all domestic animals were allowed to run at large and fences were built to keep them out rather than to keep them in.

Monday afternoon was play day. The boys were permitted to go where they pleased to hunt or fish or gather wild nuts and fruit in season. The girls were not so fortunate for they were allowed to go only in one group with a teacher in charge. In season, they could go to pick wild flowers, strawberries, black berries or even wild onions in the early spring. They were very welcome after a winter of living with little in the vegetable line. Any kind of a green edible was immediately used to help out the scanty bill of fare. I spent Monday

afternoons with the boys. In their own lore, those Indians were far wiser than I, wiser beyond their years in many ways. Their stolid indifference to most kinds of fear and pain, their ability to take hard knocks with a grin, their willingness to share their good luck with others not so lucky has stayed with me all my life.

Of all the days of the year, there was none in any way approaching Christmas day. For months we kids looked forward to it. We wondered, just as children do today, what we were to get from the Christmas tree and anticipated with joy the rare treat of doughnuts and mince pie that came at that time only. Everything was guarded carefully so that the surprises might be great depending wholly on how many boxes of toys and useful articles would be in the anticipated big wooden boxes from one or another missionary society.

A few days before the 25th of December, some man with an assistant boy or two, would hitch up the pair of horses and go down to the banks of the Verdigris River and select, cut down, and bring back two good-sized cedar trees, those with berries on preferred, and bring them to be set up in the "middle school room," one for the boys and one for the girls. Once they were in place guards were stationed at the doors and only the favored few who were selected to trim the trees could gain entry, and they, stealthily through a partially opened door. The big boxes were opened, and the big job of deciding what article should go to each so as to keep all satisfied was undertaken. The trees were loaded with presents for everyone. There were no brilliant electric lights, and the kerosene lamps radiated little more than modern candles. Small "dipped" candles were fastened on the small limbs of the trees. The whole thing was quite brilliant to our eyes, however. When finally, all was ready on Christmas evening, the doors were opened and the boys marched in from one side and the girls from the other. A program of speaking and songs followed, little appreciated by us smaller fry who were all too eager to receive our gifts and then enjoy that coveted piece of pie and a good big doughnut.

Some way, through father's effort, there was added to the mission's limited equipment, a small hand printing press. Father was always endeavoring to do the practical, helpful thing, and out of this little press went much of interest to the Creeks. My sister Gusta might be called the "foreman" of the little establishment, though father wanted me and some of the more capable boys who understood both English and Creek to do most of the type-setting and press work. One of father's practical ideas was to have the merchants at the Old Agency and the new-started city of Muskogee furnish paper

bags on which we would print gratis, in English and Creek, the names of the stores and the kind of goods they had for sale. A little paper, called *Our Monthly*, was started in January 1873. Printed as Volume 2, Number 1, because it was preceded by one gotten up by the teachers and students but written instead of printed. I managed to save most of the numbers down to October, 1875, and they probably compose the only set in existence unless the Smithsonian Institute in Washington has a set among the Indian documents contributed to it by my mother who did a good deal of language research for the Institution in an effort to see if the language of the Five Tribes were at all related.⁵

Our Monthly had four pages, three columns to a page, eight by eleven inches. We printed two pages at a time, I doing most of the press work while an Indian boy served as printer's devil. The press work was not always what it should have been, but was as well as many a modern country paper whose supply of ink seemed too low to print clearly. I find it a very interesting relic of the past and now and then try to read the Creek articles. Most of them I can still understand, but some of the biblical translations are hard to follow. There are lessons for learning English by having it with the native names and short phrases; hymns in Creek of translations by my mother; rather clever poems by sister Grace; school programs with my name as one of the speakers of which I have no remembrance. I helped issue the first edition of the *Indian Journal* which was I believe the first White Man's paper printed in old Indian Territory.⁶

⁵ "The Creek National Council gave a hand press to Tullahassee Mission at the request of Leonard Worcester, the superintendent. The first volume of *Our Monthly*, one copy to the issue, was a written one. The printed one began as Vol. 2, No. 1, in January, 1873, and the last issue was probably made in 1876. There was no subscription price. Mr. Robertson was chief printer although Sister Gusta frequently came to the rescue in type-setting having learned the art from a small hand book. The Creek National Council passed an act October 13, 1874, appropriating \$100.00 to pay for printing 1000 copies of *Our Monthly*. The magazine was to be issued monthly for the year commencing November 1, 1874, and ending October 30, 1875. For a full account of his magazine see: *Oklahoma Imprints*, pp. 52, 215-245-47." —Annotation by Carolyn Thomas Foreman from the manuscript of the unabridged autobiography of Mr. Robertson available at the Oklahoma Historical Society.

⁶ "An act was passed by the Creek National Council and approved by Principal Chief Samuel Checote, October 16, 1875, by which eleven prominent men of the Five Civilized Tribes were declared a body corporate within the limits of the Muskogee Nation of the name of 'The International Printing Company.'

"This act authorized the founding of the *Indian Journal* at Muskogee. The newspaper was established by Myron P. Roberts and he issued Vol. 1, No. 1, in May, 1876, with the brilliant William P. Ross as editor. The *Indian Journal* was removed to Eufaula in the spring of 1877, but it was returned to Muskogee in October, 1878, and remained in that city until the spring of 1887."—*Ibid.*

Before the Civil War, the Mission owned and used a good mill for grinding corn. How it came to survive the war-time raids and fires I never could understand. After it had been repaired, one of my pastimes was that of keeping the ponies going around and around often against their will—my means of keeping them going being a stick none too long. On one occasion, in return for a good licking that I gave him, one of the ponies let fly at me with his hind leg and hit the mark in good shape, that being a point on my upper lip. The remainder of that incident is a scar, which with one next to it made by an Indian boy during a game of horse shoes, has kept out of sight by my mustache. Sometimes boys learn lessons quite effectively though at high cost.

A few years later, a steam engine was substituted for the horse power and a saw and shingle machine added, and with them desks were made for the school rooms, shingles for the buildings, boards for the fences. The natives brought their corn to the mill for grinding, paying for it in toll which was the difference in bulk between cornmeal and the corn out of which it was ground. As a boy, I couldn't understand why a bushel of corn could turn out more than a bushel of meal, but I knew it did for I saw it with my own eyes, and seeing is believing, you know.

The mill had many close calls from fire, the boiler burst once for lack of a safety valve, and it was advertised for sale in *Our Monthly*. Purchasers were not forthcoming, and one day the building was in flames before anyone saw what was coming and was soon a mere pile of ashes.

My parents had one ambition for their children, and that was to give their children each a good education. We abuse the word "education" so that it is rather insignificant. At any rate they felt that their children should have broader opportunities for seeing life as it is than they could have in an Indian school in the back woods of an undeveloped country. Sister Gusta found good training in Dayton, Ohio, and returned to take up the work of teaching in the mission. Sister Alice went further north and studied at Elmira College. Sister Grace was sent to the home of an uncle in Auburndale, Mass., and attended Newton High School, later going to Wheaton Seminary, Mass. I was the last to be disposed of and what to do with a boy who preferred the farm and out-door life to a school room, was some problem. Mother had attended the Academy in Peacham where her father had lived and fitted for college. She had also been one of the first enrollment in St. Johnsbury Academy where she had made many friends, some of whom took an interest in finding a place for me in

the home of the pastor of the Congregational Church over which her uncle had been pastor when she was there in school. So that was my opportunity, and thither I was sent.

I don't remember the day of my departure, somewhere about the middle of July, 1876. It was early afternoon when the wagon drawn by my loved pony friends, Duke and Dan, drew up at the side gate. I said goodbye to one after another till it came to mother's turn. She controlled her usual emotions and taking me to one side gave me a goodbye kiss and bade me strive for the right in life. I remember no occurrence of the trip to Muskogee until we were standing on the platform watching the headlight of the locomotive as it came over the hill some five miles or more away. The next day we were rushing along at thirty miles an hour through strange land to me. The weather was hot. I got out at a station somewhere, to buy a five cent palm leaf fan. I handed the vendor a 25¢ paper script, and was greatly surprised to receive in change two silver dimes, the like of which I had never seen before. Silver coins had begun to circulate again. Our first real objective en route to Boston, was Philadelphia and the Centennial Exposition.

It was toward the last of August when we arrived in Auburndale, Mass., at the home of my mother's uncle, Isaac Worcester. Uncle Isaac seemed somewhat austere to me, and his wife too particular for a boy from the country. She caught me one day visiting with the hired help while they were having dinner and ushered me out in a hurry. Very improper, don't you know.

Up to this time on my journey from home toward school, I had been accompanied by one of my sisters which made it easier than might otherwise have been, but on Monday, August 27, came the time when I must shift for myself. Uncle went into Boston with me, to the old North Station, and put me on a Passumpsic R. R. car that would take me through to my journey's end. I found a seat and sank down in it too scared and homesick to speak to anyone, and there I sat from eight a.m. until three p.m. when the conductor called out "St. Johnsbury." Frightened and forlorn I stepped down onto the platform. I was such a green looking specimen that the Rev. Jones stepped right up and asked: "Are you Robertson?" He had a horse and buggy of his own and we rode up the hill so familiar to anyone who was ever in that town, and to the parsonage where a little room away from the rest of the family where my chum and I were to abide and burn the midnight oil in an effort to learn enough to stand up and tell some rather capable teachers how much we knew and follow the only way then known of getting into college. My chum to be, the son

of a Vermont clergyman, who had but one year between him and college, arrived on the 4:30 train and was duly brought up the hill by Mr. Jones.

The courses of study in those days were very limited. When I entered the Academy, there were only two courses available—the Classical and the Scientific—the first required three years of “rhetoricals” and more or less history and science. The scientific course gave an opportunity for broader selection and the substitution of modern languages for the ancient. However, for the student intending to enter college, the Classical was practically the only course to be selected. We just had to study. There was no escaping it. That was what schools were for. “Student Body Activities” were unheard of and athletics only tolerated to a limited extent.

The year spent in the clergyman’s family was, after all, a year with opportunities that taught me much more than I might have learned under other circumstances. It gave me a pretty good understanding of life as it is.

My mother was of a different type from that of my father. She thought and lived a religious life based upon faith in the Presbyterian creed, the Bible as the literal word of God, and the prime necessity of giving to the Muskogee Indians a translation of the Bible, just as her father had done before her for the Cherokees. It always seemed to me that the accomplishment of the last desire, was her chief interest and to that and to the translation of hymns, she gave all the time and energy she could spare from her regular missionary work. Memory pictures her to me lying on my trundle bed propped up with paraphernalia around her, struggling to find Muskogee words that could express the true meaning of the Creek version.

Believing implicitly in the old adage, “Spare the rod and spoil the child,” she was wont to wait a day or two after I had done “wrong” then take me in her lap at some retreat, tell me how much she loved me and how hard it was for her to punish me, and then after my will was completely subdued, would give me a whipping that I remembered till next time.

Grown to manhood, I have felt that mother was wrong in applying physical punishment after my will was broken.

But mother left behind her a record of achievements that I have been very proud of. There is a little certain satisfaction derived from the fact that she was the first American woman to receive the honorary degree of Ph.D. The degree was granted her by Wooster University for “Superior attainments,” especially in the linguistic studies and of enlarged influence as a result of these studies and writings.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES OF THE CHEROKEE SEMINARIES

*By Ida Wetzel Tinnin**

The 1958 Homecoming of the Cherokee National Male and Female students has been referred to as the "Golden Anniversary", "Half Century of Progress" or "Happenings of Fifty Years Ago", which of course dates the members of the 1908 class. We hope all of you will remember that we were very young when we were graduated.

I am glad today finally arrived. I do not know how much of the excitement, the enthusiasm, the appreciation of my native state, and the sheer pleasure I have felt in preparation for today I shall be able to pass on to you. I do know that with every letter I received from Seminary folks and each visit I had with them, the more anxious I was for the day to come.

While the information I had from the reading and the reminiscing heightened my anticipation for today, I also have a deep feeling of gratitude for those of you who have kept this event alive by coming back year after year. From the reports of those who have attended other homecomings and from the printed programs giving the events of the different years, I am sure those of us who have not been present were losers.

I married and left the state soon after graduation and have had little contact with Seminary folks, yet I have never forgotten my Seminary days. They are among my most cherished memories. I have had cause to be thankful many times for the training I received here. To be seeing our old friends, recalling the happenings of the early part of the century, and observing the changes here on the campus are thrilling experiences.

* This contribution on the history of the Cherokee National seminaries, by Ida Wetzel Tinnin, was adapted from her paper read at the "Homecoming" of the Cherokee Seminaries Students Association meeting at Tahlequah on May 7, 1958. Mrs. Tinnin graduated from the Cherokee National Female Seminary on May 26, 1908. Soon after her marriage, she moved to Arkansas and now makes her home at Bentonville. She served as a teacher in her adopted state for many years, and was Superintendent of Schools at Bentonville from 1943-53. With all her attainments and success, Mrs. Tinnin has a deep feeling of loyalty and pride for her native Cherokee Nation, which she presents here in review for readers of *The Chronicles*.—Ed.

We all heartily agree with the President of our organization, Clarence B. Markham, that one of the reasons the homecomings of the Cherokee National Male and Female Students are such happy and successful occasions is the setting of the stage, the preparation made by our friends at Northeastern State College.

It is a real joy to see the large number of new buildings, the campus we all loved, and the many evidences of long-range planning for the educational program of Northeastern State College. To those of us who have not been here for a number of years, the growth is almost unbelievable. One of the things that gives us a thrill is the museum with many of the historical treasures of our people, the Cherokees. We Seminary folks feel possessive of Northeastern State College and have a pride in its progress. We are glad our Alma Mater came into the hands of those who so graciously receive our visits and who see a value in helping to preserve our traditions.

The members of the class of 1908¹ feel highly honored and deeply appreciate receiving special recognition at this Homecoming.² Since we were the first class to be graduated from the Cherokee National Male and Female seminaries after statehood and go through the rituals of commencement week as these were observed at the Seminaries, it does mark an epoch in our history.

This is the fiftieth anniversary of our graduation on May 26, 1908. Some of us have not seen nor heard from other members since that eventful time. Many things have happened that have affected our lives. Let us see what was happening fifty years ago. Telephone and telegraph services were limited. There were no movies from which we could get news flashes, there were no radios and certainly no T.V. There were few newspapers as compared with today's publications. The *Cherokee Advocate*, *Globe Democrat*, and the *Oklahoman* were some of the newspapers that came to the Seminary libraries. We got news from Washington when our statesmen returned or perhaps wrote relatives, friends, or to the newspapers. We heard speakers at political rallies and Chautauqua lectures. State and national news was colored by what the speaker wanted us to believe.

¹ Cherokee Seminary graduates attending the Annual Meeting of the Cherokee Seminaries Association, May 7, 1958, at Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

² There were fourteen members of the class of 1908. The girls were Addie Gravette, Alice Gravette, Lois Lindsey, Frances Lindsey, Bertha Reid, Ada Painter, Ruth Harnage, Kathleen Crafton, Lucile Freeman and Ida Wetzel. The boys were A. Denny Lane, John Alberty, Perry Foreman, J. William Garrett, and George C. Whitmire.

Theodore Roosevelt was in his second term as President of the United States. He had come into public favor by his spectacular leadership of the Rough Riders in the Spanish American War and by his fight against political corruption in the city and state of New York. He was aggressive, vigorous, and forceful.

There were some interesting and important events during the years of Theodore Roosevelt's Administration: The Wright Brothers had just made their first successful flight. The Model T Ford had just been put on the market. Wireless communication across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans had just been completed. Admiral Peary had just launched his sixth and successful attempt to reach the North Pole. Our U.S. Navy was on its two-year cruise around the world and was flexing its muscles to impress our potential enemies of the strength of our country. President Roosevelt had won the Nobel Prize for his part in mediating peace in the Russo-Japanese War. He was the first president to use the Hague Court of International Arbitration. Our beloved Will Rogers had just come into public acclaim as a philosopher; previously he had been admired as an entertainer, a trick-rope actor, or performer.

The national event of the greatest consequence to us was the admission of Oklahoma as a state, November 16, 1907. Fifty years ago this month, Oklahoma, as a state, was about six months old, the youngest state, adding the forty-sixth star to the flag. This brought new problems and new challenges to the old Indian Territory.

Previous to and during the process of getting ready for statehood, there were controversies, differences of opinion on whether there should be single or double statehood, what the state capitol should be named, where it should be; certainly prohibition was a real issue as was the Jim Crow Law. Rivalry in the political parties and leadership in each had a natural setting. Somehow the issue just seemed to be swallowed up by the new possibilities, opportunities, and responsibilities of a future that was limited only by the desires and visions of the individual. The degree of aggressiveness, the imagination, and the courage of each determined his part in the development of the state.

Here was a new state made up of people of daring, pride, ambition, leadership, a cultural background and faith in themselves, just ready for adventure. The Sequoyah Convention had opened the eyes of the outside world to the fact that the Indian Territory could handle its own affairs. Great leadership and statemanship were shown by the men who

wrote our Oklahoma State constitution that would be acceptable to the people and would provide for every segment of their government. This is the longest state constitution ever written, 45,000 words. It is also the first state constitution to recognize divine power to the extent that it is written into its Preamble. William Jennings Bryan said of the writers of the Oklahoma constitution that they were "the most progressive body of men who ever met in deliberative assembly in America". What a tribute to the writers of the state constitution!

The Constitution was adopted by a vote of the people on September 17, 1907. A motto was chosen, "Labor Omnia Vincet", "Labor Conquers All Things." This motto was on the Oklahoma Territorial seal in 1891. It was the spirit of this motto that accounts for the rapid development of the communications, transportation, industry, education, government, and every facet of our modern living. The story of the development of the new state reads like a tale from *Arabian Nights*. The natural resources, agricultural and mineral, made Oklahoma truly a "land of opportunity."

The establishment of schools from the elementary level to the university is indicative of the importance of education in the thinking of the people. Certainly the chief wealth and assets of the new state lay in the caliber of the people. The low illiteracy status of the mass of the people of the state shows the stress that was laid on education of all the people.

The organization of our State government was provided with all vigor. The capacity for self government that is found in all good Americans was shown by the promptness and efficiency with which all levels of government, local, county and state, were set up. C. H. Haskell was our first governor; Robert L. Owen and Thomas P. Gore were our first United States Senators. E. D. Cameron was the first Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The development of Oklahoma's transportation system has been a marvel. We had mere trails, narrow, dim wagon roads in 1908. We now have a net-work of State and U.S. Highways that are intersected or paralled, making the present highway system of 11,132 miles. We have millions of dollars in steel and concrete bridges, overpasses, and underpasses. We have two turnpikes, the Turner Trunpike 88 miles long, and the Will Rogers Trunpike about 90 miles long. Air travel is accessible on several cross-country airlines and a surprising number of people own private planes. There are 6,000 miles of main line railways across the state. All this program in transportation in half a century was far beyond

the imagination in 1908. In contrast, it took the greater part of two days by wagon in 1908 to come from Beatties Prairie to Tahlequah, a distance of about sixty miles.

We know something of this development because we of the class of 1908 were a part of it. Our parents, grandparents, friends, and neighbors had a part in this phenomenal growth.

Now we come to the local level and closer contacts, those students with whom we lived nine months in the year, those teachers who lived with us and taught us by word and precept. It was these teachers and our homes that gave us the direct educational and cultural influences of 1908. I speak with the "voice of experience" for I spent ten happy consecutive years on this campus. My aunt, Lou Wetzel Vaughn, came here in 1898 and enrolled for high school work. She paid her tuition in full but was overcome immediately by homesickness and did not stay. Since I lived in the home of my grandparents, I was permitted to take her place. My grandmother's maiden name was McDonald, and being of Scotch extraction she could not see five dollars per month, nine months in the year, lost to the family income. I said I was permitted to come and I think "permitted" is the right word, for though I was not quite nine years old and in the third grade, I seemed to sense even then that I was being given a rare opportunity. Now I recognize it as providential.

The five dollars per month for tuition was raised in the latter part of my ten-year stay to the sum of seven dollars and fifty cents. The sum covered board, room, hospital care, doctor and nurse visitation, medicine, books, school supplies, and laundry. Picture this in contrast with today's cost of living.

Life at the Cherokee National Male and Female seminaries was interesting, quite normal, yet challenging. Though there were strict regulations, it took only the demerit system for us to know our limitations. There were demerits for whispering in study hall or class rooms, being tardy to meals or classes, for having a light on in the room after 9 p.m., writing on the walls, for being out of one's room during "Still Hour" on Sunday afternoon, when each girl was supposed to be quiet, reading, sleeping, or writing letters home. Any misdemeanor brought demerits, the number was determined by the seriousness of the offense. Demerits prevented one's participation in public affairs such as attending ball games, monthly receptions, shopping trips or eating down town with friends. If too many demerits appeared on the record against any girl, she could be suspended or even expelled from school. The demerit system curbed any desire to defy the regulations of the school.

Every phase of development was provided for, the physical, mental, moral, spiritual and social. We were guided subtly, if possible, but always firmly. We did not have a guidance department. We did not ever call it guidance yet every teacher had a part in steering us in the right direction.

The curriculum was broad and rich and the subjects were well-taught. The curriculum included German, Latin, four years of Mathematics, four years of English, the Sciences (Botany, Chemistry, Physics, Zoology, Physiology), Music, Home Economics, and other basic subjects. Because the course of study was so far ahead of its time and the teachers had superior preparations, a plan was worked out after statehood by the State Legislature, the State Department of Education and Northeastern State College to grant a blanket of sixty-two hours of college credit to the graduates of the Cherokee National Male and Female Seminaries. I am proud to have this on my official transcript from Northeastern State College.

We who attended here were more fortunate than we could fully comprehend at the time. But our parents knew the importance of taking advantage of the opportunities offered. My home community, (Beatties Prairie, near Maysville, Arkansas) was made up of pioneer families. Each family prided itself on sending its sons and daughters to the Cherokee National Male and Female seminaries. It was considered a rare privilege. Some or all of the sons and daughters of these pioneer families stayed until graduation. These families were J. T. Edmondson³; the three Mack Edmondson daughters, Gonia, Cherrie and Bula⁴; W. W. Hastings⁵; the John Ward daughters, Dora, Lura, Lee, Deed and Winnie; the Wil Wards, Elva, Alta and Lola; the Joe Ward's daughters, Alma, May and Pink; the Bart Scotts, W. T.,⁶ Susie and Mattie; the Freemans, Carrie, Will and Lucile; the Will Stovers, Edith and Roger; the King Wetzels, Minnie and Lou, Ida, Claude and Oliver⁷.

We had the advantages of the Cherokee National Female and Male seminaries because someone had ideals, visions, and the intelligence to plan these beautiful structures, the Male

³ J. T. (Turner) Edmondson was a member of the constitutional convention.

⁴ Cherrie Edmondson Garrett (Mrs. Bruce Garrett) and Bula Benton Edmondson Coker (Mrs. Richard Coker), also Conia Edmondson Tinnin, were later teachers.

⁵ W. W. Hastings was a congressman and a prominent leader in legislative issues concerning Oklahoma.

⁶ W. T. (Will) Scott was a teacher in the Male Seminary. Mattie Scott Roller and Sue Scott are deceased.

⁷ Minnie Wetzel Mason and Lou Wetzel Vaughn were daughters of King Wetzel. Claude, Oliver and Ida Wetzel were grandchildren who lived in the King Wetzel home.

and Female seminaries, for the Cherokee Nation's youth and to build them in their lovely settings, to provide broad curriculum, and to establish routines and schedules that met the needs and have stood the tests of time.⁸ John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation and other Cherokee leaders had the background to know where to get the best in education. Chief Ross sent a committee, David Vann⁹ and William Potter Ross, east to Mount Holyoke to study the organization there and to get teachers for the Seminaries. They brought back ideas of what goes into a well-rounded cultured life. They knew the value of good teachers. The Cherokee people owe much to Mount Holyoke, to Dartmouth and Princeton for the devoted teachers that helped them in establishing these schools of higher learning. Some of the "Principal Teachers" were Mount Holyoke graduates, Miss Ella Noyes, Miss Avery, Sarah Worcester, Ellen Rebecca Whitmore, and Miss Harriette Johnson. Some other eastern colleges represented on the teaching staff during my years at the Female Seminary were Miss Mellie Dyer, who said with pride, "I am a graduate of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York," and Miss Ida V. Mosser, who liked to relate her experience at Vassar.

⁸ The Cherokee Treaty of New Echota (Dec. 29, 1835), among the signers of which were Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot and Stand Watie, made provisions for certain funds to establish an institution of higher learning in the new Nation west. Controversy and difficulty that arose over the interpretation and carrying out of this treaty were finally adjusted in a new treaty signed at Washington in 1846. The following year the Cherokee National Council provided for the establishment of two schools. Handsome brick buildings, exact replicas, were completed in 1850, that of the Female Seminary located three miles southeast and that of the Male Seminary, one and half miles southwest of Tahlequah. The Male Seminary was opened on May 6, 1851, and the Female Seminary the following day, May 7, now celebrated as the "Homecoming" at the Annual Meeting of the Cherokee Seminaries Association. Traditional commencement exercises were established by the first graduates of the two schools in February, 1855. The Female Seminary was accidentally destroyed by fire in 1887, and a new building was erected and completed at Tahlequah two years later, today a handsome relic of the old Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, serving as the administration building at Northeastern State College. The Male Seminary burned in March, 1910. The two Cherokee National seminaries were combined in September, 1909, and the senior class graduated from the Northeastern State Normal on May 31, 1910.—Ed.

⁹ David Vann's name is often found in the history of the Cherokees in positions of trust. He was the treasurer of the Nation. His name appears again and again as "Member"—member of Cherokee delegations to Washington at different times. William Potter Ross distinguished himself as editor of the *Cherokee Advocate*. He was a graduate of Princeton University. His pen and his voice were constantly used in the Cherokee service, in addresses at dedications, commencements, and in messages as chief to the National Council. His was a distinguished family of statesmen, teachers, and administrators.

These were typical of the qualifications of the teachers at the seminary. I have always been proud of the fact that some of the graduates of the Cherokee National Male and Female Seminaries continued their preparation for teaching and returned to their Alma Mater as teacher.¹⁰

These men and women, our instructors, were dedicated to the cause of education. Their lives were orderly and based on spiritual foundations. We could give long lists of teachers who influenced our individual lives but definitely we will all agree that no two teachers did more to direct the course of our lives than Miss Florence Wilson and Mr. Leonard M. Logan. Their names are synonymous with the Cherokee National Male and Female seminaries. Miss Wilson was principal of the Female Seminary for twenty-six years (1875-1901), out of the fifty-six years of the school's existence. (1851-1907). She was loved and respected to the extend that the National Council of the Cherokee Nation passed unanimously a bill appointing Miss Wilson as principal of the Female Seminary for life. While the bill did not become a law, it showed the esteem in which she was held by the people who knew her. Leonard M. Logan was superintendent of the Cherokee National Male Seminary from 1900 to 1904, a term of four and a half years. This was a record length of service as there had been twenty six men who served as superintendents in the sixteen years preceding his years of service. The approach of statehood made Mr. Logan realize the changes that must come with the dissolving of the Cherokee tribal government and the uncertainty of the future of the Seminary. Because of the insecurity of his position, he accepted an offer as president of a Texas college. It was women like Miss Florence A. Wilson and men like Professor Leonard M. Logan who in our generation set the high standard of scholarship and established acceptable patterns of social behavior. They had the love, respect, and almost a reverence of every student, such as come to few people in a lifetime.

Miss Wilson and Mr. Logan surrounded themselves with teachers who had the same philosophy of life. Their objectives were to prepare the students for a citizenship in which they could establish homes, rear good families, and find a place of service in their community, state and nation. Some made outstanding contributions in industry, government and professional world.

¹⁰ Among the Seminary girls and boys who served on the teaching staff were Robert L. Owen (U. S. Senator), Eldee Starr, W. T. Scott, Lillian Alexander Wyly, Bula Edmondson Coker, Eliza Bushyhead, Roseanne Harnage, Carlotta Archer, Janana Ballard, Flora Lindsey, Ella Mae Covell, Minneola Ward, Minnie Bengel, Mayme Starr, Annie Rebecca Lindsey, Callie Eaton, and Blume Adair.

I am sure the lives of our generation are richer and fuller for the opportunities and influences, first in the Cherokee National Male and Female Seminaries and continued by North-eastern State College.

It is my hope that the traditional Homecoming on May 7, will be continued. The strides in education have made the whole world neighbors. Our improved communication and transportation have complicated our pattern of living. Perhaps the nearness, the kinship, the brotherly love we seminary folks feel for each other may somehow carry over and contribute to a better understanding, a greater tolerance, and a lasting peace.

The educational and cultural influence through the 1908 period have engendered in us the friendships, loyalties, and ideals which have been our great endowment for life. If we can reflect the essence of our heritage, our children and our children's children will sense with pride the rich dividends of our original investment of life at the Cherokee National Male and Female seminaries.

CAMPAIGNING WITH SHERIDAN: A FARRIER'S DIARY

By George H. Shirk

An interesting but seldom considered aspect of the Indian War of 1868-69 is that it transpired almost entirely within the area of what is now Oklahoma. Except for the fateful 1876 battle on the Little Big Horn, perhaps no other military operation connected with the opening of the West for white settlement has captured the interest and imagination of present day Americans, young and old alike, as has the Indian War of General Philip Henry Sheridan. Much has been written¹ of the campaign; and yet anything new is of great interest. The Oklahoma Historical Society is pleased to present here the diary of a participant.

The high point of Sheridan's operation was the Battle of the Washita. Through the years *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* has presented a number of different reports on Custer's reckless charge on November 27, 1868, into the sleeping Cheyenne village and on the death of one of the statesmen of the Plains, Black Kettle.

The accounts of this engagement as seen through the eyes of a teamster², an Indian woman,³ an Indian agent,⁴ a colleague of Custer⁵ who bore him no regard since West Point days, and the journal⁶ of Custer himself have all appeared in *The Chronicles*, yet different or fresh versions of the event are always interesting, especially if in the form of a diary of one who

¹ Charles J. Brill, *Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Oklahoma City, 1938) and Carl C. Rister, *Border Command* (Norman, 1944) are perhaps the best for the immediate events preceding the Campaign of 1868-69. Further, any student of this episode in Oklahoma history should see the personal collection of mementos and material of Mr. Claude Hensley, of Oklahoma City, who has done much to preserve for the present generation the events of nine decades ago.

² John Murphy, "Reminiscences of the Washita Campaign" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, No. 1 (June 1923) p. 259.

³ T. A. Ediger and Vinnie Hoffman, "Some Reminiscences of the Battle of the Washita", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1955) p. 137.

⁴ "The Battle of the Washita, An Indian Agent's View", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4. (Winter 1958-59) p. 474.

⁵ See "Some Corrections of 'Life On the Plains'" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 4 (December, 1925) p. 295, being the pamphlet issued by Maj. Gen. W. B. Hazen, Indian Agent at Fort Cobb at the time of the Washita Campaign. Once when Hazen was Officer of the Day at West Point he placed Cadet Custer under arrest for an incident arising out of a fist fight.—Brill, *op. cit.* p. 41.

⁶ George H. Shirk, "The Case of the Plagiarized Journal", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (Winter 1958-59) p. 371.

rode with Custer as he somewhat aimlessly chased Indians over the area of the entire western half of Oklahoma during the winter of 1868-69.

Precise causes of the outbreak of the war are perhaps as difficult to simplify as are the causes of the Civil War. Western expansion by the white man and the inherent instinct of self-preservation by the red man set the stage. The incredible massacre of November 29, 1864, by Chivington on Sand Creek in southeastern Colorado of a band of Cheyennes had left an indelible scar upon the naturally suspicious mind of the plains Indian. As the white held the offense of a single Indian the responsibility of an entire tribe, so in like manner, did often the Indian view a broken promise by a single white typical of the white man's way.

Great hopes, after considerable earlier misgivings, were centered by both the Indian and the white man on the great Council at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, convened October 21, 1867. Even the Commissioner of Indian Affairs himself journeyed from Washington to be in attendance. Some officials wore Prince Albert coats and tall silk hats. Had all agencies of the government, including even Congress, promptly and unstintingly abided by the agreements there made and implemented the government's promises, without doubt Sheridan's Indian War would not have been.

By any standard, Philip H. Sheridan was a superb general. He was of the type that were he alive today he would be an outstanding senior field commander, perhaps an Army or Corps commander in Korea. Sheridan was born in 1831 at Albany, New York, the son of Irish immigrants. His family shortly moved to Ohio, and young Philip entered West Point in 1848. He emerged from the Civil War with an enviable reputation. Sheridan rightfully enjoys the place he has been assigned in the pantheon of American military great. When on June 1, 1888, he was promoted to the permanent grade of General, thereby attaining the rank⁷ reached by only the few, he received the thanks and tribute of a grateful country.

The post war military establishment was reorganized by General Orders 118, War Department, June 27, 1865. By it the United States was divided into five military Divisions. In turn, the Divisions were divided into Departments, and in some instances the Departments were further divided into Districts. William T. Sherman was announced as Commander of the Division of the Missouri, with his subordinate commands comprising the Departments of Ohio, Missouri and Arkansas. Within the Department of the Missouri there was created the

⁷ Gen. Sheridan died 5 August 1888, and was never able to assume actively the duties of General of the Army.

District of Upper Arkansas. Western Oklahoma fell therein. In September, 1867, Sherman selected Sheridan to command the Department of the Missouri.

With the failure of the 1867 field operations of the Department, commonly known as the "Hancock Expedition," the new Department commander, Sheridan, determined to approach the problem with an open mind. Although charged with refusing to see or listen to the Indian chiefs desiring to voice a complaint on the breakdown of the promises made at Medicine Lodge, yet Sheridan made up his mind slowly on the course he wished to follow in controlling the Indians within his Department. In some manner a small intramural fight between Cheyennes and Kaws appeared to Sheridan as the last straw, and he made his decision in favor of an active field campaign. Rightly or wrongly, by today's standards, the responsibility was Sheridan's alone. It was his Department, and he was charged with keeping the peace therein and protecting its inhabitants. It would be expected that he would use military means for he was a military man.

The person he selected to implement his decision was George A. Custer. Custer had been court martialed⁸ for an incident that occurred during the Hancock Expedition and he was living in temporary retirement in Michigan. Sheridan had not been too satisfied with the success of his field commanders and believed Custer to be the answer. Although warm friends, Sheridan and Custer were of different character and make-up. As opposed to Sheridan, it is doubtful if there would be a place of importance in today's army for an officer such as Custer. Although actually a man of ability, his complicated personality rendered him difficult to be commanded by or to command. He was the type of person of whom everyone, personal acquaintance or otherwise, had a positive opinion, either pro⁹ or con.¹⁰ Of his generalship, no other military person has ever brought forth the flood of adulation on one hand and the volume of recrimination on the other as has he. Yet to Sheridan's mind, Custer was the man to command his field expedition; and to have the troops of his Department arranged so that Custer would not be outranked, Sheridan made several shifts among his subordinate officers.

⁸ Custer had been suspended for one year per General Court Martial approved by G. O. 93, War Department, 20 November 1867.

⁹ Frederick Whittaker, *Popular Life of General George A. Custer*, (New York, 1876). The author's objectivity will be better understood when it is noted that he was the "complaining witness" against Major Marcus Reno at the latter's Court Martial trial following the fiasco at the Little Big Horn.

¹⁰ Frederic F. Van DeWater, *Glory Hunter* (Indianapolis, 1934).

To garrison his Department, Sheridan was given 2 regiments of cavalry and 2½ regiments of infantry. The 7th U. S. Cavalry, a regular Army unit created when the permanent establishment was organized under the Act of June 28, 1866, was the key unit in Sheridan's plan. Permission was received from the War Department to muster for six months a regiment of Kansas militia.¹¹ These two units formed the field expedition¹² destined to scour the Western half of Oklahoma during the winter of 1868-69.

With the 7th U. S. Cavalry was Winfield Scott Harvey. He is the hero of this article. Winfield was born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, on October 10, 1848.¹³ His father, Eli Harvey, enlisted in 1862 in the 14th Pennsylvania Cavalry. He served as a blacksmith with the regiment until he was mustered out in 1865 at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. On August 26, 1864, though not yet sixteen years of age, Winfield followed his father's footsteps and enlisted in the same Pennsylvania Cavalry regiment. He saw major action for the remaining year of the war and was honorably discharged from Company E on May 31, 1865. With the organization of the regular establishment, Winfield enlisted as one of the original members of Troop K, 7th U. S. Cavalry, and took the oath as a private in the regular Army on September 11, 1866. His

¹¹ On 6 October 1868 the War Department authorized Gen. Sherman by telegram if deemed "necessary to a successful prosecution of the present campaign against the Indians" to accept the services of a regiment of Kansas Cavalry. This was done three days later. The governor of Kansas, Samuel J. Crawford, resigned to accept a commission as colonel of the regiment. Logistical difficulties prevented the arrival of the Regiment at Camp Supply in time to participate in the Battle of the Washita. However, it took the field Monday, 7 December 1868, along with the 7th U. S. Cavalry, and rendered good service for the remainder of its muster. E. A. Brininstool, *Campaigning With Custer, the Diary of David L. Spotts* (Los Angeles, 1928) is the Diary of a private soldier of Troop K of the 19th Kansas, and is an invaluable companion piece to the *Diary* of Pvt. Harvey.

Details of the service of the 19th Kansas is contained in "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry in the Washita Campaign" by Horace L. Moore, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1924) p. 350. The opinion of the writer here is that the draftsman of the map accompanying the Moore article inadvertently used the Otter Creek (first, Tillman County) site of Camp Radziminski in tracing the route of the 1869 expedition, and that the correct route would have been via the final (Mountain Park, Kiowa County) location of the Camp. This would move the route of the expedition considerably north of the indicated trace on the map.

¹² A wealth of information on the entire campaign is in De B. Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Border*, (Philadelphia, 1891). Keim was a journalist traveling with Gen. Sheridan. He was at Camp Supply at the time of the Battle of the Washita, but accompanied the expedition when it took the field on 7th December.

¹³ Personal data supplied by Mrs. Stanton Alton, 1959.

father's trade also served Winfield, and he was troop blacksmith throughout the field campaign. He was discharged as Blacksmith Sergeant on September 11, 1871.

He settled in Belle Vernon, Pennsylvania, and in 1872 married Mary E. Corwin. Death intervened and Mrs. Harvey died the following year. On July 2, 1874, he married Anastasia Beazell of Belle Vernon. Thrifty and successful, he built a substantial home for his family in 1882, at 210 Third Street in Belle Vernon, where he lived with his six children until his death on March 5, 1931. His wife had preceded him in death on August 26, 1927, and they rest side by side in the Belle Vernon cemetery. One daughter, Esther, is living and resides in Donora, Pennsylvania. His grandson, Winfield Scott Harvey, has acquired the old home place and now makes it his residence.

Always active in community affairs, Harvey twice served as a Burgess of Belle Vernon. He was a charter member of the local G.A.R. post and served as its commander for fifteen years. He organized a local fife and drum corps and always took the lead in all patriotic meetings, celebrations and G.A.R. encampments. He was instrumental in bringing to Belle Vernon as a monument four Civil War cannon, which with neatly stacked cannon balls paid tribute to the soldiers of the War Between the States until they were returned to combat service in a 1942 scrap drive.

Winfield Harvey was a good soldier and a fine American. He is of the stock that made America great. His journal is typically a soldier's diary reflecting the interests and concerns of an ordinary GI. Rumors from Headquarters, the hour of reveille, the weather, and personal health were his great concerns, just as the same are today with the modern soldier. The Society is gratified that it is able to publish at this time the Oklahoma portion of his journal. His grandchildren, Winfield Scott Harvey and Mrs. Stanton Alton, both of Belle Vernon, Mrs. Alfred DuBarr of Lock Four, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Charles C. Hale of California, Pennsylvania, and Mrs. George W. Osborne of Washington, Pennsylvania, jointly have made it available for this purpose. It is hoped that in the years ahead the family will find it possible to make available to the people of Oklahoma for all time his souvenirs and mementos of Sheridan's Indian War by placing them permanently with the Historical Society.

DIARY OF PVT. WINFIELD S. HARVEY

Near Ft. Larned, Kans. Sept. 1, 1868. The morning is very beautiful and nice. It rained last night and raised the river so that we could not cross over. This will delay us some days, but just as



WINFIELD SCOTT HARVEY

soon as the stream falls, we intend to go on to Fort Dodge on escort with General Sully.¹⁴ I have not had very good health on my journey; chills today.

Near Ft. Larned, Kans. Sept. 2, 1868. The morning is damp, but still the sun shines bright and beautiful. The river went down last night, so we can cross over this morning. Wood is not plenty here, we draw it from the Fort. I have been put on the sick report, but I feel better today. R. M. West¹⁵ is drunk.

Near Ft. Larned, Kans. Sept. 3, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock; boots and saddles at seven, and the Company¹⁶ started on. I stayed back with General Sully and at ten o'clock we started on. We caught up with the Company at Big Coon Creek, where we stopped for dinner and supper.¹⁷ Then we started on to Fort Dodge where we arrived at four o'clock in the morning. How long we will stay here, I do not know. The morning is very pleasant and nice. Not very well.

Near Ft. Dodge, Kans. Sept. 4, 1868. Arrived at Fort Dodge. The day is very pleasant and nice, with the exception of it being dusty and looks like rain. General Sheridan is expected here today or tomorrow morning. Little Raven of the Arapahoes (Indians) is expected here to see him and to talk over peace. I am afraid that we will have to go on a campaign after those Indians. I feel some better today. R. M. West drunk.

Near Ft. Dodge, Kans. Sept. 5, 1868. The morning is cool and damp. There was a wagon attacked at Little Coon Creek last night at about eleven o'clock. Three soldiers belonging to the 3rd Infantry were wounded, and the mail coming at the same time is all that saved them from being killed, as one of the men with them gave the alarm at the post and Company B, 7th U. S. Cavalry, stationed at this post, went out to bring them in, but saw no Indians. They had fled and disappeared. The news is that we are going on a big campaign south of the Arkansas River; everything looks so. Not well yet.

Ft. Dodge, Kans. Sept. 6, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. Fed and groomed our horses, which are as tired as we are ourselves. Ate our breakfast and then picketed them out in a ravine just above our camp, so if anything should happen we will have them close to our

¹⁴ Alfred Sully. Born Pa. Grad. Military Academy 1 Sept. 1837; 2nd Lieut. 2nd Inf. 1 July 1841; 1st Lieut. 11 March 1847; Captain 23 Feb. 1852; Col. 1st Minn. Inf. 4 March 1862; Brig. Gen. Vol. 26 Sept. 1862; Major Gen. Vol. 8 March 1865; Lieut. Col. 3rd U. S. Inf. 28 July 1866; Colonel 21st U. S. Inf. 10 Dec. 1873. Died 27 April 1879.—Francis Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903*. At the time Gen. Sully was Commanding General of the District of Upper Arkansas, a headquarters immediately subordinate to Gen. Sheridan.

¹⁵ Robert M. West. Born New Jersey. Pvt. 12 April 1856; Capt. 1st Pa. Art. 25 July 1861; Major 13 Sept. 1861; Col. 28 July 1862; Brig. Gen. Vol. 1 April 1865; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Resigned 1 March 1869; Died 3 Sept. 1869.—Heitman, *op. cit.* (See footnote 85.)

¹⁶ Pvt. Harvey uses the words Troop and Company interchangeably.

¹⁷ On 31 August 1858 Troops A, B, C, D, E, F, G and I of the 7th U. S. Cavalry were ordered to the field for a campaign to the south against hostile Indians. Troop K, Pvt. Harvey's Troop, was detailed as escort (for the protection of the Commander and his staff) for Gen. Sully. Accordingly, for the *Diary* entries until 16th September it should be remembered that Troop K is not with the remainder of the command but is with Gen. Sully.

hands. The Indians are camped across the river from here, with a flag of truce; lead by Little Raven. General Sheridan has not arrived yet; they look for him every day and moment. Well and O. K.

Near Ft. Dodge, Kans. Sept. 7, 1868. The day is very beautiful and nice, with the exception of a very big wind all day and plenty of dust. General Sheridan here. Major Elliott¹⁸ arrived here this afternoon, in command of the 7th U. S. Cavalry. Our company is under marching orders, to be ready to leave at three o'clock, to join the command on an expedition. Left at four o'clock and crossed the river for some part, not knowing where. After we had got our train over, the sun had sunk behind the western hills, so for a night's rest sleep in the saddle. Traveled all night. Stopped at three o'clock in the morning, two hours. I saw Joseph Bell.

On Goose Creek, Kans. Sept. 8, 1868. Marched all day and saw no Indians. The day is very pleasant and nice, but still dusty. Reports that the scouts bring in is that the Indians are going south into Indian Territory. On the sick report; no chills the last few days. The country is very dry. No wood or buffaloes to be found. Some very pretty knolls and hills here.

In the Field on Goose Creek, Kans. Sept. 9, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock and started out. Marched about thirty miles today, then went into camp. Ate dinner; then the General sent Major Elliot with two Squadrons on in advance to look for the Indians and to see if he could find any signs of them. We have not seen any yet, since we started out, but they cannot be very far ahead of us. We will overtake them soon. Very well so far, no chills.

On the Simmerloan River,¹⁹ Kansas or Indian Territory. Sept. 10, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock and started at day break. Marched all day down the river. At noon, we struck a band of Indians hunting buffalo. They ran off at the sight of our coming. A few men followed them, but could not catch any of them, so we went into camp. In the night, twenty-five of them charged our camp and our train, but did not do any harm. This stopped off proceedings for the day. I feel well at present.

In the field on Beaver River, Ind. Ter. Sept. 11, 1868. Reveille at five and broke camp at six. The Indians charged into our camp, just as we started out, capturing one man²⁰ and wounding one. They followed us all day, and every time that we undertook to fight them, they would run away. They did some very bold riding and what a sight it was to see them ride and shoot. Sometimes they would shoot at us a mile off, but not any good.

In the Field on Wolf River, Ind. Ter. Sept. 12, 1868. Reveille at the usual time and again the Indians charged our old camp, not

¹⁸ Joel H. Elliott. Born Indiana. Pvt. Indiana Cav. 13 Sept. 1861; 2nd Lieut. 2nd Ind. Cav. 25 June 1863; Capt. 23 Oct. 1863; mustered out 18 Feb. 1866; Maj. 7th U. S. Cav. 7 March 1867. (Heitman, *op. cit.*) Major Elliott now rests in the Officers Circle at Fort Gibson National Cemetery. See the additional remarks concerning Major Elliott in foot note p. 374, "The Case of the Plagiarized Journal," *loc. cit.* On the date of this *Diary* entry, Major Elliott was the senior officer of the Regiment present, hence in command.

¹⁹ Cimarron River.

²⁰ The Regimental Return of the 7th U. S. Cavalry for September 1868 contains the entry: "Missing in Action. Louis Curran, Pvt. F Troop, Captured by Indians, 11 Sept. 1868, Sand Hills, I. T." The name of the wounded soldier is not shown.

doing any harm. They followed us until about noon. Then they took a stand on Wolf Creek, but we let them know that we were running the machine. When we opened our little Battery on them, they left. At dark, we had some bother with our cook fires, as they shoot at them some, but doing no harm. This ends our days march. I am well.

On the Center Fork²¹ of the Canadian River, Ind. Ter. Sept. 13, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock and started out at seven. We did not see any Indians until about noon, when we struck this river, where they had stopped for us and thought that they would do something, but they were very much mistaken to see that we did not care very much for them. We had a small fight, they killing one man, a Private²² of Troop F, 7th U. S. Cavalry. He was buried here at this place. The country is very bad and hilly. Very big sand hills here. Plenty of wood and water. The day was very hot, but pleasant.

On the Center Fork of the Canadian River, Ind. Ter. Sept. 14, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock and moved at eight. The Indians followed us until about noon, thinking they had given us a big thrashing, but it was not the case. We were out of rations and could not help ourselves. The Indians have gone back to look for their Papooses and Squaws. I think it is the best thing they can do for their own good. Struck Read Creek today, after traveling over a very rough and stoney piece of country. No wood and very bad water; it is all dirty and of a reddish color. The day is very pleasant, warm but looks like rain. Plenty of buffalo and we got some. This puts an end to our march for today.

On Bluff Creek, Kans. Sept. 15, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. A man of Company I was killed by mistake. This morning at day-break, he went out on picket and someway he got lost, and went too far out. The Corporal in charge of the picket post saw him, and thinking him to be an Indian, fired at him, hitting him in the left side and the bullet coming out on the left. He lived until four o'clock. The man's name was Cregg²³ and a nice, sober man, well thought of by the Company. The Indians have all left and gone south. The day is very cold and windy.

On Bluff Creek, Kans. Sept. 16, 1868. Reveille at day break. The day is very windy and rather cool. There is plenty of buffalo all around our camp. Some of the boys are out after them. Buried the man killed yesterday, today at ten o'clock, in the honors of war. We are staying here for a rest today, but we will leave for Fort Dodge tomorrow morning. Our Company is only with General Sully on escort. I am well yet.

On Mulberry Creek, Kans. Sept. 17, 1868. Reveille at daybreak and we started on for Fort Dodge. I was on rear guard today. The day is very windy. Saw no Indians yet. I think they have gone south. Arrived²⁴ at Fort Dodge at four o'clock and I am very tired

²¹ The Command has been moving south across present Ellis County, and has reached the main Canadian.

²² Entry on Regimental Return: "Cyrus McCorbett, Pvt. F Troop, Killed in Action, 13 Sept. 1868, Sand Hills, Canadian River, I. T."

²³ Entry on Regimental Return: "Charles Kruger, Pvt. I Troop, Killed while on Picket, 15 Sept. 1868, Bluff Creek, Ks."

²⁴ The scout into Indian Territory of Gen. Sully ended on the 17th. The Regimental Return shows the expedition marched 255 miles. Gen. Sully returned with his escort to Fort Dodge, although the Regiment remained in the field.

of riding. No news today. I feel bad tonight. There is no wood or water, especially wood is scarce.

On the Big Arkansas River, Kans. Sept. 18, 1868. The morning is very nice and warm. I am some better than yesterday. I have gotten some medicine and it makes me better than usual. There is no news of where we are going to go, some say to winter quarters and some say on a campaign; not knowing yet which.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 19, 1868. Reveille at daybreak. I fed my horse and ate my breakfast. Then I went up to the post to see some of my old friends that are there. I also went to the Blacksmith Shop and saw my old friend, Mr. Crawford. I shod a horse or two for our Company. I also got a check on the Sutler for 500 dollars. The day is very windy and dusty. In camp half a mile from the post on the river.

Near Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 20, 1868. Reveille at daybreak. The day is very hot and cool. The dust flies thick and fast. The news is that we are going on another campaign south; I hope not. I am at work in the post shop, shoeing our horses, getting ready to go after the Indians. Our Company has orders to be ready to march in a few days, to join the Regiment on Chalk Bluff Creek. I am well.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 21, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. The morning is very pleasant. No wind of any account, but it is cloudy and looks very much like rain; I think before morning it will. The news²⁵ is that G. A. Custer is coming to take command. Gen. Gibbs²⁶ arrived here last night from Fort Hays, along with the band. He will take command tomorrow or in a few days. Old R. M. West is drunk and in a mad spell.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 22, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. It rained some last night and laid the dust; made it comfortable and pleasant, in camp among the soldiers. I finished shoeing our Company horses this afternoon. It looks like snow, or rather is cold enough to snow. I am better than usual.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 23, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. I fed my horse and then I took him out to graze. No news of us going out to the Command yet, but we expect to go most any day. A detail went out to the Command this morning with a train of wagons loaded with rations for them. It still looks very much like rain. There has been no mail for a week. The Indians are very bad on the road. They send a Company of 10 with it, and it is very dangerous. No Indians are heard of.

²⁵ As with the modern counterpart, troop gossip was keeping abreast of events. Gen. Sheridan at the moment was pulling strings to secure a lifting of Custer's court martial and his transfer to the Department of the Missouri. On 28th September, a week after this Diary entry, Sheridan wrote to Custer from Fort Hays telling that he had asked for his services for the winter campaign.

²⁶ Alfred Gibbs. Born New York. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1842; 2nd Lieut. 2nd Mtd. Rifles 1 July 1846; Capt. 13 May 1861; Col. 130th N. Y. Inf. 6 Sept. 1862; Brig. Gen. Vol. 19 Oct. 1864; Maj. Gen. Vol. 13 May 1865; Major 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866. (Heitman, *op. cit.*). Gibbs had been transferred from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Dodge by S. O. No. 174, Dept. of the Missouri, 8 Sept. 1868, and being the senior officer present of the Regiment, assumed command upon arrival. Gibbs died at Fort Leavenworth 26 Dec. 1868.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 24, 1868. Reveille at six and it is raining this morning, I fed my horse, but did not clean him on account of the rain. I wrote three letters today to my friends. Then I went to Saw Log Crossing, for the purpose of finding some Indians, but saw none. They had fled. No news.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 25, 1868. Reveille at day break. I went to work in the shop today, at the Fort. I did not work on the account of being too much business on hand. I brought some nails down and drove the shoes down there. Also some to take on the scout when we go. Today is warm and pleasant, although it is clouding up now.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 26, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. The morning is very warm and pleasant. Some of our men are out on a scout after some Indians. I did not go on account of not being very well. They will be at Major Elliott's Camp before they come back. It is looking like rain. I think old West is on the warpath a little tonight. He is an old drunkard and a fool, I think.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 27, 1868. Reveille at usual hour. The morning is very pleasant and beautiful. I had to shoe some today. I shod Colonel R. M. West's horse. Then I went to my tent and took a sleep. Then the chills left for the present. Everything is lovely and in good spirits. A campaign is to come off in October, I think.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 28, 1868. Reveille at day break. The day is very hot and I am at work in the blacksmith shop. I shod some horses, then I went to my dinner. I do not feel well; had a very bad chill today. I got some medicine from the Hospital Steward at the post and it did me some good.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 29, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. The morning is very pleasant and nice. I am in the shop at the post shoeing our Company horses. I will soon be done for good, and then I will rest for awhile. The Indians are very close around this part. Chills again today.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 30, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour and the morning is very dismal and foggy. Cleared up at about noon when it became very pleasant. I have met no one from home yet, since I came back. Wrote my letters. The mail will be in tonight, if nothing happens. It is then I look for the mail or some mail. Lt. Law²⁷ is expected up to this place in a few days, then I will get what is back. No more to this month.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 1, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. This morning at daybreak, the Indians came charging down on our camp. It was at sick call and about seven o'clock I was sitting by the cook fire eating my breakfast, when I first saw them. They charged on some working men just about one-half mile from here, but the men ran and made their escape. One²⁸ was badly wounded, afterward dying. Our company soon got into line and started after them on a dead run, sometimes coming very close on them, but our Company Commander, being an old card, would not let us charge them. There was a wagon train coming up the river at some seven

²⁷ Edward Law. Born Pa. 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 15 Aug. 1867; 1st Lieut. 11 March 1869; Resigned 22 March 1870; Drowned 5 Oct. 1881.

²⁸ Entry on Regimental Return for October 1868: "William Johnson, Pvt., E. Troop, Killed in skirmish with hostile Indians, 2 October 1868, near Bluff Creek, Ks."

miles from the post and the Indians seeing that they had a chance, charged it, capturing four wagons and killing two teamsters. Also wounding the wagon master, afterwards dying. After we drove them off south of the Arkansas, we fell back to camp, took dinner, drew one day's rations, started again down to Big Coon Creek to meet another train on its road to this place. I did not go as I was excused by the Doctor. No more of today.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 2, 1868. We had no reveille as all of our Company is out after the Indians on scout, and there is only four or five left here. The Indians have gone south toward Major Elliott's Camp on Chalk Bluff Creek. Our Company came in today about noon with a big train of wagons from Fort Harker. It rained some today. I am not very well.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 3, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. The morning is cool and comfortable, but very foggy and you cannot see a half mile down the river. It is a good morning for the Indians to try themselves. I did not eat a bite today on account of being very sick with the chills and fever. I took a dose of medicine.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 4, 1868. Reveille as usual. We had Sunday's inspection today for the first time for some six or seven weeks, and old West inspected us, not very much of a one though. The morning is cool and pleasant. I feel some better today than usual.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 5, 1868. Reveille at the same hour as usual. I took a walk up to the post and went into the Hospital to see J. E. Spruce. I saw him. Duffey and Sullivan were sick in the Hospital. I also got some money from him that was owing me from him; not all, only five dollars. He has twenty yet of mine. The day is pleasant.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 6, 1868. Reveille as usual at six o'clock. The morning is very nice and beautiful. We will move our camp across the river today. There is thirty of our Company going out to Saw Log Crossing today to meet General Custer.²⁹ We are going under Lt. Weston. We got back at dark and just got our tent up when a big storm came and blew it partly down again. General Custer did not come.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 7, 1868. Reveille at six. The morning is very beautiful and nice. I did not do anything but write two letters, one to my sister and one to my father. They will leave tomorrow morning. Everything is on the move. Six Companies of the 10th U. S. Cavalry left here this morning for Walnut Creek, Kansas, between here and Fort Hays. A Campaign, I expect.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 8th, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is cool and very pleasant. I went over the river today and got my things. Also got some bread and postage stamps. Then I shod a horse for Col. Thompson.³⁰ I am not very well today. We will leave tomorrow if possible.

²⁹ Custer's court martial was lifted by G. C. M. O. No. 64, War Department, 25 Sept. 1868. He was designated commander of the Regiment by S. F. O. No. 18, District of Upper Arkansas, 7 Oct. 1868. The same order relieved Major Gibbs from command. Gibbs was thereupon named post commander of Fort Harker, Kans.

³⁰ William Thompson, Born Pa. Capt. 1st Iowa Cav. 31 July 1861; Major 18 May 1863; Col. 20 June 1864; Brig. Gen. Vol. 13 March 1865; mustered out 15 March 1866; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Retired 15 Dec. 1875; Died 7 Oct. 1897.—Heitman, *op cit*.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 9, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. Everything is lovely. I am at the Fort today and got some bread, but it is very cold and windy. Also very dusty. Company H, 7th U. S. Cavalry and Company M, 7th U. S. Cavalry are here and will go on the next campaign. It is very cold today. I am well today.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 10, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. Our camp is about one mile south of Fort Dodge, Kansas. The day is cool and some pleasanter than yesterday. No dust today of any account. This is no news of any importance, except that we will leave here for a new campaign³¹ south tomorrow morning, so I feel better. Sergt. Henderson is in Hospital.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 11, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. I fed my horse, ate my breakfast and then began to pack up for the march. Started at eight o'clock across the big Arkansas River. General Custer took command of our Troop this morning and we started to go south after the Indians. We marched eighteen miles when we crossed back over the Arkansas and went into camp for the night. Here we met a Company of the 38th Infantry on their way to Fort Dodge and three or four of our own Regt. The day is awful warm and dusty. We are not going to leave General Sully yet. We will be back in three or four weeks. Well at present.

Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 12, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock and started on our march or rather big march. We did not see any Indians until we arrived in the Major's Camp. Just after we arrived, the Indians made our pickets lay low. They made charge after charge, but were repulsed each time, one getting his ? taken and our soldiers got his equipment from him. We arrived here at four o'clock. We are all in good health, considering times and the country.

Arkansas River. Oct. 13, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock and started on our march. We got into camp at about noon, after marching fifteen miles. The day is so very hot. The Indians charged our rear, but lost. Some killed. No fight of any account. Plenty of wood and water. I am in very good health at present.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 14, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock. No Indians yet to be seen. We are on the waters of Medicine Lodge Creek. Company H went out to scout some tonight and came back after a few hours ride. Marched twenty miles today. Plenty of wood and water.

Oct. 15, 1868. Reveille at day break. We started back to join our Command, which we left yesterday at a Medicine Lodge Log House, used by the Indians for making medicine. This is a nice country for the Indians to stay on. We captured three ponies from the Indians or some they had left in their old camp. We arrived at General Custer's camp at noon; then moved on a little piece. Plenty of wood.

On Big Medicine Lodge Creek. Kans. Oct. 16, 1868. Reveille at day break and started for our old camp on Big Bluff Creek, Kansas. The day is very wet and damp. Rained all night and is muddy and slushy. No sun today of any account. Plenty of wood and water and a very nice country. Well.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 17, 1868. Reveille at day break and started to march. It is very damp and the day is very cloudy. Saw no Indians today. I do not think we will go much further on this trip, our horses are very tired and poor. The wood is plenty.

³¹ Troops H, K and M took to the field under orders to join the Regiment already in the field under Major Elliott.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 18, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock. We packed up boots and saddle at six o'clock and started at six and a quarter. Arrived at Bluff Creek today at noon. The day is very cloudy.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 19, 1868. Reveille at day break. The morning is very wet and it rained all night and part of today. It cleared up at noon, so I washed my clothes. I have a chill today. It still troubles me some. There is no wood of any account here but plenty of water. The news is that we are going to Fort Dodge, Kansas.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 20, 1868. It rained some last night and this morning is cool and windy. I am going to the blacksmith's shop to shoe some horses for our troop. I am sick today but at work.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 21, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock this morning. It was very nice and warm and pleasant this morning but got very bad towards noon. A big train came out from Fort Dodge, Kansas, with rations and wagons to move us into Fort Dodge. Tomorrow morning we will start for a tramp. I am very well today. On no duty today.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 22, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock this morning. Marched 31 miles today and arrived at the Arkansas River at five o'clock this evening. The morning was foggy and damp. I had a chill today at three o'clock. Not well.

On Big Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 23, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning was cool and pleasant. Camped eight miles southeast of Fort Dodge. I do not know how long we will stay here. I expect we will go over the river today. Very well today. It looks very much like rain this evening.

On Big Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 24, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock this morning. The morning is cool and nice and pleasant. A big wagon train came in from Fort Dodge, Kansas with rations and forage for our horses. The news is that we are going in to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

On Big Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 25, 1868. Sunday's inspection, today by Lieutenant Law, as our commanding officer is on a leave of absence for seven days. We have not received any news of our going into the Fort today. The day is very cool. I am well today.

In the field on Big Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 26, 1868. The morning is very cool but clear. The Indians made a charge on a train of wagons a short distance above here but none of the train is hurt. Nothing to do at the present. No news of our raid yet as I have heard. Things are dull. I am well.

In the field on the Big Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 27, 1868. The morning is cool and pleasant. No rain yet. I got an order to get a horse shod today. I did not shoe him myself. I think we will make our camp tomorrow up the river further. The news is very scarce and times are dull. I am well.

North of the Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 28, 1868. The morning is cool and windy, cool as if it would rain or snow. We moved our camp today and gave it the name of Andy Forsythe.³² I feel some

³² Camp Sandy Forsyth. Named in honor of Colonel George A. Forsyth. In August, 1868, Col. Forsyth had recruited a detachment of "first class handy frontiersmen" and acting under orders from Sheridan departed on an expedition to the upper Republican River. He fought a 3 day engagement on the Arickaree Creek in September, and only with extreme difficulty was he able to extricate himself and his command.

better today. The chills are very troublesome. We have had orders to have the Commands horses shod ready for a campaign to leave here on the tenth of next month. We are looking for a lot of new recruits³³ for our regiment, also our new horses will come along with them. No news for today, I left my work sick.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Oct. 29, 1868. The morning is cool and pleasant. We have our camp seven miles east of Fort Dodge, Kansas, on the Arkansas River. There is no news of our campaign yet. I think we will go soon. I am better today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Oct. 30, 1868. The morning is windy and cool. Sunday's inspection today and we had some trouble in camp on account of some dirty men. Plenty of news today. More clothing to be drawn today. Chills for me today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Oct. 31, 1868. The morning is cool and today is our day for muster for two months' pay. I received a letter from home today from my sister, A. A. They are well. I am well today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 1, 1868. The morning is cool and windy. Inspection today and four of our Company had to carry logs for being dirty on inspection. There names are Clare, Smith, Curley and Kellison. I had a small chill today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 2, 1868. The morning is cool and pleasant. I got an order for twelve horses to get shod today and I will have all the horses shod this week. I had a light chill today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 3, 1868. The morning is cool and windy, very disagreeable by evening. We are changing our horses today. Each company is getting a separate³⁴ color. We have all sorrels. I keep my old one. We got some very good ones and some bad ones too.

³³ On 10th November 137 recruits joined the Regiment. Of them, 14 were assigned to Troop K.

³⁴ "This was what is termed in the cavalry coloring the horses, which does not imply, as might be inferred from the expression, that we actually changed the color of our horses, but merely classified or arranged them throughout the different squadrons and troops according to the color. Hitherto the horses had been distributed to the various companies of the regiment indiscriminately, regardless of color, so that in each company and squadron horses were found of every color. For uniformity of appearance it was decided to devote one afternoon to a general exchange of horses. The troop commanders were assembled at headquarters and allowed, in the order of their rank, to select the color they preferred. This being done, every public horse in the command was led out and placed in line: the grays collected at one point, the bays—of which there was a great preponderance in numbers—at another; the blacks at another, the sorrels by themselves; then the chestnuts, the blacks, the browns, and last of all came what were jocularly designated the 'brindles,' being the odds and ends so far as colors were concerned—roans and other mixed colors—the junior troop commander of course becoming the reluctant recipient of these last, valuable enough except as to color. . . . It was surprising to witness what a great improvement in the handsome appearance of the command was effected by this measure."—George A. Custer, *My Life on the Plains, or Personal Experiences With Indians* (New York, 1876).

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 4, 1868. The morning is cool and windy. We moved our camp today one mile up the river, we will soon start on our campaign on the tenth of this month. Everything is getting ready to go, and I feel some better today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 5, 1868. The morning is cool and pleasant. Shoeing horses in the blacksmith's shop. Shod eight of our Company horses today and will shoe the rest tomorrow morning. Times are very dull around this part of the country. No Indians are to be heard of at the present but we soon will see them hopping and will pay them off for what they have been doing this summer. I am well.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 6, 1868. The morning is warm and pleasant; looks like rain. I shod some Company horses today. There is some talk about the paymaster coming to pay us soon and I think I will let him keep \$50.00 of my money this time for me until my time is up and then have some when I go home. The news is scarce and times are dull. I am well today. It is pretty hot and no rain yet.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 7, 1868. The day is windy and cloudy. I am at work in the blacksmith's shop shoeing our regiment's horses. I shod Lieutenant Law's horse, also Lieutenant Godfrey's³⁵ horse today. I am well today. No chills.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 8, 1868. The morning is wet and cold. I had to report to Major J. M. Bell³⁶ today for headquarters blacksmith. I received an order to shoe Troop E. Horses. We will go to work soon on them, also on all the other troops' horses, I am well today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 9, 1868. The morning is very disagreeable and bad. We had thirteen new recruits came this morning and some very good men with them, none that I am acquainted with or have ever seen. I think they will soon get tired of the 7th Cavalry.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 10, 1868. The morning sun is warmer than yesterday. We got paid today and I put up \$50.00 with the paymaster to keep for me until my time is up. The night is cool and freezing. No news of our campaign leaving yet. Everything is lovely and the "goose hangs high."

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 11, 1868. Reveille at the usual time. The morning is very pleasant. We had mounted inspection this forenoon. Inspected by General G. A. Custer. I shod a horse today and a very hard one he was. I feel some better than common. Everything is lovely.

³⁵ E. S. Godfrey. Born Ohio. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1863; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 17 June 1867; 1st Lieut. 1 Feb. 1868; Capt. 9 Dec. 1876; Major 1st U. S. Cav. 8 Dec. 1896; Lieut. Col. 12th U. S. Cav. 2 Feb. 1901; Col. 9th U. S. Cav. 26 June 1901; Godfrey was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism at Bear Paw Mountain, Mont. 30 Sept. 1877. —(Hietman, *op. cit.*) His own story of the Battle of the Washita is in *The Cavalry Journal*, Vol. XXXVII, October, 1928, p. 481.

³⁶ James M. Bell. Born Pa. 1st Lieut. 86th Ohio Inf, 10 June 1862; Capt. Pa. Cav. 30 June 1863; mustered out 14 July 1865; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; 1st Lieut. 2 April 1867; Capt. 25 June 1876; Major 1st U. S. Cav. 23 May 1896; Lieut. Col. 8th U. S. Cav. 10 Jan. 1900; Col. Vol. 5 July 1899; Brig. Gen. Vol. 20 June 1901; Brig. Gen. U.S.A. 17 Sept. 1901; retired 1 Oct. 1901.—Hietman, *op. cit.*

5 miles. Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 12, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. We broke up our camp on the Arkansas River and camped on Mulberry Creek, Kansas, but the day is very hot and we did not march³⁷ very far today, only five miles. We are going to be gone one month on a scout. It looks like rain. We have seen no Indians yet but there are plenty in the country.

20 miles Nov. 13, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock and we broke camp at six. I fed my horse and groomed him. We are coming in to the Indian country, but have not seen any yet. They will have to look out for if General Custer comes across them he will hurt some of them. The day is fine.

18 miles Bear Creek, Kans. Nov. 14, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. The morning is cloudy although warm and I think it will rain. We have seen no Indians yet; although we are in their country. This is a very rough and hilly part; no wood and very little water, enough for one night. I am well.

11 miles On Simmerloan River. Nov. 15, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock and started the day. It is very cold; snow for the first time this winter; it blows very hard. Still the country is very rough and no sign of Indians yet. I got some grub from the wagon.

27 miles On Wolf Creek, Ind. Ter. Nov. 16, 1868. Left the Simmerloan River this morning at day break and started, but saw no Indians. Still the day is cool and the buffalo are very scarce; we have killed none on this march yet.

16 miles On the North Canadian River, I. T. Nov. 17, 1868. We struck our old trail³⁸ today of September. I went out

³⁷ "Everything being in readiness, the cavalry moved from its camp on the north bank of the Arkansas on the morning of the 12th of November, and after fording the river began its march toward the Indian Territory. That night we encamped on Mulberry Creek, where we were joined by the infantry and the supply train. General Sully, commanding the district, here took active command of the combined forces. . . . The country over which we were to march was favorable to us, as we were able to move our trains in four parallel columns formed close together. This arrangement shortened our flanks and rendered them less exposed to attack. The following morning after reaching Mulberry Creek the march was resumed soon after daylight, the usual order being: the four hundred wagons of the supply train and those belonging to the troops formed in equal columns; in advance of the wagons at a proper distance rode the advance guard of cavalry; a corresponding cavalry force formed the rear guard. The remainder of the cavalry was divided into two equal parts, and these parts again divided into three equal detachments; these six detachments were disposed of along the flanks of the column, three on a side, maintaining a distance between themselves and the train of from a quarter to half a mile, while each of them had flanking parties thrown out opposite the train Unaccustomed, to field service—the infantry apparently were only able to march for a few hours in the early part of the day, when, becoming weary, they would straggle from their companies and climb into the covered wagons, from which there was no determined effort to rout them."—Custer, *op. cit.* p. 143.

³⁸ The anti-Custer faction will find these diary entries interesting. Pvt. Harvey makes no mention of the Indian trail described by Custer (*op. cit.* p. 144), which he stated he was denied permission by Sully to follow. This action by Sully is related as being the immediate reason for his being relieved by Sheridan and the command passing to Custer.—Rister, *op. cit.* p. 98.

on picket tonight for the time of only two hours so as to let the relief go to supper. Today it is very pleasant. We are all well and there is plenty of wood.

12 miles On the North Canadian River, I. T. Nov. 18, 1868. Reveille at day break. The command will lay over here today for the purpose of establishing a new post called Camp Supply,³⁹ a supply post for General Sheridan's campaigns during the winter of 1869. This post is at the junction of Wolf and Beaver Rivers and there is plenty of wood and water and is in a good country for a post. The weather is very beautiful and warm and cloudy and looks like rain. I am well.

Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Nov. 19, 1868. Reveille at day break. The morning is very pleasant. We are going to help build this post, then we will leave in command of it, three companies, Company E, 3rd U. S. Infantry, Company K, 5th Infantry, and Troop G, 11th U. S. Cavalry. Then just as soon as we have put up a stockade to protect them from the Indians, we intend to make a raid after the red skinned devils and kill them as we can get them. They have gone south toward Fort Cobb,⁴⁰ Indian Territory.

Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Nov. 20, 1868. The morning is pleasant, no rain yet. We are building quarters here for the infantry and getting along fine. Soon will be ready to march on after the Indians. I am shoeing my horses ready to go along for the fun. No news today.

Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Nov. 21, 1868. Shoeing horses. The morning is cold; I think there will be snow soon. It is so cold and the wind blows so strong. We will march tomorrow if nothing is wrong. No mail has reached us since we left the Arkansas River; we look for some today. I do not know whether it will reach us or not, it is so irregular. There is no way to reach us only by Pony Express, and it is some three hundred miles.

Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Nov. 22, 1868. The morning is cold; it snowed all night and it is still snowing. Cleared up at noon and got warm. Still it snows. We took our horses out to graze at noon to let them pick all they can this Sunday. We did not move today. We will tomorrow.

25 miles North of Canadian River, I. T. Nov. 23, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. We started⁴¹ on our scout. It snowed all day and very fast. Part of the time we could not find our road

³⁹ Camp Supply was established by G. F. O. No. 10, Hq. District of Upper Arkansas, In the Field, 18 Nov. 1868. The name was designated by G. F. O. No. 8, same date and headquarters. The post return for Camp Supply for November, 1868, contains the following opening entry: "Camp Supply is located near the junction of Beaver Creek and Wolf River, where forms the North Fork of the Canadian River and about twenty miles East of the 100 meridian of longitude, West. All mails are carried by trains or courier."

⁴⁰ Fort Cobb was established 1 October 1859 by Major Wm H. Emory and the 1st Cavalry. At this time it was used by Maj. Gen. Hazen for his Agency. For a history of old Fort Cobb see Muriel H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1956) p. 53.

⁴¹ The events of the next five days culminating in the Battle of the Washita are presented in detail in "The Case of the Plagiarized Journal" *loc. cit.*

and at night we had to lay in snow eighteen inches deep with our clothes all wet and freezing, although we have plenty of wood and good fires to keep us warm. No news of Indians. All gone south. I am well.

18 miles. On Buffalo Creek, Ind. Ter. Nov. 24, 1868. Broke camp at six o'clock; and the morning is very pleasant and warm, melting snow very fast. It melted it very near all off today. Saw some buffalo today and killed some of them. Killed some rabbits. Saw some deer, and had a fine chase after them but could not catch them.

22 miles On the Main Canadian River, I. T. Nov. 25, 1868. The morning is very warm and we crossed over this morning at day break. We had a very hard march today and a lot of horses gave out today and mules also. Major Elliott and two squadrons started out on a scout up the river. They struck an Indian trail numbering two hundred warriors. We will have them.

30 miles On the Night March, Ind. Ter. Nov. 26, 1868. Left our wagon train in the rear and started out in full speed. I think we will soon catch them. We marched all night, only two hours for supper, on the trail.

10 miles On the Washita River, Ind. Ter. Nov. 27, 1868. The morning is very cold. We found them at last. We charged at day break. Captured the entire Indian Village, numbering fifty-two lodges, and killed 103 of their warriors, including their principal chief, Blackkettle. Captured 57 or 75 of their women and children, who are in our possession, prisoners of war. Our loss is 23⁴² killed and 11 wounded, including Major Elliott and Captain Hamilton,⁴³ of Troop A, also our Sergeant Major.⁴⁴ Our officers wounded are Brevett Colonel Barnitz,⁴⁵ of Troop G, Lieutenant March,⁴⁶ and

⁴² Losses were 19 enlisted men and 2 officers killed. Presumably, this Diary entry was made contemporaneously, yet the fate of Major Elliott and most of the enlisted personnel was not actually confirmed until 11th December. Sheridan and Custer both had the same presumption as Pvt. Harvey, and this Diary entry indicates that the Regiment had taken for granted that such was a fact. Arm chair theorists have long speculated on how everyone *knew* that Major Elliott and the others had been killed. See for example, Van DeWater, *op. cit.* p. 198.

⁴³ Louis McLane Hamilton. Born New York. Pvt. 14th Inf. 23 Sept. 1862; 2nd Lieut. 3rd Inf. 27 Sept. 1862; 1st Lieut. 6 May 1864; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Bvt. Major 7th U. S. Cav. posthumously.—Heitman, *op. cit.* Hamilton was a grandson of Alexander Hamilton; and at the time of his commission in the 7th U. S. Cavalry he was reputed to have been the youngest captain in the regular army.

⁴⁴ Sergeant-Major Walter Kennedy. Sergeant-Major Creek was named in his memory.

⁴⁵ Albert Barnitz. Born Pa. Sgt. 2nd Ohio Cav. 22 Aug. 1861; 2nd Lieut. 1 June 1862; 1st Lieut. 18 Feb. 1863; Capt. 11 Sept. 1865; Maj. 20 March 1865; mustered out 11 Sept. 1865; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Bvt. Lieut. Col. 2 March 1867; Bvt. Col. 27 Nov. 1868 for gallantry at the Battle of the Washita; Retired 15 Dec. 1870.—Heitman, *op. cit.* He was gifted in literary talent and was the author of a volume of poetry.

⁴⁶ Thomas J. March. Born Pa. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1864; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 15 June 1868; Resigned 10 March 1872.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

Lieutenant Custer,⁴⁷ a brother of General Custer. We captured eight hundred ponies and mules, afterwards killing them all and leaving them behind. We afterwards retreated back ten miles, where we laid overnight. No rations tonight. The Indians captured them all from us by us leaving it while charging. We will reach our old train tomorrow by noon, then we will have plenty. I am very well so far. Plenty of snow.

10 miles On Dry Creek, Ind. Ter. Nov. 28, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock and we started without any breakfast. Met our supply train⁴⁸ at noon. The Indians have not bothered us much. They ran into our pickets last evening, none hurt. Plenty to eat and drink now. There is plenty of wood.

24 miles Camp on Skunk Creek, Ind. Ter. Nov. 29, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. Packed up and started on back for Camp Supply. It is very pleasant to what it has been since we left on our scout. The snow has nearly all gone off. We have gone over some pretty country and some nice streams. The Big Canadian River is from a mile to three-quarters wide.

30 miles On the Big Canadian River, I. T. Nov. 30, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock and we started on for a day's march. We marched over some hard looking country and made a big march. Arrived in camp about eight o'clock today. It is pleasant and warm.

Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 1, 1868. The morning is very nice and pleasant. We had some fun today with seeing the Osage Indians having a war frolic⁴⁹ on horseback. They would sing and fire their pieces (guns) off in the air so as to make it look nice. General Sheridan is here and is pleased at the victory we have won in his department. He gives us his thanks.

Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 2, 1868. The day is cloudy but warm. I think it will rain before many more days. There is no news yet of what we will do in order to go to our quarters.

⁴⁷ Thomas Custer. Born Ohio. Pvt. 21st Ohio Inf. 2 Sept. 1861; 2nd Lieut. 6 Mich. Cav. 8 Nov. 1864; Bvt. Maj. Vol. 13 March 1865; Bvt. Lieut. Col. 2 March 1867; 2nd Lieut. Inf. 23 Feb. 1866; 1st Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Capt. 2 Dec. 1875; Killed at Little Big Horn 25 June 1876.—Heitman, *op. cit.* Tom Custer had the distinction of having been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor twice.

⁴⁸ "At daylight the next morning we were again in our saddles and wending our way hopefully toward the train. The location of the latter we did not know, presuming that it had been pushing after us since we had taken our abrupt departure from it. Great was our joy and satisfaction, about ten o'clock, to discover the train safely in camp. The teams were at once harnessed and hitched to the wagons, and without halting even to prepare breakfast, the march was resumed, I being anxious to encamp at a certain point that night from where I intended sending scouts through with despatches to General Sheridan."—Custer, *op. cit.* p. 176.

⁴⁹ "On the night after the return of the troops from the Washita, the Indians proposed to celebrate the victory by giving a scalp dance. Shortly after dark a huge log fire was built upon the banks of the Beaver. A number of officers, including the Commanding General, resorted to the spot to witness, in all its wild originality, this triumphal celebration. The savages were seated around the fire, uttering not a word, and looking the personification of the denizens of some infernal region. Notwithstanding the wintry winds sweeping through the valley, they had dispossessed themselves of their blankets, and about their persons wore the trophies taken in the battle."—Keim, *op. cit.* p. 123.

I think we are good for another march. I am satisfied to go if we can find any more Indians' camps. It is very hard out here.

Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 3, 1868. The morning is cool and very pleasant. We are going to bury our dead today—Captain Hamilton, two soldiers of B. troop and one of H. Troop. They were buried in honors of war at three o'clock this afternoon.⁵⁰ We are going back in a few days after the Indians. No more news.

Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 4, 1868. The day is very nice and warm and pleasant. We had Regimental Inspection this afternoon by General Forsythe. He condemned our old things, old horses, blankets, old tents, old swivel bores, also our old carbines. We are going to move soon.

Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 5, 1868. The day is very cold. I went after some wood today and had a good fire. I saw a mule team run away today and I helped catch it. It broke the tongue of the wagon off. It is very cold today. I am well.

New Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 6, 1868. The morning is cold and disagreeable. It snowed all night. Sunday's Inspection ordered. Still snowing. We got some brandy issued to us today by order of General Sheridan on account of it being so cold.

⁵⁰ "We had brought with us on our return march from the battle-ground of the Washita the remains of our slain comrade, Captain Louis McLane Hamilton. Arrangements were at once made, upon our arrival at Camp Supply, to offer the last formal tribute of respect and affection which we as his surviving comrades could pay . . . On the evening of the day after our arrival at Camp Supply the funeral took place. A little knoll not far from camp was chosen as the resting place to which we were to consign the remains of our departed comrade . . . In addition to the eleven companies of the Seventh Infantry, the regular garrison of Camp Supply, numbering several companies of the Third Regular Infantry, the regiment in which Captain Hamilton had first entered the regular service, was also in attendance. The body of the deceased was carried in an ambulance as a hearse, and covered with a large American flag . . . The pall-bearers were Major-General Sheridan, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonels J. Schuyler Crosby, W. W. Cook, and T. W. Custer, Brevet Major W. W. Beebe, Lieutenant Joseph Hall, and myself."—Custer, *op. cit.* p. 182. The reference by Pvt. Harvey to the burial of three enlisted men brings additional information to hand on the Battle of the Washita, as all other sources mention only the burial of Capt. Hamilton. The fortunate circumstance that Pvt. Harvey mentions the troop assignment of the three makes it possible to determine their names from the Regimental Returns for November and December, 1868. The two from Troop B are thus Pvts. Charles Cuddy and Augustus Delaney. The return for December, 1868, contains the entry: "Pvt. Benjamin McKasey, Troop H, Died 1 Dec. 1868, Camp Supply, I. T., of wounds recd at Battle of Washita I. T. 27 Dec. 1868." Pvt. McKasey is thus the third member of the trio of enlisted men buried with Captain Hamilton. The Oklahoma Historical Society is continuing in an effort to determine the present resting place of Hamilton. There is no record of re-interment at Fort Gibson National Cemetery, and the National Archives has reported (1959) that they have no information on the place of burial.

10 miles Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 7, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. We started⁵¹ on another raid, south in the same direction as before.⁵² I do not know where we will fetch up at. Some say at Fort Cobb, Indian Territory. I do not know for my part, only that we are going after the Indians. The weather is cool but getting warmed. I am well.

On Center Fork⁵³ of Canadian River, I. T. Dec. 8, 1868. The day is pleasant. Plenty of wood and water and a nice camp. No news of any account. No Indians yet to be seen.

20 miles On the Main Canadian⁵⁴ River, I. T. Dec. 9, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock in the morning. We camped on an old Indian camping ground. This is a pretty camping ground for cavalry. Not much wood, but plenty of water. No Indians yet since the fight.

5 miles On a Branch of the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 10, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. We crossed over the Canadian River,⁵⁵ and it is very cold and windy. David Ryan⁵⁶ shot himself by accident through the foot. We encamped on the Washita River near⁵⁷ where we had the fight of the 27th of last month.

⁵¹ "The expedition consisted of the eleven companies of the seventh cavalry, ten companies of the volunteers, Pepoon's scouts, and fifteen Osage and Kaw Indians, making a total of about seventeen hundred men. The supplies for men and animals for thirty days, together with shelter tents, cooking utensils and baggage, were conveyed in three hundred wagons. Three of the Cheyenne squaws were also taken with the expedition, to be used in giving information respecting the country."—Keim, *op. cit.* p. 128.

⁵² The march for 7th December was up Wolf Creek along its north bank for about 10 miles, then crossing the creek and making camp along the south bank in the vicinity of present Dunlap, Harper county.

⁵³ The march for 8th December was due south across present Ellis County. Camp for the evening was made on Hackberry Creek in the vicinity north of present Peek, Ellis County. "After a march of 30 miles the column went into camp on Hackberry Creek, so named by the Commanding General on account of that tree predominating on its banks. The stream was insignificant in itself, but important as the only desirable camping place between the Wolf and Main Canadian Rivers." Keim, *op. cit.* p. 134.

⁵⁴ The march for 9th December was 15 miles south to the main Canadian where camp was made on the north bank "in a bend of the river, where there is plenty of tall grass so our horses can have a good feed. They get a quart of corn every morning and graze at night. We can see a high hill west of here and are told it is Antelope Hill. The river bottom seems to be very fertile and is over a mile wide and covered with grass a foot high. There is not much water in the channel although about 100 yards wide, but only a couple of inches deep. The sand bars indicate a large stream at certain times."—Diary entry of Pvt. Spotts for 9th December.—Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 73.

⁵⁵ "The crossing of the river occupied about five hours and was effected without the loss of a single wagon, notwithstanding several were frozen fast while delayed in the stream and had to be cut out."—Keim, *op. cit.* p. 138.

⁵⁶ Pvt. David Ryan, native of Ireland, enlisted in Troop K on 31 August 1866 and was discharged 16 August 1871. Apparently Pvt. Ryan recovered without difficulty, as the incident does not appear upon the regimental return for December, 1868.

⁵⁷ Regarding the camp for 10th December, Custer (*op. cit.* p. 193) reports they camped a "few miles below" the battleground; Keim (*op. cit.* p. 141) says the site was "but eight miles from the scene"; while Pvt. Spotts (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 74) records it was "about a mile."

On the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 11, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is very nice, but cold. We will lay over here tomorrow or rather today. General Sheridan and General Custer went out to see if they could find any of the bodies of our lost at the Battle of the Washita on last November 27th. They found the body of Major Elliott, the body of the Sergeant Major and 13 enlisted men's bodys. Major Elliott's body was very much cut⁵⁸ and mangled up. They were all scalped but the Major. They also found the body of a white woman⁵⁹ and her child, both killed and scalped by the bloody villians. She was a prisoner in their hands and they killed the woman.

9 miles On the Washita River,⁶⁰ I. T. Dec. 12, 1868. The day is very disagreeable. It is snowing, it has snowed all day. We have had some very cold weather since we left Camp Supply, but the evening is getting warm and the sun is melting the snow very fast.

9 miles On the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 13, 1868. The morning is very warm and beautiful. The snow leaves very fast. Have seen no Indians yet. Troop G and Troop K, 7th U. S. Cavalry are building bridges⁶¹ today over small streams. It is very warm.

10 miles On the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 14, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is beautiful. We travelled over some very hard roads where there was never a wagon before. We crossed over the big Washita River and the country is not so bad as on the opposite side. There is some very pretty farming land on this river. Plenty of wood.

10 miles On a Branch⁶² of the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 15, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. We had stable call and ate our breakfast. Then we packed up and started on our day's march. Old Colonel R. M. West made us walk very nearly all day. Some of the boys were cursing and I do my share at it too. We saw twenty Indians today but could not catch them. They ran very fast and got away. We will catch them yet. Plenty of wood and water.

⁵⁸ The report of Henry Lippincott, Regimental Surgeon, on the condition of the bodies has been widely reprinted. It appears in *Executive Doc. 40*, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, 4 Feb. 1869; in Custer, *op. cit.* p. 195 and Keim, *op. cit.* p. 147.

⁵⁹ Mrs. R. F. (Clara) Blinn and her two year old son, William. She had been captured at an Arkansas River crossing near Ft. Lyon, Col. A letter she had written on 7th November from her captivity "near Antelope Hills" is quoted in Rister, *op. cit.* p. 117.

⁶⁰ The march for 12th December was downstream along the south bank of the Washita. "We have passed several abandoned villages, for the frames of their tepees, made of willows, are left behind. There are pieces of broken saddles, broken lodge poles, pieces of canvas and blankets, so it is easy to tell where a camp has been."—Diary entry of Pvt. Spotts for 12th December, Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 76.

⁶¹ In his Diary entry for 13th December, Pvt. Spotts reports: "Sometimes we come across the pioneer corps when they have a bad crossing to make or several close together, but seldom have to wait long as they go before the column and can call out for help if needed." Camp for the night of the 13th was northwest of present Hammon.

⁶² Camp for 15th December was south of present Butler in Custer County. "On the night of the fifteenth, upon the column going into camp in a heavy timber on the river, it was discovered that we were in the midst of a favorite roost of immense numbers of wild turkeys."—Keim, *op. cit.* p. 154.

15 miles On the Washita⁶³ River, I. T. Dec. 16, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. The morning is very beautiful and warm. The snow is leaving fast. Company C of our Regiment charged some Indians and drove them out of sight. Killed one. We soon will arrive at our stopping place. It is forty miles to Ft. Cobb, Indian Territory. A nice camp we have tonight, plenty of wood and water. The Indians want peace and we will give it to them if they behave themselves. Everything is nice and I am well.

20 miles On the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 17, 1868. We camped⁶⁴ just on the river bank. The day is very warm, all of the snow is gone and it makes it very muddy and disagreeable under foot. Our Company Commander made us walk pretty near all day. Some of the boys are very tired and their feet are very sore. Our horses are very poor and played out. Plenty of wood and water and a nice camp.

Near⁶⁵ Fort Cobb, I. T. Dec. 18, 1868. The morning is cool and nice. The Indians have come in for to make peace. We saw lots of Indians and they want to make a treaty. I do not know what General Sheridan will do with them. They are very cunning and sharp. They are afraid of General Custer. Plenty of wood and water. This is a very pretty place.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 19, 1868. The day is very nice. The Indians are around in large numbers. No news today. I am well and nice.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 20, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. Fed our horses, then took them out to graze. We had General Inspection today by General Custer. The day is very pleasant. There has been no treaty yet with the Indians. Two chiefs are under guard, one by the name of Satanta, and the other by the name of Lone Wolf. They will be kept⁶⁶ for the good of their tribes. They will be let loose just as soon as they send for their tribes to come in and sign a treaty such as is provided for them. Today is very nice.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 21, 1868. This morning is very cold and very windy. I did not get very much sleep. I am Corporal of the Stable Guard tonight. The Indians are all out yet and there is not very much sign of them coming in. I think we will have to go after them and thrash them good so they will mind it for awhile. I am very well, considering my wages.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 23, 1868. The morning is very cold also the day. I am on guard today and just now relieved from duty by Corporal Blunt. I think I can sleep pretty well tonight. I will try it very hard. No treaty yet. I am well and feel well.

⁶³ Camp for 16th December was in the vicinity of Clinton, Custer County.

⁶⁴ Camp for 17th December was near present Cloud Chief in Washita County. "... My Osage scouts came galloping back on the morning of the 17th of December, and reported a party of Indians in our front bearing a flag of truce."—Custer, *op. cit* p. 196. The Indian delegation presented a letter from Gen. Hazen to the effect that all local Indians were friendly and had not been on a war path that season. Before the day was done Sheridan and Custer was in a pow wow with Satanta, Black Eagle and a number of lesser Kiowa, Apache and Comanche luminaries.

⁶⁵ The expedition reached Fort Cobb on the 18th and went into bivouac on the low ground just southeast of the present town of Fort Cobb, Caddo County.

⁶⁶ To insure the success of his plans, Gen. Sheridan seized Satanta and Lone Wolf and held them under guard for several weeks.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 24, 1868. Reveille at day break. The morning is very pleasant. I went for wood and found plenty of it where I was. We had a scare last evening about nine o'clock. The whole regiment came out under arms, but it was only a false alarm and nobody was hurt. No treaty yet but we expect the Indians all in soon.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 25, 1868. The morning is cool and windy and very dusty. Today is Christmas Day⁶⁷ and I have only two hard tacks for my dinner and a quart of bean soup that a hog would not eat if he were starving. This is the kind of a dinner I have to sit down to today, alright. Everything is lovely.

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Dec. 26, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. Ate breakfast, then we had orders to black our saddles for mounted inspection tomorrow morning at nine o'clock by order of Major General Custer, commanding the 7th U. S. Cavalry, in the field near Fort Cobb, Indian Territory. I am well today.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 27, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. Sunday's inspection today mounted and fully equipped. I am Corporal of the Stable Guard tonight and very fine I feel today. Not much to do so as the Indians are all gone and they soon will be here to stay for good. Then we will have peace for a while. They have gone out after the rest of their familys in to the Wichita Mountains, some two hundred miles from here.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 28, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock this morning. The morning is cool and looks like rain. We have run out of hardtacks and we will have to bake our own bread. You would laugh to see us mix our dough. The news is very dull. It is damp today. I am well.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 29, 1868. Reveille at day break. It rained all last night and all day and is still raining. It is very muddy and disagreeable. I am afraid our camp will overflow before it stops raining. We are all wet and our blankets are damp. I hope to see it stop soon and before it gets cold.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 30, 1868. Reveille at any time we see fit as the morning is still very wet and disagreeable. Everything is in a dreadful⁶⁸ state. Part of our troop have left our camp

⁶⁷ "Christmas day was duly celebrated in camp. Milk punch, concocted of the condensed material, sugar, and Texas 'spirits,' was the popular beverage. With their usual facility for discovering everything that is going on, the leading warriors in the vicinity of camp in some way or another found out that the day was more than an ordinary affair Several delegations, painted and plumed, and mounted of their best war ponies, set out for the various headquarters. At the time at Hazen's tent a number of officers were present. As the warriors came up, and heard the conversation within, they probably felt reassured that something was going on In the afternoon Sheridan gave a Christmas dinner, however, was not so bountifully supplied with the game of the country as the feast of Thanksgiving-day at Camp Supply—Keim, *op. cit.* p. 171.

⁶⁸ Pvt. Spotts was having the same trouble. He wrote on 30th December: "It is still raining and we still have to dip water. We hope it will not get so soaked, so the ground will cave in. The camp is nearly all under water and when we got up this morning the camp of my company was deserted and the tents gone. All we could see was a row of holes full of water. The water came into their tents in the night and they had to get out of bed and grab bed, clothing and tents and hunt for higher ground."—Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 91.

and fled for the woods half a mile off. I soon will leave and go along. We have to do the best we can for our own good and to keep ourselves dry. I am Stable Guard tonight as Corporal. I will stay in my tent all night. I am in charge, so I will do as I please.

In the Woods near Fort Cobb, I. T. Dec. 31, 1868. Reveille at the usual time. We have been driven from our camp on account of mud and water. We are stuck along the bank of the river like a lot of prisoners of war. It is impossible for us to get our blankets dry as there is no sun to dry them. I have a bad cold.

1869

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Jan. 1, 1869. The day is cool and wet. Making a Treaty⁶⁹ with old Satanta. No news.

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Jan. 2, 1869. Reveille at day break. The morning is cool and clear, also things are drying fast and the mud. I have not heard of our Treaty yet that Gen. Sheridan made. Everything is nice.

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Jan. 3, 1869. Reveille at 6:00 o'clock and still it is clear. Sunday and inspection, also dress parade. In the evening a big train arrived here from Fort Arbuckle loaded with flour and rations for our regiment, also the 19th Kansas Volunteers. You would be tickled to see us bake, making what we call "slap jacks" and heavy cakes. I am a good baker and cook.

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Jan. 4, 1869. The day is most beautiful. I am on herd duty today, in charge of the stable guard. Another big train of wagons came in today with rations for our regiment and the 19th Kansas Volunteers. Plenty of grub to eat. Some of the Indians will soon come now as they are getting hungry and out of rations.

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Jan. 5, 1868. Reveille at day break. I will be on pass today to go on business over to the Fort. The day is very pleasant and nice. The mud soon will be all dried up. Orders⁷⁰ are for our command to move tomorrow morning. We will go some 35 miles from this post to establish a new post called New Fort Cobb,⁷¹ I. T.

⁶⁹ After several weeks of backing and filling, Gen. Sheridan lost patience with the Indians and directed Custer to advise Satanta and Lone Wolf that unless their people came into Fort Cobb by sundown of the next day, Sheridan would hang them both. Satanta dispatched his young son as a courier, and the prompt arrival the next day of the two missing tribes would indicate that the two Chiefs took Sheridan at his word.

⁷⁰ On the morning of the 28th December a reconnaissance party under Col. B. H. Grierson, 10th U. S. Cavalry, departed from Fort Cobb to survey a site on Cache Creek some miles south of Fort Cobb previously seen by Col. Grierson. The details of the scout to Cache Creek are given in W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance* (Norman, 1943) p. 75 *et seq.* Colonel Nye indicates that the downpour of rain was the last straw in convincing Sheridan that a change of location was for the best, but from the diaries of Pvts. Harvey and Spotts, the downpour did not commence until after the departure of the Grierson party. Mr. Keim accompanied the survey, and gives many details. Colonel Nye states the party departed from Fort Cobb on the 27th, whereas Keim states it was on the morning of the 28th.

⁷¹ This sentence will be of value to those especially interested in the history of Fort Sill. The name Elliott, in honor of Major Elliott, had been proposed by his colleagues of the 7th Cavalry, but it is believed this is the only reference to the possibility of the name New Fort Cobb.

On Asher⁷² Creek, I. T. Jan. 6, 1869. Reveille at 3:00 o'clock this morning. Packed up our things and started on our day's march towards our new post called New Fort Cobb. This old post is abandoned. A very pretty morning. We travelled through the entire Kiowas Indian Camp this morning and also the Comanches Camp. I saw some very pretty Indian women; a very pretty sight for one, who has never seen an Indian; all of the Indians are not here yet.

On Cash⁷³ Creek, I. T. Jan. 7, 1869. Our Reveille at day break this morning. It is cloudy and warm. Three men deserted from our troop; their names are as follows: 1. Cruzan, 2. Foulk, 3. Warren.⁷⁴ They took nothing except their carbines. Plenty of wood and water and the very best of land, very rich. Too bad to let the Indians have it. They ought to be driven off and the land given to the poor white man of different states.^{74a}

At the Foot⁷⁵ of the Wichita Mts., I. T. Jan. 8, 1869. Reveille at day break. It rained all night and is still trying it yet. We have passed over some very pretty country today and seen some very pretty mountains and plenty of game, such as hare, deer, elk, rabbit and antelope, also plenty of quail, and other birds, such as wild turkey and pigeons.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 9, 1869. Sunday Inspection. Three men carrying a log⁷⁶ for being dirty, Clair, Curley and Long. The day is cool and windy.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 10, 1869. The morning is cool and very nice. We had Sunday's inspection and there were three men of our Troop had to carry saddles for not being out for inspection at the first call. I was not out for my part, but nobody has anything to do with me as I am in charge of the blacksmith shop.

⁷² Without doubt the reference is to Cache Creek. Neither Pvt. Harvey nor Spotts mention the prairie fire and "the great waves of flame" encountered on the 6th by Mr. Keim (*op. cit.* p. 255).

⁷³ Camp for the night of the 7th was probably in the vicinity of Richards, north of Fort Sill. The main body of the 7th Cavalry did not arrive at the new site until the 8th. Nye, *op. cit.* p. 85.

⁷⁴ The regimental return for January, 1869, has the entry: Pvt. Benjamin F. Consour, Pvt. Warren Foulke, Pvt. Henry E. Warren, K Troop, deserted 7 Jan. 1869, Fort Cobb, I. T."

^{74a} This remark against Indian ownership of lands in the Indian Territory is significant for it reveals Custer's military expedition of 1868-69 as the beginning of a great movement in Oklahoma history. The remark that was voiced by white settlers in the Great Plains region, and the rallying cry of "boomer colonists" who claimed the right to invade lands for homestead settlement in central Indian Territory a decade later. The name of David L. Payne appears on the roster of the 19th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry as Captain of Company H (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 23) on this expedition of 1868-69. It was Payne who championed the cause as leader of the "boomers" that finally brought about the first opening of lands to white settlement in Oklahoma, by the run of April 22, 1889.—Ed.

⁷⁵ On the 8th Gen. Sheridan selected the site for the new post; and 8 January 1869 is considered the official date for the establishment of Fort Sill. Sheridan chose a site 300 yards southeast of the location planned by Col. Grierson, who had not contemplated that a permanent garrison type post was projected by Sheridan.—Nye, *op. cit.* p. 85.

⁷⁶ Carrying a log was a favorite form of Troop punishment. See *Diary* entry for 1st November and also Murphy, *Reminiscences*, *loq. cit.*

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 11, 1869. Reveille at day break. The day is very pleasant and beautiful. We had two corporals broke today, Corporals Blunt and Springer. The reason why is this: They would not come out to Roll Call in time this morning.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 12, 1869. Reveille at 3:00 o'clock. The morning is very cool and looks very much like rain and snow. I am at work in the blacksmith shop. I shod Lt. Godfrey's horse and also Lt. Laws. Everything is lovely and the goose hangs high.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 13, 1869. Reveille at the usual hour and the morning is very wet and windy. It rained all night and is still raining. I got an order to shoe Co. B and Co. F. horses today. I quit at three o'clock on account of rain. I am well.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 14, 1869. The morning is clear again but very cool and damp. I got a letter from Mary E. Feuster also one from Lizzie Reppert. I must answer them soon, especially Mary's. No news of any account.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 15, 1869.⁷⁷ Reveille at a good time—at day break. The morning is cloudy again. It cleared up at noon time and and got warm and nice. This is a very queer country for it changes so soon and often. I baked some "slap jacks" for my supper. They eat very well; just as well as if my wife had baked them. So good.

On Medicine Creek, I. T. Jan. 16, 1869. I am still at work in the blacksmith shop shoeing our regiment's horses. The day is very nice and clear. Plenty of Indians in camp this afternoon; they are drawing rations from our commissary. Lots of pretty squaws in along with old bucks. Oh! What savage looking men some of them are, but very big cowards. They will run.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 17, 1869. Reveille at day break. The morning is cool. We had Sunday inspection mounted.

⁷⁷ Pvt. Spotts (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 103) recorded in his *Diary* for 15th January: "Gen. Custer has taken about forty of his picked sharpshooters to visit all of the tribes that have not come in yet. Gen. Sheridan is still with us and when Custer proposed to visit the Indian camp he told him he would not advise or order him to go nor would he oppose him." Custer (*op. cit.* p. 213) relates. "I decided that with General Sheridan's approval I would select from my command forty men, two officers, and a medical officer, and, accompanied by my two chiefs, Little Robe and Yellow Bear, who regarded my proposition with favor, I would set out in search of the hostile camp From my tent to General Sheridan's was but a few steps, and I soon submitted my proposition to the General, who from the first was inclined to lend his approval to my project." Custer selected as his two officers, his brother, Captain Tom Custer, and his Aide, Captain Samuel M. Robbins. Robbins had been a junior officer in Troop D, and on 7 Dec. 1868, the date of the departure from Camp Supply, he had been detailed as Aide-de-camp to Custer. He continued to meet with Custer's favor for on 17 Dec. 1868 he was promoted to captain by S. O. No. 141, Hq. Military Division of the Missouri. The regimental return for January, 1869 (dated Ft. Hays, Kans. 11 May 1869) shows the date of departure of the detachment under Custer as 22nd January, but this editor prefers to use the date given by Pvt. Spotts as more probably correct. Custer and his party returned 7 February 1869 with no Indians.



(Courtesy of U. S. Army Museum, Fort Sill)

View of Fort Sill in 1869 from an old pencil sketch.

They had a race between the Companys. Our Company came out 3rd best. Company D, 1st. Company A, 2nd. I was not out myself.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 18, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is very cool and nice. I am in good health, hoping to be so all the time. Report came in today that Cheyennes are on their way in to camp to make a treaty with General Sheridan and General Custer. I am at work in the blacksmith shop.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 19, 1869. Reveille at half past six o'clock. The morning is very nice and pleasant. I am shoeing horses in the Q. M. D. in charge of the outfit. The Indians are not in yet or no signs yet of them. I think they will not come in for fear of our capturing and making prisoners and putting them into the Guard House.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 20, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock and the day is cloudy and cool. Looks like rain or snow. I wrote a letter to Miss Lizzie Reppert and sent it to Camp Supply by scout by the name of Corben.⁷⁸ Everything is lovely and the goose hangs high. No Indians yet or no signs of them.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 21, 1869. Reveille at five o'clock. The morning is cool and it snowed some last evening. It cleared up at noon and got some warmer. I finished shoeing our Troop's Horses to-night.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 22, 1869. Reveille at day break. The morning is very warm and nice. A soldier by the name of Conklin⁷⁹ was shot by mistake last evening. He belongs to Troop G, 7th U. S. Cavalry. He will be buried to-day in "Honors of War." Everything else is lovely and sound.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 23, 1869. Reveille at the usual hour. It rained last night but rains none to-day. Still is warm and cloudy, and I think it will rain some more soon, if it keeps on getting warm. Shoeing Troop I's horses. As soon as we have finished them, we will be through for sometime, then we can rest and have a good time.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 24, 1869. Reveille at five. Sunday's inspection to-day, but I did not go on. I washed my clothes and then I went to get⁸⁰ my likeness; alone and my bunkmate's and mine together. The day is warm. I helped to pack a lot of mules with rations to send out to General Custer. He is in the Arapahoe's camp. He will not be in for 18 days yet. He will try to bring in the Indians with him to make their treaty. If they do not come, he will make them.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 25, 1869. This morning is cool and cloudy. We sent our horses out to graze for a month. Our whole regiment is down the river five miles. A forage train came in.

⁷⁸ Jack Corbin, a renowned scout.

⁷⁹ The regimental return for January has the entry: "Dennis Conghlin, Pvt. G. Troop, died of wounds recd by the accidental discharge of a carbine, 21 Jan. 1869, Med. Bluff Creek, I. T."

⁸⁰ That a traveling portrait photographer had already arrived and set up shop at future Fort Sill is noteworthy.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 26, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is very cool. It rained all night and it is some muddy. I saw a horse race between Little Raven, the Arapaho Chief, and Captain Currey⁸¹ of our regiment. The Captain's horse came out best—only Ten Dollars aside; not much of a loss. The Indians are very thick around our camp in good times.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 27, 1869. Reveille at five o'clock. The morning is very pleasant. General P. H. Sheridan took a ride out to visit the Kiowa's reservation, on Kasher Creek. General Custer has not arrived from his scout yet, but we expect him soon. I have no work to do. The horses are all shod and on herd. No news. The mail went out.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 28, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is very warm. We had a big thunder storm to-night about six o'clock, but it did not rain very fast or much. The wind blew very hard and got cold and clear. No news of Custer yet. More rations for him yet.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 29, 1869. Three of Gen. Custer's men came in to-night. He has found⁸² the Indians at last. They will come into Camp in a few days.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 31, 1869. Reveille as usual. The day is beautiful. I saw 150 rattle snakes⁸³ killed to-day by a soldier in Troop K and Troop I of our regiment. They found them in the rocks of the Wichita Mountains. I also took a visit up to Lover's Leap,⁸⁴ a very high mountain and a very pretty view, we have of our camp; about 2 miles from our camp. The ending of January 1869. My news is scarce at present.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 1, 1869. Reveille at day break and everything looks nice.⁸⁵ The day is pleasant, but raining some. There is not any news of General Custer yet, or any shoeing yet to be done. The 19th Kansas Volunteers is shoeing mules on our forge. We expect to move north soon by way of Camp Supply Indian Territory to Ft. Hays, Kansas.

⁸¹ The reference is not certain. There was no officer whose name would approximate this in either the 7th U. S. Cavalry, the 10th U. S. Cavalry, or the 19th Kansas Volunteers. It has been suggested that Pvt. Harvey had reference to Captain Miles Keogh, a noted horseman of the 7th, but the regimental returns indicate that Captain Keogh had been on detached service at Fort Harker, Kans., for the months of December and January. He, of course, could have been temporarily visiting his regiment at Fort Sill.

⁸² For the details of what was happening with Custer and his detachment, see Custer, *op. cit.* p. 115, *et seq.*

⁸³ Pvt. Spotts (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 106) tells of killing 103 rattlesnakes on 17th January. Mr. Keim (*op. cit.* p. 269) relates the appearance of the den after the visit by the soldiers: "A mass of enormous 'diamond,' rattlesnakes were lying about in all states of mutilation. Some were without heads. All without tails. The largest and in fact the majority were without skins."

⁸⁴ Known to hundreds of artillerymen as "M. B. 3" the Medicine Bluff is still a scenic attraction. Mr. Keim devotes several pages (*op. cit.* p. 238, *et seq.*) to its legends and its importance.

⁸⁵ Notwithstanding his obvious dislike (see footnote 15) for Captain West, the commanding officer of Troop K, Pvt. Harvey fails to record that the previous day had been the last day of command for Robert M. West. He was placed on leave by S. F. O. #12, Hq. Department of the Missouri, 30 Jan. 1869, and on 1st February Lieut. Godfrey assumed command of the Troop. West never returned to duty with the 7th Cavalry.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 2, 1869. Reveille at day light. The morning is cold and snowing some, but still my bunky and myself have plenty of wood and a good fire, all day. We have had no news at present.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 3, 1869. The day is windy and cloudy. Also cool. I got a letter from home. I hear no news of any account. All is well and also I am well. Nothing to do to-day. No Indians.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 4, 1869. The morning is cool and nice. Very pleasant. A big train of wagons came in from Ft. Arbuckle and Ft. Gibson, loaded principally with rations for this Command. It is very near time; we have been living on 2 hard-tacks per day for some 8 or 10 days. We will live fine now. No work and plenty of fun.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 5, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock. The day is cool and windy. I slept very soundly last evening and night. We had a transfer⁸⁶ of horses in our regiment. We had all of the 19th Kansas Volunteers' transferred over to ours, so this makes more work for us blacksmiths. Our Troop got eleven. We turned all of our serviceable ones in and they will be taken to Ft. Arbuckle and be turned in.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 6, 1869. The morning is warm and pleasant. I went up to work and made a letter "K: to brand our horses that we got from the 19th Kansas Volunteers. Then I sent it down to the herd and told the horse Farrier to brand the whole herd.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 7, 1869. General Custer arrived here from the Cheyennes, but they did not come in with him; so I expect we will have to go along. The Arapahoes are coming in. One man of Company I captured and lost.⁸⁷

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 8, 1869. The morning is cool and windy. The day is changeable, along with some rain. Troop A and D, numbering three hundred men, under command of Brvt. Col. Weir,⁸⁸ started out after or to meet the Arapahoes, and to hurry them up to make their Treaty. I shod the Troops' teams today, eleven of them, ready for the coming march to Ft. Hays.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 9, 1869. The morning is very pleasant. The remainder of General Custer's men came in today. Their horses look very bad and tired, so I think we will not leave this place for sometime yet. They are building a commissary at present, so if we were going soon, they would not bother with this work.

⁸⁶ Pvt. Spotts (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 118) relates for 5th February: "We had to turn our horses and equipment to the 7th Cavalry this afternoon. The poor ones go to Arbuckle as will those of the Seventh which our best ones will replace. While I hated to see mine go I have nothing to worry about and no horse to feed and groom."

⁸⁷ The regimental return for February, 1869, has the entry: "Adolph Sufferheld, Pvt. I Troop, deserted 3 Feb. 1869, while on scout back from Red River, Tex."

⁸⁸ Thomas B. Weir. Born Ohio. 2nd Lieut. 3rd Mich. Cav. 13 Oct. 1861; 1st Lieut. 19 June 1862; Capt. 1 Nov. 1862; Major 18 Jan. 1865; Lieut. Col. 6 Nov. 1865. Mustered out 12 Feb. 1866; 1st Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Captain 31 July 1867; Died 9 Dec. 1876.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 10, 1869. The morning is very nice and warm. I got an order to show some Privates' horses of Troop A. I will shoe them in the morning if nothing happens. I am acting Headquarters Blacksmith. No news of any account.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 11, 1869. The morning is cool but very pleasant and nice. No Indians yet, but reports say that they will be in tomorrow morning. I do not know how true it is. I wrote a letter to John W. Hammitt. My friend, Joseph Bell, also wrote to him.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 12, 1869. Reveille at the usual hour. The morning is very pleasant, but some rain through the day, and is still raining. A big train of wagons came in from Fort Arbuckle, loaded with forage and rations for our Command. No news of any kind today.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 13, 1869. The morning is very windy and disagreeable. Also it is cold. I wrote a letter to my father. Also one to my friend Mary E. Feuster. There is no news today of any importance. We will move soon.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 14, 1869. The morning is cool and feels like snow. Sunday's Inspection. I did not go on, as I intended to work and did so. There is dress parade this evening. The mail went out today for Camp Supply. I sent two letters myself. It may not get there safely on account of Indians on the Route.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 15, 1869. The morning is clear and warm, but it feels like rain. Satanta, the Indian Chief, was released⁸⁹ today by Gen. G. A. Custer. He says he will bring in the Cheyennes for General Sheridan. They also released Lone Wolf, the other Chief we had in the Guard House.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 16, 1869. The morning is cool and disagreeable. It rained all morning, but it is clearing up at present and getting cool and windy. There is no news of any account, or any Indians yet to be seen or heard of. We will march after them soon if they do not come in by the first of March. I am well, so no more.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 17, 1869. The morning and day is pleasant. Some sun and warm. We are getting our things condemned today by Inspector General Moore, of General Sheridan's staff. I had a big Lapachey Chief eating supper along with me this evening. He is a good Indian and fond of the white soldier, and man; a nice squaw for me he has. I will go for her.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 18, 1869. The morning is pleasant. Also the day. Sergeant Henderson and Private Harry Smith had a fuss on hand and Henderson drew his revolver on Smith. Finally, old Henderson was put under arrest and Smith carried a log a few minutes by order of Lt. Godfrey, Commanding Troop K, 7th U. S. Cavalry.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 19, 1869. The morning is clear and nice; very pleasant. A big train loaded with forage, came in from Fort Arbuckle. It is very heavily loaded with forage for the march, through the Wichita Mountains, to make a raid after the Cheyennes. I expect we will move on the 1st or 2nd of March.

⁸⁹ Details of the release of Satanta and Lone Wolf by Gen. Sheridan are given in Nye, *op. cit.* p. 89, *et. seq.*

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 20, 1869. Reveille at day break. The morning is pleasant and nice. I wrote a small letter to Miss Lizzie Reppert. I sent it to Camp Supply with Jack Corben, our Chief Scout. I will send in an order for our shoes for Troop horses and have some of them sent in to be shod. No news of marching yet. No Indians to bother us.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 21, 1869. Reveille as usual. The morning is very damp. It rained last night some and this makes it very disagreeable. It changed and blew very cool. I finished our Troop horses this evening. Got an order for Troop G, 7th U. S. Cavalry.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 22, 1869. The morning is very warm and pleasant. Not much to do at present. We were put on half rations today and it will go rather hard for some of the boys to be cut down on half, but still we have to put up with it. The roads are so bad that trains cannot get to us. I am not well today.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 23,⁹⁰ 1869. The morning is very pleasant and also the day. Received a letter from Mr. Norcross. He and all of the folks are well at home. Also I received a letter from father and sister Alice. They are all well. I am in the best of health at present. I answered them all today. I received my postage stamps.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 24, 1869. The northern wind blew very cool and it feels very cold. Private Curley is tied up all day for not being clean on guard mount. The news is that we break camp on the 5th of March and move for Camp Supply, Indian Territory. The Indians are as thick in our Camp today as the soldiers. Some pretty squaws and ugly bucks. No news of any account.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 25, 1869. The morning is very pleasant and warm. I shod 3 mules for Troop D, 7th U. S. Cavalry, and a horse for Lt. Johnson⁹¹ of Troop E, 7th U. S. Cavalry. Two men of Troop D deserted⁹² last night and took a horse that belongs to Lt. Smith and another one that belongs to Sergt. Athey. Their names are as follows:—Private Flin and Corporal Miners, both of Troop D, 7th U. S. Cavalry.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 26, 1869. The morning is very pleasant and comfortable. We are at work in the blacksmith shop shoeing horses for the Troops belonging to the 7th U. S. Cavalry, as they were brought in from herd today. Shoeing ready for the march. We expect to move on the 1st or 2nd of March to Camp Supply, I. T.

⁹⁰ On 23rd February Gen. Sheridan departed from camp and returned north. He had been away from Department Headquarters since Fall. On this day he was tendered a fairwell review by the 7th Cavalry. As the ceremonies are not mentioned by Pvt. Harvey, the latter must have been occupied with his farrier duties. Mr. Keim returned north with Sheridan.

⁹¹ John M. Johnson. Born Iowa. Pvt. 20th Iowa Inf. 14 Aug. 1862; Grad. Military Academy 7 Nov. 1863; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 17 June 1867; 1st Lieut. 1 November 1867; Hon. discharged 31 Dec. 1870 at his own request.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

⁹² The regimental return for February, 1869, has the entry: "Corpl. George Hudson and Pvt. Henry W. Flynn, D. Troop, deserted, 25 Feby. 1869, Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T."

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 27, 1869. The morning is pleasant and nice. At work in the Q. M. D. shoeing horses. A big train of wagons came in from Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory, loaded with rations and forage; more forage than rations. No more news of any account.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 28, 1869. The morning is very pleasant and nice today. Today is general inspection and muster for four months pay. There were five men⁹³ of our Troop deserted last night and took six horses with them. Their names are as follows:—Sergt. Sullivan, McNeil, Curley, Tompkins and Root. They will go for Texas.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. March 1, 1869. The morning is very fine and nice. We intended to break camp this morning, but something happened that we did not go. We move tomorrow morning at three o'clock, if everything is right.

Camp on Small Little Stream, I. T. March 2, 1869. The morning is warm. Orders to break camp at one o'clock, p.m. this day. Broke camp and marched five miles⁹⁴ into the Wichita Mountains. Not in course of Camp Supply at all—on a route not known to our Command. Left Bluff Creek.

Camp in Wichita Mountains, Ind. Ter. March 3, 1869. The morning is very windy and disagreeable. It rained last night very hard and it made it very bad, but the day is cold and the country is very bad and rough. Very big mountains overlook our camp tonight and plenty of wolves and coyotes howling around us. I am on guard tonight as Corporal.

Camp Rataminskey in the mountains, I. T. March 4, 1869. The morning and day awful cold and snowing and blowing. It is most terrible. Went into Camp at three o'clock in the afternoon on an old camping ground, called Rataminskey.⁹⁵ I borrowed \$3.00 from Philips to get some bread stuff. There is plenty of wood and water. Today is the day that President Grant takes his seat. No Indians yet to be seen; gone southwest.

⁹³ The regimental return for March, 1869, has the entry: Sergt. Michael Sullivan, Pvt. Patrick Curley, Pvt. Thomas McNeil, Pvt. Thomas Root, Pvt. William Thompkins, K Troop, deserted, 1 March 1869, Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T."

⁹⁴ With the departure of Gen. Sheridan, Custer assumed command of the expedition. He determined to return to the vicinity where he had been the previous month to complete his pacification program. Sheridan wished Custer to force the absent Indians north to Camp Supply, and to aid in his operations, Sheridan had directed that a supply train proceed south from Camp Supply and await Custer at a point selected as a temporary base some miles west of Cache Creek. On 2nd March the entire command, consisting of the 7th U. S. Cavalry and the 19th Kansas Volunteers, moved to the west. For the first night camp was made in the vicinity of Signal Mountain.

⁹⁵ Camp Radziminski, named in honor of the late Lieut. Charles Radziminski, had been established in September, 1858, by Major Earl Van Dorn and four Troops of the 2nd Cavalry. Throughout its short period of service it sheltered a host of renowned officers, and was abandoned 6 December 1859. Pvt. Spotts (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 138) records that "it was a camping place of the 3rd Dragoons on their way to Mexico during the Mexican War."

Camp on Red River, Ind. Ter. March 5, 1869. The morning is pleasant. Camped on the north side of the north fork of Red River. Plenty of wood and water, but the water is very bad. Crossed over the Wichita Mountains at noon today.⁹⁶ Corporal Morris' horse gave out. Also my own very near it. A great deal of walking must be done in order to save our horses and keep them up. The Sergt. Major of the 19th Kansas Volunteers was shot⁹⁷ by accident and killed. He was buried in Honors of War tonight. We have a long march to go yet before we reach Camp Supply.

On North Fork of Red River, I. T. March 6, 1869. The day is pleasant. Our command is broken into two parts, one Command under General Custer and the other one under Captain Myers.⁹⁸ One is to go south and the other to go north west. I am under Myers to go north west. General Custer took 25 men of each Troop and six Co. of the 19th Kansas Cavalry and went South.⁹⁹ There is 31 men left back with Lt. Law. No Indians to be seen yet. I think General Custer will find the "red skins" before he comes back. The evening is cool and cloudy. No news yet.

Camp on Wild Cat Creek, I. T. March 7, 1869. The morning is very pleasant. Cloudy and warm. Plenty of wood and water, but no Indians yet. No news of any account. The country is hilly and poor. Am well.

In the field on the South Fork of the Washita River, I. T. March 8, 1869. The morning is cool. Two men got lost on the prairie. Got all of our cattle. One Troop killed a wild cat. Going to Camp Supply.

In the field, Camp on the Washita River, March 9, 1869. The morning is damp and is bad for marching. Away went our cattle again, bad luck for them; one horse gave out, Private Kellison. No news yet.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 10, 1869. The morning is cold and snowing like thunder. Arrived at our old battle ground. A big train of wagons here for us and plenty of rations. The Command is not here.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 11, 1869—in the fields. The morning cool but clear. I am on guard in charge of our Stable

⁹⁶ The statement by Pvt. Harvey that the command "crossed over the Wichita Mountains at noon today" would indicate that the temporary supply base was on the north side of the North Fork as far north as the vicinity of Lugert.

⁹⁷ It was not the Sergeant Major but the Chief Bugler of the 19th Kansas Volunteers, William Gruber, who was killed. Without doubt this is the soldier whose grave is described by James B. Shaeffer, "A Military Burial at Lake Altus," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (Winter, 1958-59), pp. 411-15. The Diary of Pvt. Spotts for the same date gives details of the tragedy (Brininstool, *op. cit.*), excerpts from which are given in *Appendix, q. v.*, at the end of Harvey's Diary.

⁹⁸ Edward Myers. Born in Germany; enlisted man in 1st Dragoons 26 Aug. 1857 to 26 Aug. 1862; 2nd Lieut. 1st Cav. 17 July 1862; 1st Lieut. 23 Sept. 1863; Lieut. Col. 1 April 1865; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Died 11 July 1871.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

⁹⁹ For the details of the scout to the south, see Custer, *op. cit.* p. 233, *et seq.* The portion of the command under Myers was ordered to proceed to the site of the Battle of the Washita and there await Custer and the other detachment. Pvt. Spotts was in the column that accompanied Custer.

Guard. Plenty of wood and water. The bones of our dead lay all over the ground; the wolves dug them up and ate all of the flesh off of them.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 12, 1869. The morning is clear and warm. We intend to lay over here until General Custer comes back and then go in to Camp Supply, Indian Territory.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 13, 1869. The morning is cool and clear. I shod Col. Myers horse. He is Captain of Troop E, 7th U. S. Cavalry. No Indians yet, or any news of General Custer yet. He is after the Indians.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 14, 1869. Sunday morning and cool. Had detachment inspection. Got 35 head of our cattle, that which ran off a few nights ago. No news yet, and no Indians.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 15, 1869. The morning is cool and no news. Everything is quiet at present. Looking for General Custer. Plenty to eat and very bad water. I am alright.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 16, 1869. The morning is still cool, but cleared up at noon and got warm. We draw rations today and a big fuss in camp about something.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 17, 1869. The morning is cool and windy. It is St. Patrick's Day. Plenty of fun in camp, but no news. On our old battle ground, nothing to be seen but some old skull bones of dead Indians, killed in the fight.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 18, 1869. The morning is warm. I got a letter from my sister, Alice, stating that my father is not well. I got a letter from my Lady. No news of any account.

In the field on the Washita River, Ind. Ter. March 19, 1869. The morning is fine. I wrote a letter to my sister, Alice, and also to my friend Lizzie Reppert.

In the field on the Washita River, I. T. March 20, 1869. The morning is cool, but the day pleasant. No news of General Custer yet. We expect the Regiment in, in a few days. News of a consolidation of the U. S. A. not now.

In the field on the Washita River, I. T. March 21, 1869. The morning is cool. Sunday inspection. Rained this evening. A big race in camp between three Indian ponys, belonging to some of the boys.

In the field on the Washita River, I. T. March 22, 1869. The morning is very warm and pleasant. Moved our Camp, this forenoon, three miles farther up the river. No news of any account.

In the field on the Washita River, I. T. March 23, 1869. The morning is very cool and damp. Am on Stable Guard, as Corporal in Charge. General Custer came in this evening. He brought two white women¹⁰⁰ in that he captured from the Cheyennes that the Indians held as prisoners. Also 3 Indians (Chiefs). Our herd in charge of the herd of three Troops. Our Command is all in at present.

¹⁰⁰ Miss Brewster and Miss White. A brother of Miss Brewster had accompanied Custer throughout the entire expedition in his effort to aid in the release of his sister.

In the field on the Washita River, I. T. March 24, 1869. The morning is cool. I saw two white women that came in, that had been with the Indians. They look very bad. Three horses left, with Company.

In the field on the Washita River, Ind. Ter. March 25, 1869. The morning in fine. I shod Lt. Law's horse this evening. We intend to move in the morning, north to Camp Supply. Plenty of wood and water, but the water is bad.

On the Main Canadian River, I. T. March 26, 1869. The morning is pleasant. Not very well this evening. A bigger part of our men are dismounted and more than half of the Troop camped on old camp grounds of Dec. 19, 1868.

On a dry prairie, Ind. Ter. March 27, 1869. The morning is very fine. The news is that we are going to go to Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, for recruiting up, to make another raid on the Platte River, Neb.

Camp Supply, I. T. March 28, 1869. The morning is fine and pleasant. The news is not very much. We are going to Ft. Leavenworth this next winter to quarter. No Indians yet to be seen.

Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. March 29, 1869. The morning is cool, but the day pleasant. Our Troop drew clothing this evening. Also tobacco. I gave mine to my bunky. We are going on tomorrow.

In the field on Sweep Stakes Creek, I. T. March 30, 1869. The morning is very cool and windy. No wood and very little water. March 8 miles, ate dinner, and then went 12 miles further. Then went into Camp for night.

In the field on Bluff Creek, I. T. March 31, 1869. The morning is pleasant. Reveille at four o'clock. March 18 miles. Ate dinner on Cimarron River and then marched on 18 miles further. Plenty of wood and water. Two more days to Ft. Dodge.

In the field on Chalk Bluff Creek, Ind. Ter. April 1, 1869. The morning is cool and pleasant to walk, but it is very disagreeable to ride. Marched over some very bad country. Plenty of wood and water. I received a letter from J. W. Hammitt this evening. He is well. Thirty miles to Ft. Dodge, Kansas.

On the Big Arkansas River, South of Ft. Dodge, April 2, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is cool and nice. No wind of any account. Came into Ft. Dodge, Kansas, at three o'clock this p.m. Co. H., 7th U. S. Cavalry will stay here this summer. Plenty of water but no wood. Got wood from Ft. Dodge. We will move on tomorrow.

On Saw Log Crossing, Kans. April 3, 1869. The morning is very cool and our Command will move on at twelve o'clock; on east to Ft. Hays, Ka. John E. Spruice came to the Troop today.

Poney Fork, Kans. April 4, 1869. The morning cold and snowing like thunder. This is a very bad country, no grazing for our horses. Plenty of wood and water. Met our Suttler. The evening fine.

The winter campaign of Sheridan and Custer was at an end, and with its conclusion the troops returned for a measure of garrison life. The *Diary* of Pvt. Harvey continues until

the close of his military career, in September, 1871. The remaining portions of his journal should be presented in some future number of *The Chronicles*.

With the *Diary* is a copy of a letter which appears to be have been issued by Custer to his command prior to the departure for the return march to Camp Supply. It does not appear in other sources, and is an important addition to the documentation of the Battle of the Washita:

Camp, 7th U. S. Cavalry
In the Field on the North Canadian
River, Indian Territory
November 27th, 1868

We regret the loss of such gallant soldiers as fell at and in the Battle of the Washita, November 27th, 1868, and thank "Our Maker" that we are still spared to still fight the battles of our "Beloved Country" and we call on all good, loyal citizens to help aid us. Also all good soldiers to still hold on, and our Victory is already won for us by winning our yesterday's hard fought battle in which we repulsed the Red Foe, which loss we will have to feel for some time.

We hope the campaign south of the Big Arkansas is at a close.

I also thank the officers and men of my command, comprising of eleven troops of the 7th U. S. Cavalry, for our great and gallant victory.

Yours,
Lt. Col. G. A. Custer¹⁰¹
and Bvt. Major Gen. U. S. A.

All in all, the Winter Campaign enjoyed a measure of success; and the efforts of Custer to meet the Plains Indians on their own ground and convince them short of gun fire, of the need to adopt reservation life do much to counter balance his actions on the Washita. Of the measure of success thus achieved, due portion must be accorded Pvt. Winfield S. Harvey of Pennsylvania.

APPENDIX

Excerpts from the Diary of Pvt. Spotts for "Friday, March 5, 1869" (Brininstool, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40) and the day following:

"Vann and I were some distance ahead of the train about 4 o'clock when we passed two soldiers lying on a mound on our left. When we were the nearest to them someone fired a gun and the ball passed so close to our faces that we imagined we could feel the air from it. Just then one of the men jumped to his feet and grabbed his comrade. We stopped and he said, 'Come here, quick!' When we came close we saw that the man had been shot and I hurried toward the train for help and met the trainmaster and told him. He rode back a short distance and soon had an ambulance and we

¹⁰¹ Those interested in pursuing further the mystery in "The Case of the Plagiarized Journal," *loq. cit.*, will enjoy comparing the style of this letter with the style in Custer's *My Life on the Plains*.

put him in it. The man was William Gruber, our chief bugler, who appeared to me dead. He was shot in the head. We could see some boys on the right who were apparently shooting at prairie dogs.

"We came on to a camp that the 7th Cavalry had located for the wagon trains, near the North Fork of Red River. There was considerable excitement in camp over the accident for Gruber was generally a favorite with everybody. After we had our supper we went to see what the fuss was about for officers were hurrying in all directions and soon learned that the man who fired the fatal shot was Wm. J. Froman of Company L, and he was under arrest for the shooting. A Court of Inquiry was held and after witnesses were examined it was decided it was an accident from not being too careful about the direction he was shooting.

"Saturday, March 6, 1869

"Reveille at 4 o'clock and breakfast before daylight. Our chief bugler was buried, with honors of war, before the sun came up."

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

INDEX TO *The Chronicles*, 1958

The Index for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, 1958, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the magazine. Orders for this Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma City.

NEWS REPORT IN THE *Fort Gibson Post*, 1905

The following item reprinted in a Fort Smith newspaper on November 29, 1905, is contributed by Dr. T. L. Ballenger, the well known historian and writer whose home is in Tahlequah, Oklahoma:

A WEIRD BURIAL

Daughter of Missionary Laid at Rest by a Light
Made from Fallen Trees.

From the *Fort Gibson Post* we learn of the death at Muskogee on November 19th of Mrs. A. E. Robertson at the age of 79 years. Mrs. Robertson was a daughter of Rev. Samuel Wooster, a Presbyterian missionary who, with Dr. Butler, another missionary of the same faith, suffered with the Cherokees the persecutions inflicted upon them by the Georgians in their attempts to drive them from the State and obtain possession of their lands. Mr. Wooster died many years ago. Dr. Butler was the father of Mrs. James H. Sparks, of Fort Smith, and was well known by many of the older generation of Fort Smithians.

Mrs. Robertson lived among the Indians from the time she was three years of age. She was a woman of exalted character, and her whole life was marked by good deeds. She taught school at Park Hill near Tahlequah in 1848, and some of her pupils are still living. She also did much work in translating hymns and portions of the scriptures into the Indian tongue. Her remains were interred Monday, November 20, at Park Hill, preliminary services being held at Muskogee. Her interment is said to have been attended by one of the most weird and unusual incidents ever witnessed in Indian Territory.

When Dr. Robertson [Worcester] came to the present Cherokee Nation, after being compelled to leave Georgia, he selected as the first burying ground for the dead the Old Park Hill cemetery several miles east of Tahlequah. It was a place so full of rocks that it can never be cultivated. This selection was made because Dr. Wooster had buried a child in the Cherokee Nation in Georgia, and later farmers had plowed up the grave. This burying ground was selected more than sixty years ago. There are four acres filled with Indian graves, among them the graves of some of the most notable men the Cherokee Nation ever produced.

In time the old cemetery fell into disuse and the Dawes Commission allotted it. After two years' persistent effort, Miss Alice Robertson, postmistress at Muskogee, got the government to set aside one acre of this ground as a burial ground. The notice of this act came upon the seventy-ninth birthday of Mrs. Robertson, just two weeks before her death. When her grave was dug it was necessary to blast out the excavation in solid rock. The funeral cortege reached this burying ground in the woods late at night. A great bonfire that could be seen for miles was kindled of the dead trees that had fallen over the graves, and by the light of this fire the funeral services were read. A male quartette sang hymns as the body of this aged missionary was laid to rest in the grave beside representatives of four generations of her name.

It is of further interest that in the same plot of ground lies the body of Elias Boudinot, father of the late E. C. and W. P. Boudinot and grandfather of Frank J. Boudinot, of Tahlequah. Elias Boudinot was one of the most noted Cherokees of his day, and was murdered by the Ross faction because of his views as to the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia to the present home. Major Ridge and his brother, John Ridge, were murdered at the same time. Stand Watie, who afterward became a general in the Confederate army, was also marked for slaughter and a crowd of assassins went to his house for the purpose of killing him, but they found Watie prepared to give them a hot reception, and failed to carry out their bloody intentions.

The manner in which Stand Watie rebuffed the crowd that went to his house to slay him is said to have been attended by a dramatic incident that we have never seen in print.¹ Watie, like all well-to-do Cherokees, was fond of hunting and had an abundance of fire-arms. (He learned—through the medium of a young Cherokee girl—that his life was to be taken, and prepared himself to receive his bloody-minded visitors.) His wife was a little full-blood Cherokee of great determination of character, and understood the use of arms as well as her husband. The weapons—several each of rifles and shotguns—were prepared for use. He gave instructions to his wife that in case he were attacked to keep the guns loaded, showing her just how much powder and how many buckshot to pour into each barrel. The assassins came, riding on horseback. When they had gotten within fifty or seventy-five steps of the house Stand Watie stepped out of the door on to the front porch, double-barreled shot-gun in hand. His bearing caused the would-be murderers to halt. Watie took a step nearer the edge of the porch and shouted, "Come on, I'll get more of you than you will of me!" This was more than had been contemplated, and those who had rode up the lane thirsting for blood turned their heads and lost no time in getting away.

In Maysville, Ark., afterward, Stand Watie killed one of the men who had bragged that he had killed his (Watie's) father.

When Elias Boudinot was killed Dr. Wooster is said to have exclaimed, "My right hand has been cut off by the death of this man."

¹The recorded facts in history relating to the escape of Stand Watie from assassination in the Cherokee feud of 1839 do not follow the lines of this story of his escape as given here.—Ed.

MRS. A. E. ROBERTSON'S *Notebook* AND CREEK TRANSLATIONS

The *Notebook* often mentioned in the following list is a remarkable collection which mirrors the work of the last ten or twelve years of Mrs. Robertson's life. Her fine, legible handwriting on coarse gray paper (what is now called a "pad," or a "tablet") mostly in ink, records drafts of letters (whether first or final is difficult to judge), answers to requests for biographical material, all sorts of translations in Creek (not all identified), and what appear to be articles for publication, and what she calls "explanations" of Bible verses or Creek hymns. Her readers called these explanations "making light on them." The *Notebook* paper is turning brown, and is beginning to crumble under the touch, but the ink is still remarkably clear. One wonders whether she ever used a fountain pen, and is reminded that much of her early work must have been done by candlelight. In 1900 her sister Hannah writes, envying Ann Eliza her good eyesight which enables her to write with the paper on her lap, and perhaps explains why so much was written in a "stiff-backed" notebook.

The *Notebook* reveals more of her opinions and prejudices than do her letters; and one feels really acquainted with her after tracking through the somewhat jumbled pages. Ann Eliza did not keep a diary but she did make careful entries in day books and calendars. Very often what the ordinary person would confide in a diary, she jotted down on small scraps of paper giving her feeling at the moment. These jottings are numerous and scattered throughout her papers.

She must have done a vast amount of copying but she comments that every copying of a Creek manuscript taught her more of the language. She was cautious, too, about transmitting opinions which were almost always very decided. Some drafts are marked "Not sent." The *Notebook* preserves much of her work not appearing elsewhere, and sets in sharp perspective the picture of a careful scholar and a woman of high principle. The hours of tedious labor on these pages makes the reader ache with weariness.

—Hope Holway

LIST OF WORK IN THE CREEK LANGUAGE

BY ANN ELIZA WORCESTER ROBERTSON

KEY AND EXPLANATION:

Oklahoma Locations: Printed copies or Creek manuscripts have been seen by Hope Holway at the following libraries:

TU: University of Tulsa, Alice Robertson Collection.

GI: Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa.

OHS: Oklahoma State Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Library and Indian Archives.

OU: University of Oklahoma, Phillips Collection (University Library), Norman.

Figures in parentheses denote the number of copies.

Titles with asterisk (*); Listed in **Bibliography of Muskogean Languages** by James C. Pilling, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C., 1889). Galley proofs of this work are in the Alice Robertson Collection. Publication referred to below as "Pilling."

Abbreviations:

AEWR: Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson

WSR: William Schenk Robertson, her husband

ms: pen or pencil Creek Manuscript in Mrs. Robertson's handwriting; probably first drafts, many incomplete

Nb: Notebook kept by Mrs. Robertson

Loughridge: Rev. Robert M. Loughridge of Kowetah Mission

Winslett: Rev. David Winslett, native preacher and interpreter for Loughridge and Robertson

Park Hill: Mission Press of Samuel A. Worcester

Pres. Board: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work, Philadelphia

Newspaper Files: Only ones examined for this list are those of the Oklahoma State Historical Society and of the Alice Robertson Collection.

Assistants: The principal assistants listed are fully identified by Pilling, except Mrs. F. B. Severs, (Annie Anderson Severs), a former pupil and wife of the secretary to Rev. Samuel Checote. In 1893 Mrs. Robertson writes of her in the **Notebook**, "... the great help she has given me in revising several books of the New Testament and also the Book of Genesis Her home is quite a distance from mine, and Genesis required a great deal of time and labor spent together, and she took the walk through rain or snow to come to me, sometimes coming both forenoon and afternoon, that I might the sooner have the book ready for the press."

Manuscripts: There are still a dozen or so manuscripts in the Alice Robertson Collection which as yet are not identified; also many short notes and comments in Creek in the Notebook and elsewhere. Some of them appear to be written in another hand. It is known that Mrs. Robertson received material from others asking for comment and help.

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1851	Studies in Creek	TU: ms	School notebook—AEWR hand		
1858	Just As I Am	TU: (4), 1 board, 3 paper Nb comment GI: (1) paper	Hymn in Creek at end of Newman Hall's tract, "Come to Jesus", trans. by WSR et al. First work of AEWR for press		Amer. Tract Soc. N.Y.
1871	*Chickasaw Vocabulary and Creek, Kos-sardy, Hitchiti, Natchez, & Yoochee words		For Albert Pike's Vocabulary of Indian Languages (119 pps.)		not published; ms. in Library of Supreme Council 33° Scottish Rite, Washington D.C.
1871	Creek Grammar For Dr. D. G. Brinton's		Assisted and corrected		not published
1871	I Will Go to Jesus	TU: (2) GI: (1), in Alex. Posey papers	Creek translation of tract by Rev. J. B. Waterbury, 2 pps. —hymns at end	Rev. T. W. Perryman	Amer. Tract Soc.
1870-75	Our Monthly	TU: No's 1 & 5 handwritten; Vols. 1-4, printed complete	Tulahassee Mission School publication—AEWR contributed most of Muskoki material; edited pupils' work		Tulahassee Mission Press Son & daughter the printers
1873	*Creek Second Reader	TU: (2) OHS: (1) OU: (1) GI: (1)	Contributor	Grace Leeds & other pupils	Amer. Tract Soc.

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1874	Sermon by W. S. Plumer	TU: (1) ms-2 pps. OU: (1)	Trans. into Creek as a tract (4 pps.)	(printed by son)	Our Monthly Vol. 3, No. 11
1875	*Gospel of John	TU: (8) ms. 23 pps., interlined	Trans. from Greek into Creek by AEWR & WSR; 1st chap- ter by Loughridge (pub- lished with Matthew, Park Hill, 1855)	Rev. T. W. Perryman S. W. Perryman	Amer. Bible Soc. N.Y.
1875	*Gospel of Matthew	TU: (3) one with AEWR notes OU: (1) 1867, Li- brary OHS: (1)	Creek revision by AEWR & WSR of Loughridge & Wins- lett (Park Hill, 1855 & Amer. Bible Soc.—1867)		Amer. Bible Soc.
1876	*General Epistle of James *Epistles of Paul to Titus and the Ephesians	TU: (3) ms., 8 pps.	Trans. from Greek	Rev. Jas. Perryman Rev. T. W. Perryman D. M. Hodge (Judge James Scott on revision)	Amer. Bible Soc.
1878	*Early Creek History Wm. P. Ross	TU: (2) GI: (1)	Trans. of speech at Tulla- hassee Manual Labor Board- ing School, July 18 (4 pps.)	N. B. Sullivan	<i>Indian Journal</i> , (printer)
1878	*My Friends, the Muskokis	OHS: Indian Jour.	Author—article in Creek		<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 2, No. 25 p. 4, col. 2

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1878	*The Cheyenne and Arapahoe Prisoners	OHS: Indian Jour.	Author—article in Creek		<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 2, No. 30 p. 6, col. 2
1878	*We're Going Home		Hymn—trns. into Creek		<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 2, No. 47
1878	*Star of Bethlehem		Hymn—trns. into Creek		<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 2, No. 50
1879	(Este Muskukvkvike Apvhicvke)	TU: (2)	Printed article, 4 cols. signed & dated by AEWR		
1879	*Jesus Loves Me		Hymn in Creek		<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 4, No. 4
1879	*Cane Postok	TU: last letter of John Postok, de- livered after his execution	Author—story of John Post- ok, executed for murder at Fort Smith, Ark.		<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 3, No. 22
1879	*God is Everywhere	TU: (1) OHS: (1) OU: (1) GI: (1)	Written for Creek Second Reader		Amer. Tract Soc. (<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 4, No. 3)
1879	*Acts of the Apostles	TU: (1) galley proofs with AEWR notes ms., 18 pps.	Re-trans. of Loughridge (1861) supervising Legus Perryman & Hodge from the Greek	James Perryman Rev. T. W. Perryman Legus Perryman Miss K. K. Winslett	Amer. Bible Soc.
	(1891)—revision for inclusion in New	OU: ms. Chap. 20 "sample of Moth-		Rev. T. W. Perryman Hon. Taylor Chiscoe	

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1860-89	Testament	er's Bible tracts" (son)			
	English-Creek Vocabulary (Dictionary)	TU: ms. thru letter "E"	Incomplete work, following Fleming & Loughridge	D. M. Hodge Mrs. F. B. Severs	not published
1880 & 1882	Muskoki Hymns (4th ed.)	TU: (2) 4th ed.* (2) 5th ed. (1908)	Contributor to Loughridge & Winslett's work—trans. 32 hymns	Many Rev. Jas. Perryman	Pres. Board
1880 & 1884	*Muskokee S. S. Song Book	*AEWR's book—23 signed OU: 1880 & '82 eds. TU: (7) 1884 (1) 1936 ms. of 10 hymns GI: (2) 1884 & 1936	66 Creek translations of Gospel Songs	Rev. T. W. Perryman N. B. Sullivan	Amer. Tract Soc. 1880 & 1884 Pres. Board 1917 & 1936
1880	*Gospel of Luke (1891-revision for New Testament)	TU: (2) ms., 103 pps. galley proofs	Re-trans. of Rev. J. R. Ram- say's trans. from the Greek	Rev. Jas. Perryman N. B. Sullivan	Amer. Bible Soc.
1880	*Gospel of Mark	TU: (2) ms., 61 pps. galley proofs	Translation into Creek from original Greek	Rev. T. W. Perryman N. B. Sullivan	Amer. Bible Soc.
1880	*I Want to be Like Jesus	OHS: Indian Jour.	(from Muskokee Hymn Book)		<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 4, No. 23 p. 4, col. 3
1880	*Matthew 6:1-14	OHS: Indian Jour.	Trans.—questions & com- ments in Muskoki		<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 4, No. 25 p. 1, col. 4

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1880	*Jesus Loves Even Me		From Muskokee S. S. Song Book		<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 4, No. 48
1880-81	Introduction to the Shorter Catechism	TU: (1) 1908 (2) 1858 ms. (??) (GI: 1858 ed.)	Revision by AEWR of Loughridge & Winslett for 3rd edition	N. B. Sullivan	Pres. Board
1881	*Epistle of Paul to the Romans	TU: ms. (3)	Trans. from original Greek	Rev. T. W. Perryman N. B. Sullivan Samuel Checote Mrs. F. B. Severs	Amer. Bible Soc.
	*(Also publication of Gospels, Acts, Epistles translated up to 1881)	TU: (2) AEWR to N.B. Sullivan—"in memory of work together, Mar. 4, 1882" (1) AEWR to Rev. R. M. Loughridge (1)			
1881	*Double Consonants in the Creek Language	TU: ms. "Double Consonants in the Muskokee as exhibited in Muskokee verbs & other words"	Author		<i>Indian Journal</i> , Vol. 5, No. 42

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1882	*The Corn Fable	TU: ms., 4 pps. Muskoki (interlin- ed with English- question Creek as AEWR hand)		English version signed by Taylor Postoak (1879)	
1883	*Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians	TU: (in New Testa- ment) pencil draft, 30 pps. Chap. 1:507, notes Nb comment	Translation from Original Greek	Rev. T. W. Perryman N. B. Sullivan Chief Samuel Checote Mrs. F. B. Severs	Amer. Bible Soc.
1883	Come, Humble Sinner		Hymn—Creek translation	Rev. T. W. Perryman	<i>Our Brother in Red</i> , Vol. 2, No. 1
1884	Hark, Ten Thousand Harps and Voice		Hymn—Creek translation	Rev. T. W. Perryman	<i>Our Brother in Red</i> , Vol. 2, No. 9
1884	*And Let this Feeble Body Fail	OHS: Our Brother in Red	Hymn—Creek translation		<i>Our Brother in Red</i> , Vol. 2, No. 11, p. 6, col. 3
1885	*Epistles of Paul to the Philippians Colossians I and II Thessalonians I and II Timothy Philemon	TU: (4) pencil draft, 52 pp. galley proofs with AEWR notes	Translation from Original Greek	(corrections) N. B. Sullivan Rev. T. W. Perryman Judge G. W. Stidham (approved) Chief J. M. Perryman Judge James Scott	Amer. Bible Soc.

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1885	*Epistle of Paul to the Galatians	TU: (1) pamphlet pencil draft, 12 pps. OU: (1)	Translation from Original Greek	N. B. Sullivan Rev. T. W. Perryman G. W. Stidham Judge James Scott (revision)	
1886	*Epistles of Peter Jude Revelations	TU: pencil drafts 60 pps.	In Muskoki—from the Greek	Rev. T. W. Perryman N. B. Sullivan	Amer. Bible Soc.
1886	*Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews	TU: pencil draft 32 pps. Nb-notes, 11:17	Translation from Original Greek		Amer. Bible Soc.
1886	*The Rock that is Higher than I	TU: ms. in Nb OHS: Our Brother in Red	Translation into Creek with literal English version—hymn		<i>Our Brother in Red</i> , Vol. 4, No. 6 p. 3, col. 2
1887	*Muskokee Glossary	TU: ms. (??) OHS: ms (??)	"gives the meaning of transferred, or perhaps more properly, adopted words"—AEWR to Pilling	(many)	Privately printed. Done for Muskokee New Testament, but could not be used with it because of "without note or comment" policy of Amer. Bible Soc.

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1887	New Testament—complete 1891—2nd edition 1895—3rd edition 1900—4th edition 1906—5th edition	OHS: (1) 1891 ed. OU: (1) 1900 ed. Library TU: (1) 1887—gift to bound vol.—gift to AEWR “with the best respects of the Board of Man- agers, May, 1887” (2) 1891 ed. (2) 1900 ed. (2) 1906 ed.	Completion of translation from the Greek and revi- sions of former work. “Now on hand, Nov. 1, 1886, re- vision of all books of the New Testament and trans- lation of historical parts of Old Testament”—AEWR	Rev. T. W. Perryman Legus Perryman G. W. Stidham Samuel Rice Judge James Scott J. Henry Land N. B. Sullivan Nocher Jackson Samuel Checote Rev. John Edwards (Hebrew)	Amer. Bible Soc.
1888	*More Love to Thee, O Christ	TU: clipping from <i>Our Brother in Red</i> ms.	Hymn—4 verses trans. from English		<i>Our Brother in Red</i> , Vol. 6, No. 26 <i>Indian Missionary</i> Vol. 4, No. 4
1888	*Amazing Grace	OHS: <i>Our Brother in Red</i>	Hymn—English & Creek 8 stanzas (Account in Muskoki of Rev. John New- ton, composer, in <i>Indian Missionary</i>)		<i>Our Brother in Red</i> , Vol. 6, No. 39, p. 1, col. 4 <i>Indian Missionary</i> Vol. 4, No. 10
1889 abt.	How Firm a Founda- tion	TU: ms. with ver- ses from Isaiah Nb ms. also	Hymn		

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1889	53rd & 55th Chapters of Isaiah	TU: (5) 8 pps., paper. One identi- fied in AEWR hand	Tract—from article—letter to editor suggesting this, 8-verse hymn inside back cover	Rev. John Edwards (on Hebrew) L. C. Perryman Hon. D. M. Hodge	<i>Indian Missionary</i>
1890	Words of Strength	TU: 7 series of 12 cards each OHS: 1 card (I John 5:1)	Sunday School cards; flow- ered front with Bible verse in English; back, same verse in Creek		Printed by <i>Mus- koguee Phoenix</i>
1890 abt.	Conjugation of verb "to strike"	TU: ms., 16 pps. dictionary (5) one with AEWR notes	Appended to Muskokee- English Dictionary (1890) of Loughridge & Hodge (Possibility ms is copy of dictionary)		Printed by J. T. Smith, St. Louis
1893	Book of Moses— Genesis	TU: ms. pps. 127-155 (7) 1908 ed. OU: (1) presented to son by AEWR GI: (1) 1908 ed.	Translation into Creek from literal English supplied by Rev. John Edwards from the Hebrew	Pleasant Porter (on difficult passages) Mrs. F. B. Severs	Amer. Bible Soc. (portions in In- dian Missionary)
1894	Doctrine and Discip- line of Methodist Episcopal Church, South	TU: ms. Creek trans. pencil in- terlined; school notebook, 7 pps. (& other sheets)	Creek translation of Secs. 7th & 8th, marked by minis- ters as most needed places	Mr. Harjo	ME Board of Missions, South

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1896	Book of Psalms	TU: (2) one presented to AEWR by Board of Managers (1) 1908 ed. ms., 157 notebook pps. plus 10 ledger sheets also 23 pps. English	Translation into Creek from Hebrew by help of literal English (At TU a complete ms in another hand, interlined by AEWR ?)	Rev. John Edwards Rev. J. R. Ramsay	Amer. Bible Soc.
1896	Christian Endeavor Pledge	TU: Nb ms. in Creek & letter concerning	Translation for Seminole minister whose son had become acquainted with C. E. in school		
1896 abt.	Poor Sarah	TU: (1) Nb ms., also pencil sheets	Tract (12 pps.) translated into Cherokee by Elias Boudinot; by AEWR into Creek		Amer. Tract Soc.
1898	Why Do We Mourn Departing Friends	TU: ms. & note	Hymn of 7 verses & note in Creek		Pres. Board
1899	Parable of the Tares and the Wheat	GI: (1) TU: Nb mention of the picture	Tract-translation of Matthew 13:25-30, with English note and drawing of stalk of wheat		
1900	From the Book of Daniel "Tanvle 1-3-6"	TU: (5) Nb ms. GI: in Alex. Posey Papers	Tract in Creek (1) The Four Faithful Jews (2) Shadrach, Meshack, and		Amer. Tract Soc. Creek Tract No. 3

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
1900 abt.	Home, Sweet Home	TU: 2 paper prints Ms. draft OHS: original ms. & card printed by son Samuel	Abednego (3) Daniel Cast into the Lion's Den Creek translation of song (original ms torn by son but rescued from waste- basket and mended)		Printed by son at Woodsville, N.H. (typesetters would have none of it)
1900 abt.	Today the Saviour Calls	TU: Nb ms., 8 ver- ses with some Proverbs & verses from Acts	Creek translation of hymn		
1900 abt.	Forever with Jesus There	TU: Nb ms.	Creek translation of Gospel Hymn 274		
1901	Baptist Manual	TU: Nb ms., 12 pps. also letter saying "last printed translation"	Creek translation of about 20 pps., as requested		
1902	Book of Exodus	TU: ms., 6 pps. Nb ms. 15 chaps.	Creek translation with help on Hebrew	Rev. John Edwards	"10 chapters in Methodist peri- odical"
1902	Song of Solomon	TU: ms., 20 pps., with notes on choice of words	Creek translation		

Date	Title of Work	Location (Oklahoma)	Nature of Work	Assistants	Publication
??	On Christ the Solid Rock I Stand	TU: ms.	Hymn		
??	I Never Go to Prayers	TU: (2)	Printed article, 3 pps.—for magazine ?		
??	McGuffey's Primer Eclectic Series pps. 19-46	TU: (1)	Pages 19-46 of Primer with interleaved white pps. in AEWR hand (Notes?)		
1903-4	The Book on Prophe- cy of Isaiah, the son of Amos	TU: (8) ms. and Nb draft GI: (1)	Tract—"This translation was the last work of Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson, completing fifty-five years of labor for the Indians—2nd Timothy 4:6-8" (handwritten note on one tract at TU)	(Note—in ink) "Her daughter, Mrs. Moore, assisted by Mrs. F. B. Severs and Bluford Miller in completing the work."	Amer. Tract Soc. Creek Tract No. 4

Note: In the private library of Mrs. Walter Ferguson of Tulsa, Oklahoma, there are Creek translations of AEWR as follows:

From the Book of Daniel (1900)
Gospels, Acts, and Epistles (1885), a presentation copy from
AEWR to Rev. Brewer (?)
Epistles of Paul to the Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians,
Timothy, and Philemon (1885)
Creek First Reader (1919)
Creek Second Reader (no date)
Genesis, Psalms, and the New Testament (1917)
Muskokee Hymn Book (1925)

"Home, Sweet Home!"

Hute Compusat.

Estomw estomen full'open omis,
 Pus' hute koncapis, mw omat sekos;
 Mi hwlwe afucketi omat mw omat,
 Ev ekwv hwmkwn mw omat sekos;
 Hute compusat!

Iten liktu estomis mw omat sekos.

2 Hute enkupketi fullen omate,
 Heekv herakusis, purn ehperkes;
 Ev hute koncapan hwtom vmwkes;
 Ev ekwv hwmkwn mw omat sekos;

Hute compusat!

Iten liktu estomis mw omat sekos.

3 Mon fuswot kahokat eslopicemwts;
 Mont enhuehkyofon a'coh awemwts;
 Mon pulken a vmwkes, herkwv vmwks;
 Mont omwv nautalat mahlpwtketw;
 Hute compusat!

Iten liktu estomis mw omat sekos.

A. & W. B. Co.

(Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Facsimile of the original manuscript translation of "Home Sweet Home" in the Creek (or Muskokee) language by Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson.

BOOK REVIEW

Pawnee Bill. By Glenn Shirley. (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1958. Pp. 258. Illustrated. \$5.00.)

This biography of Gordon Lillie, best known as "Pawnee Bill," written by an Oklahoman, Glenn Shirley, makes the reader feel a part of the thrilling scenes of American Indians and people and places all over the world.

When Gordon Lillie was born in 1860, Illinois was considered a western state. Stories of the west and of Buffalo Bill (William Cody) were discussed far and wide. Buffalo Bill was Gordon's hero, and from these stories he got the "western fever" as a very young boy. Later near his home was a reservation of Pawnee Indians, with whom he made friends, especially Blue Hawk, the Pawnee chief.

Gordon taught school, worked in his father's mill and saved his money with one purpose, to go west, for he had heard of the cattle drives along the Chisholm Trail and of life in the "cow towns." He went to Wichita, Kansas, where he met Victor Murdock and the two became lifelong friends. Among his other friends were Marshal Earp and David L. Payne. After a gun fight over an Indian, Gordon left Wichita for the new reservation of Chief Blue Hawk and the Pawnees, who adopted him into the tribe and named him Ku-luks-kitty-brechs (Little Bear). When the Pawnees started out on their annual hunt in 1876, he went along in company with Trapper Tom McCain, a big hearted, western trader. Trapper Tom knew the buffalo country, and taught Gordon how to select and buy good hides which he sold at Coffeyville.

The Pawnees sometime afterward held a council, and made Gordon the "White Chief" of the tribe, during an elaborate ceremony that lasted three days. He learned the Pawnee language, and served as tribal interpreter with the United States Army. He also taught school at the Pawnee Agency, which he thought the most interesting part of his career. He left the Agency service, and became a cowboy in the Cherokee Outlet.

Buffalo Bill (Cody) sent for Pawnee Bill and six Pawnees to join his Wild West Show in 1883, a thrilling, new life for the Pawnee Indian show was popular and successful everywhere. A few years later, Pawnee Bill decided to have a road show of his own, and in 1888, "Pawnee Bill's Wild West Show" was ready to go, with his young wife, May Lillie, as star performer. Annie Oakley, also, was one of his great performers.

When the show failed because of bad weather throughout the country the first year, Gordon returned to Wichita where crowds met him with a brass band and gave a banquet and a reception in celebration. That same night, remembering his late friend David L. Payne and his sympathy with the boomers in the efforts to settle the Oklahoma country, the "Pawnee Bill Oklahoma Colonization Company" was formed. Running this company was a test of his talents in the show business, and his report is amazing of how Oklahoma was advertised and how Congress was urged to make provision for the opening of the Oklahoma unassigned land. The run of 1889 into this central part of the Indian Territory was another event in the life of Pawnee Bill, and the opening made him famous.

Soon again on the road, Pawnee Bill's Historical Wild West Show and Indian Museum, made up of horsemen, lasso-throwers, cowboys and Indians was a success from Canada to Mexico clear across the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But Pawnee Bill kept in touch with Oklahoma, and was called back to lead the "boomers" in their efforts for the opening of the Cherokee Strip. After the opening of the "Strip" on September 16, 1893, that part of the country organized as 'Q' County by the President's proclamation became Pawnee County. The Lillie family purchased lots in the town of Pawnee, and from this time here was Pawnee Bill's home.

The show was a tremendous exhibition in 1909 at Madison Square Garden, as "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Pawnee Bill's Great Far West Show." Four years later, Pawnee Bill, the best of all showmen gave the last performance of the greatest "Wild West Show" on earth.

Lillie gladly returned to Oklahoma, but did not retire. He took orders and sold buffalo meat successfully for a time; he went into the oil business; he opened "Old Town and Indian Trading Post" near Pawnee in 1931, where he showed a Pawnee Village of earth houses and kept a large store of Indian curios. He took part in politics on the side of his Indian friends, and as a civic worker, donated a quarter section on his buffalo ranch as a camp ground for the Boy Scouts.

When Mae Lillie died, Gordon said that he had lost his love and interest in life. He died in 1942 when he was preparing to celebrate his eighty-second birthday.

Pawnee Bill is a biography everyone should read. It gives the life of a picturesque character, world famous in the "wild west," who had a real part in Oklahoma history.

—Emma Estill Harbour

Edmond, Oklahoma

The Oklahoma Revolution: Supplement and Group Photographs.
By William D. McBee. (Privately Printed, Oklahoma City,
1959. Pp. 31. \$1.50.)

It is unusual to have at hand a supplement to a volume previously reviewed. Such, however, is the case with Judge McBee's *The Oklahoma Revolution*. (*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 [Spring, 1957] p. 111). Attorneys often keep their law volumes current by inserting in a place provided by the publisher in the back of the book annual "pocket parts." Being an attorney, it is only natural that the author should utilize this plan in presenting additional supplementary material for his delightful volume on the impeachment and removal from the Governor's Chair of John Calloway Walton. The supplement is designed to be pasted in the inside back cover of the original book.

The supplement contains tables showing how each senator and representative voted on the separate charges. The highlight of the supplement, however, is the double page group photograph of the members of the House of Representatives for the two extra sessions of the Ninth Legislature. The photographs were assembled by the author at his own expense who has used this supplement as the means of making the group picture available. The interest to the Historical Society is heightened by its containing a picture of Edith Mitchell, now a member of the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society, who served as a representative from Payne County. For completeness, all owners of the volume should acquire the supplement.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING JANUARY 29, 1959

When roll call was made at the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society on Thursday, January 29, 1959, it was found that the following members were absent: Mr. Kelly Brown, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. Exall English, Mrs. Frank Korn, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mrs. Willis C. Reed, Miss Genevieve Seger, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught. It was moved by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Mr. Bass that the absentees be excused. Some discussion then took place as to either securing better attendance on the part of a few Board members who have frequently missed meetings or applying the provisions of the Constitution. President Shirk said that he would consult with those concerned and see what could be done about this situation. Dr. Harbour's motion was then put and carried.

Judge Hefner, who had been designated by the President to prepare a resolution and memorial expressing regret at the death of General W. S. Key, former President of the Society, reported that he and Miss Muriel H. Wright had prepared such resolution. Miss Wright read the resolution and it was unanimously adopted by a rising vote. The resolution is made a part of these minutes.

The President announced that the constitutional committee on elections composed of the President, Administrative Secretary, Treasurer, and one Vice President, had tabulated the votes cast in the recent election for five members of the Board of Directors. He submitted a certificate, signed by the committee members, indicating that the following had been elected to a five year term on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, beginning in January of 1959 and expiring in January of 1964: Redmond S. Cole, E. E. Dale, Henry B. Bass, R. M. Mountcastle, and Berlin B. Chapman. The certificate of election is made a part of these minutes.

The annual meeting of the Society was set for 9:30 a.m. on the fourth Thursday in April.

The problem of repairing and refurbishing the old stage coach owned by the Historical Society was next brought up for consideration. President Shirk said that he and the Administrative Secretary had met with Mr. Bill Ferris and Mr. Don Stevens, whose hobby is rehabilitating old stage coaches. He said that these two men pointed out that the stage coach owned by the Historical Society is exceedingly rare in that it is an Abbott and Downing western type, which was used commercially to haul passengers in the "far west". He further stated that Ferris and Stevens said there were not more than half a dozen such coaches in existence, which made the Society's coach unusually valuable. Col. Shirk then presented a contract form that had been drawn up between the Society and Ferris and Stevens, whereby these two gentlemen were to renovate and rebuild the Society's stage coach within the next two years and that the total cost of such repair would undoubtedly exceed \$1,000.00. It was moved by Dr. Johnson and seconded by Mrs. Bowman that the President be authorized to enter into the proposed agreement with Mr. Ferris and Mr. Stevens.

It was stated by President Shirk that inasmuch as Judge Vaught, who had been appointed chairman of the committee on honorary membership recommendations was absent, that he would submit the names that had been listed by the committee. Mr. Miller, who is a member of the committee, stated that he had not had an opportunity to check the list and would like to have some opportunity to do so. Judge Hefner moved, with Mr. Bass seconding, that the committee on honorary members hold a meeting within the near future and that the names recommended by the committee at such meeting be accepted without further action by the Board. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Mrs. Susie Peters of Anadarko appeared before the Board and requested that the marble statue of John Swain be returned to her. She said that she had placed it on loan with the Society rather than making it an outright gift. Judge Johnson, who had been requested by the President to review Mrs. Peter's request, pointed out that many years previously the Historical Society had ceased to accept loans and had notified everyone who had items on loan to the Society to come and claim them or such items would automatically become the property of the Society. It was moved by Dr. Harbour that in view of the regulations cited by Judge Johnson and the added fact that the statue in question had been in possession of the Historical Society for thirty-six years, that the request of Mrs. Peters be denied. This motion was seconded by Dr. Johnson. Some members voiced the opinion that further study should be made of the situation. It was moved by Judge Clift and seconded by Mr. Bass that the motion be tabled until the next quarterly meeting of the Board. The tabling motion was adopted.

Mrs. George Bowman made the Treasurer's report in which she pointed out that the bank balances of the Society were in the process of being transferred from the First National Bank & Trust Company to the State Treasurer, being done to comply with the opinion of the Attorney General. She stated that as soon as the Society account at First National Bank & Trust Company is checked out, the State Treasurer will become the banking depository for the Society. The Treasurer said that the cashing of the "G" bond No. V903682, as authorized by the Board, had been processed, and the proceeds deposited to the Society's fund at the First National Bank to the amount of \$4,895.00.

Mr. Phillips moved that the Treasurer's report be accepted, with congratulations on the report showing the Society's finances were in good order. This motion was seconded by Judge Johnson and adopted.

Mr. Fraker, the Administrative Secretary, announced that fifty new annual members and one new life member had joined the Society during the past three months. He also reported that a considerable number of accessions had been made to the library and the museum. Mr. Harrison moved that the new members be placed on the roll of the Society, and that the gifts to the library and museum be accepted. The motion was put and carried.

Progress of the Will Rogers Home committee was outlined by Dr. Johnson. He said that officials in the Corps of Engineers in Tulsa had been most helpful in securing information for him concerning the Rogers' holdings. He said further that the information at hand indicated all buildings on the land to be inundated would have to be moved by July 1, but that Will Rogers, Jr., believes the date to be July 1, 1960. Dr. Johnson said that the Rogers children were quite receptive to the Oklahoma Historical Society's interest in the matter of marking and preserving the Will Rogers birthplace. He observed that it was the Rogers family hopes that a Rogers memorial park would be established in the vicinity of the dam that is to be constructed. It was the ex-

pressed opinion of Dr. Johnson that it was not necessarily important that the Society secure possession of the Will Rogers birthplace sites, but rather that such site be preserved by any agency that could get the job done. It was moved by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Mr. Curtis that the President be authorized to continue this committee and that the chairman, Dr. Johnson, be authorized to add other members as he saw fit. The motion was adopted.

In making the Library Committee report, Mr. Curtis said that considerable progress is being made in the work of the library. He reported that many new books have been added along with those from the Lee Harkins estate. He voiced the opinion that the new railing, which had been constructed in the library, was of considerable value in adding to the efficiency and order of the library.

Information concerning the 1959 annual Historical Society tour, was given by Mr. R. G. Miller, committee chairman. He stated that the tour would be in the southeastern portion of the state; that the tour would be held on June 4, 5, and 6; that there is a considerable list of important historic spots to be found in that section of Oklahoma; and that the tour would probably include at least fifteen or sixteen stops at the more important of these historic sites. The schedule contemplates that the tour will leave the Historical Society Building at 6:00 a.m. on the morning of June 4, with breakfast at Shawnee; that the tourists will be housed at Texoma Lodge on the nights of June 4 and 5, and will return to Oklahoma City on the evening of June 6.

Mr. Miller proposed that only actual transportation, housing, and food costs be charged to the people making the tour; and that expenses of staff members be cared for by the Society. After discussion, the President requested that the minutes show that it was the consensus of opinion of the Board that the usual amount allotted to staff members for the tour be provided by the Society and that incidental charges be allocated to the paying tourists at the discretion of the Tour Committee.

The report of the Legislative Committee was made by Judge Cliff who stated that the general appropriation bill for the Historical Society had been introduced in the House, but that the items fell far short of those requested by the Society. He said he was pleased to report that one long time need for the Society was being considered in a bill that had been introduced into the State Senate calling for almost \$30,000.00 in air conditioning for the Historical Society Building. President Shirk observed that if the appropriation for air conditioning was approved, that much of the credit for getting such appropriation should go to Mr. Fraker, the Administrative Secretary, in that he had been working hard on this project for the past four years.

In presenting the report of the House and Grounds Committee, Chairman Bass recalled that the Board had heretofore approved the expenditure of \$1,600.00 for the construction of two museum display cases in the alcove. He said that the lowest bid received for the cases was \$2,195.00; and he recommended that this amount be authorized for the two cabinets. It was moved by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the expenditure of \$2,195.00 for the display cases be approved. The motion was put and carried.

The Administrative Secretary called attention to a request that had been made from the museum of New Mexico asking to borrow the New Mexican retablo now owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society. President Shirk asked that the Board express its opinion. It was moved by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the New Mexico Museum's request be granted. Motion carried.

A request from the Camp Fire Girls to hold a reception in the Historical Society Building was presented. Dr. Harbour moved and Mr. Bass seconded a motion to permit the Camp Fire Girls to use the facilities of the Historical Society Building for their reception. The motion was put and carried.

Mr. Bass presented a picture to the Society that was being given by Mrs. Bessie Truitt. This is a picture of the Oklahoma State Senate showing U.S. Senator Robert L. Owen speaking at a meeting held in the Overholser Theater in Oklahoma City. Mr. Miller moved and Dr. Harbour seconded a motion that the picture be accepted and that thanks be expressed to Mrs. Truitt for the splendid gift.

It being ascertained that no further business was to come before the Board, adjournment was made at 12:00 noon.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

I N M E M O R I A M

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM SHAFFER KEY 1889 - 1959

Oklahoma has lost one of its best loved citizens and leaders in the death of Major General William Shaffer Key on Monday, January 5, 1959, in Oklahoma City. His career was spectacular and filled with honors. He was a member of this Board of Directors for 30 years, having served as its President from 1950 to 1958. His dynamic personality, lofty principles, and vision guided the Oklahoma Historical Society as a leading State institution that never faltered in high aims for the advancement and honor of Oklahoma.

He was a native of Alabama, born at Dudleyville on October 6, 1889. He came to Wewoka in 1911 where he developed a number of business interests including the Key Hardware Company and the Wewoka Gas Company. He was united in marriage with Miss Irene Davis in 1913, the daughter of Mrs. Alice B. Davis, Chief of the Seminole Nation. When his business interests broadened to include the ownership of gas and oil companies, he moved his family in 1928 to Oklahoma City which remained his home. In civilian life, few men have engaged in wider activities and held higher honors than Major General Key. He was active in the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce and many other civic organizations, and served by appointment by two governors of the State as warden of the State Penitentiary at McAlester at different periods. He devoted much of his time to Masonic activities, was a 33rd degree Mason, Inspector General of the Scottish Rite Masonry in Oklahoma, and a leading member of the Supreme Council in Washington, D.C. at the time of his death.

His military career began in Georgia in 1907 when he enlisted in the Georgia National Guard. The lure of military life again called when he came to Oklahoma, and he enlisted in the Oklahoma National Guard in 1912. Since then, he filled every rank in the Guard from private to commanding general. He commanded the First Oklahoma Infantry on the Mexican border in 1916, entered World War I as captain in the Infantry, and served seventeen months overseas with the 42nd and the 7th Divisions, participating in the Marne defensive, the Battle of Chateau-Thierry, St. Mihiel, and the victory of the Meuse-Argonne in the great push of 1918.

Returning to Oklahoma, General Key organized the First Battery of the Field Artillery in the Guard at Wewoka in 1920. He advanced to the rank of Colonel of the Field Artillery Brigade, and during this period was the General who commanded the Oklahoma County Martial Law District under Governor Walton. General Key was commander of the National Guard after its mobilization as the 45th Division at Fort Sill.

Following peacetime maneuvers in Louisiana, and a period of waiting for overseas assignment after December 7, 1941, General Key relinquished the command of the Division in October, 1942. Immediately the War Department announced his appointment as Provost Marshal General of the United States Army in Europe, where he served from October, 1942 to June, 1943, during which time he served as commanding general of all American forces in Europe, a signal honor held by no other Oklahoman. Subsequently, he commanded the United States forces in Iceland for a year, and was assigned to head the American Armistice control at Budapest, Hungary in 1945, having attained the rank of Major General. His decorations included ribbon for the Mexican foray in 1917, five battle stars for World War I, ribbon for pre-Pearl Harbor, ribbon for the European Theatre of Operations, ribbon for American Theatre operations, the Legion of Merit, and the Distinguished Service Medal.

Not only was he a great soldier, a splendid business man, an admirable civic leader, but he was great in heart, a devoted husband, and a wise and affectionate father. The Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society join with his widow, Mrs. Irene Key, and his children in sorrow at the passing of one not only so dear to them but to all the members of this Board. The family, this Board, the community and state all have suffered an irreparable loss.

Accordingly, be it

RESOLVED by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society that we extend our sympathy and condolence to the family of Major General William S. Key and assure them of the love and affectionate regard which this Board held for him; that a copy hereof be spread at length upon the minutes of this meeting of the Board of Directors, and that copies be delivered to his wife and children.

Upon motion, duly seconded, and by a standing vote, the above resolution was unanimously adopted.

(Signed) R. A. Hefner
Chairman of the Committee

I, Elmer Fraker, Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, do hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted at a regular meeting of the Board of Directors of said Society held on the 29th day of January, 1959, as witness my hand and seal this the 6th day of February, 1959.

(Signed) Elmer L. Fraker

28 January, 1959

C E R T I F I C A T E

IT IS CERTIFIED that the undersigned, being the Tellers named in the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society met at 3 PM this date and opened the ballots for Directors, counting the same as prescribed by the Constitution, and out of a total of 424 ballots received, the following is the tally thereof:

E. E. Dale	407
H. B. Bass	404
Redmond S. Cole	398
R. M. Mountcastle	398
B. B. Chapman	391

The ballots and envelopes are preserved in a safe place and are delivered to the Board herewith.

(Signed) George H. Shirk
Edna Bowman
Elmer L. Fraker

New Members for the Quarter October 22, 1958 to January 29, 1959.

New Life Member

Hoevel, Kenneth O.

Tulsa, Oklahoma

New Annual Members

Henderson, Mrs. Milton
 Neal, Miss Bobba
 King, Mrs. Milam M.
 Courtney, William H.
 Wolf, Key
 Barr, Mrs. Link
 Bond, Edward
 Wade, Cliff C.
 Hess, Dr. Chas. A.
 Jayne, Mrs. Velma
 Jacobs, Mrs. John
 Whiteley, Mrs. W. R.
 Huddleston, Mrs. Dub
 Bassel, Russell Willie
 Freeman, Mrs. Leora B.
 Hill, Mrs. Nellie
 Montgomery, Mrs. J. R.
 Chastain, Henry W.
 Beams, Mrs. Joe H.
 Cave, E. D.
 McPherrren, David
 Anderson, Phil
 Baker, John Marion
 Hammonds, Mrs. Homer C.
 Lawrence, H. T.
 McIntyre, J. Kyle
 Spears, Mrs. Oakla Mount
 Williams, Mrs. Kenneth
 Howard, Mr. Babe
 Clark, William Henry, Jr.
 Gannaway, Mrs. Charles B.
 Maines, Mrs. Roy
 Myers, Willard H.
 Ryan, William M.
 McGinn, Mrs. Frances G.
 Smith, Mrs. P. U.
 Rose, Ralph C.
 Stephens, E. E.
 Wilson, Pauline Ann
 Roberts, Richard S.
 Fry, Mrs. Jeanne R.
 Park, Hugh
 McGuffie, Palmer
 Faubion, Dr. L. Ray
 Borys, John Thomas
 Evans, Mrs. Marietta
 Lizzority, Kenneth J.
 Bynum, Roy V., Jr.
 Hilseweck, William J.
 Zolotarevskaya, I. A.

Braggs, Oklahoma
 Chandler, Oklahoma
 Checotah, Oklahoma
 Coalgate, Oklahoma
 Davis, Oklahoma
 Dover, Oklahoma
 Duncan, Oklahoma
 " "
 Durant, Oklahoma
 Enid, Oklahoma
 Holdenville, Oklahoma
 Holdenville, Oklahoma
 Konawa, Oklahoma
 Lawton, Oklahoma
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 " "
 McAlester, Oklahoma
 Midwest City, Oklahoma
 Muskogee, Oklahoma
 Norman, Oklahoma
 Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
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 Okmulgee, Oklahoma
 Poteau, Oklahoma
 Pryor, Oklahoma
 Tulsa, Oklahoma
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 Vici, Oklahoma
 Sayre, Oklahoma
 Shattuck, Oklahoma
 Shawnee, Oklahoma
 Shawnee, Oklahoma
 Wewoka, Oklahoma
 Yukon, Oklahoma
 Van Buren, Arkansas
 Corona, California
 Los Angeles, California
 San Diego, California
 Englewood, Colorado
 Hazlewood, Missouri
 Farmington, New Mexico
 Dallas, Texas
 Moscow, U.S.S.R.

GIFTS PRESENTED:

LIBRARY

Genealogical and Ancestral Notes, 1958 - William H. Edwards

Donor: Colonel William H. Edwards, Meriden, Connecticut

"Sott's United States Stamp Catalogue, 1956"

Tamerlane, 1928 - Harold Lamb

Official Army Register, 1953

Official Army Register, 1955

"Army and Navy Journal Supplement - U.S. Army Department of the Missouri, Camp Schofield," 1889. (Photostat).

Invitation card - Mrs. William H. Murray, with Indian Territory Cover, 1906.

Donor: Colonel George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

As I Recollect, 1949

Donor: Pocahontas Indian Womens Club, Claremore, Oklahoma.

The London Family - Marvin F. London

Descendants of William Lain and Keziah Mather, 1957 - Compiled by Beatrice Linskill Sheehan.

Miller Genealogy, 1958 - Compiled by Wilmot Polk Rogers.

Cluverii Chronica, 1958 - Compiled by Herman Christof Kluever.

Donor: Ralph Hudson, Oklahoma State Library.

Jewish Monumental Inscriptions in Barbados, 1958

The Jewish Community of Utica, New York 1847-1948; S. Joshua Kohn.

Donor: American Jewish Historial Society, New York City.

"Manuscripts of the Three District Association of Old Settlers"

Donor: Mrs. Edna Greer Hatfield, Tonkawa, Oklahoma.

Manuscript: "Story of a Trip Made by W. W. Jackman and Dave Todd by Covered Wagon from Whiting, Kansas to Union City, Oklahoma in March 1893, as written by W. W. Jackman.

Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Oklahoma City.

History of the Gerberich Family in America, 1952 - A. H. Gerberich

Donor: Albert H. Gerberich, Bethesda, Maryland.

Die Niederlandisch-neiderdeutschen Hintergrunde der Mennonitischen Ostwanderungen - Benjamin Heinrich Unruh.

Donor: Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania.

Garden Value and Other Peoms - Emma Klomann Stealey.

Donor: Emma Klomann Stealey

Historical paper concerning the first D.A.R. Chapter organized in Indian Territory and Oklahoma - Alice M. Robertson.

Donor: Mrs. R. R. Bittman, Independence, Kansas.

Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver, 1958 - Thomas Richard Ross.

Donor: State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

Wah Kon-Tah - J. J. Mathews

Donor: W. H. Noel, Hominy, Oklahoma.

A Collection of Feature Articles on the Official Oklahoma Historical Highway Markers in the Circulation Territory of the Ada Evening News.

Donor: William D. Little, Jr., Ada, Oklahoma.

Two plat maps of Italy, Oklahoma.

Donor: Martha Staton, Perkins, Oklahoma.

Decorations of the United States Army 1862-1926.

Donor: Elmer L. Fraker, Oklahoma City.

Authographed program of Ceremonies Attending the Presentation of the Wright Brothers Aeroplane of 1903 (41st Anniversary of Flight, December 17, 1948).

Donor: Horace Keane, Oklahoma City.

Old papers, telegrams and freight bills from the Rock Island Railroad, dated before 1907.

Donor: R. B. Fetters, El Reno, Oklahoma.

Fifty Years of Collecting Americana for the Library of the American Antiquarian Society 1908-1958 - Clarence S. Brigham.

Donor: Clarence S. Brigham, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Selected Bibliography of Texana, 1958.

Donor: Houston Public Library, Houston, Texas.

"Laws, Regulations, and President's Proclamation Regarding the Cherokee Outlet."

Donor: Mabel Murray, Oklahoma City.

"Land Opening Bulletin of 1893"

Donor: Dr. Charles W. Hoshall, Oklahoma City.

Two maps of Oklahoma

Donor: A. C. Iverson, Rock Rapids, Iowa.

"Pleasant Hill Methodist Church"

Donor: Mrs. Edna Hatfield, Tonkawa, Oklahoma.

Eleventh Annual Report of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes.

Donor: Paul C. McCready, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Fifty-two copies of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

Donor: Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater Oklahoma.

MUSEUM:

Album of tintypes, owned by the late Chief Manning of the Cherokees

Donor: Mrs. Frances D. Munselle, Locust Grove, Oklahoma

Collection of bird negatives

Donor: Mrs. Jennie Elrod, Okmulgee, Oklahoma

Photos of:

C. P. Wickmiller and David L. Payne: Twelve glass plates and four negatives made by C. P. Wickmiller; Frame with eight pictures of David L. Payne's camp; Five framed newspapers.

Donor: Mrs. Lee J. Conn, Kingfisher, Oklahoma

Framed colored photograph of Miss Isabel Crawford

Donors: Dr. Harry Deupree and Phil Anderson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Exhibits

American Flag, owned by Ponca Indian Legion Post

Donor: James T. Tsatoke, Box 345, Ponca City, Oklahoma

Post Colors, owned by Ponca Indian Legion Post

Donor: James T. Tsatoke, Box 345, Ponca City, Oklahoma

Stamps, collection of Oklahoma Semi-Centennial Stamps and Envelopes
cancelled at Boom Town

Donor: Stanley Draper, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Necklace, silver Tibetan necklace set with blue and red stones

Donor: Mrs. Dorothea Owen, New York, New York

Medal, Semi-Centennial medal in plastic case

Donor: W. R. Brown, 529 SW 29th Street, Oklahoma City,
Oklahoma

Newspaper, New York Herald, April 15, 1865

Donor: W. M. Gaskill, Shawnee, Oklahoma

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL ROOM:

Large silk flag, the Naval Jack

Donor: Jefferson Davis Chapter, N. 2550, U.D.C., Okla-
homa City

The Museum Graphic, winter issue of 1958

Donor: Library

Clipping "The Last Battle of the War Between the States", fought in
Mobile Bay

Donor: Robert Brown

Clipping from a Kentucky paper, showing picture of a monument at
Butler, marking spot of the first "Civil War" death in that state.

Donor: Mrs. William H. Rogers, 826 North Fourth, Ponca
City, Oklahoma

Confederate Fifty Dollar Bill, dated 1864, and leather billfold of same
period, formerly property of Ed S. Dillon, Tennessee

Donor: R. J. (Dick) Jones, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Ornamental picture frame for photograph of William (Bill) Cross

Donor: His son William Cross, 829 Kayton, San Antonio, Texas

IN MEMORIAM

REDMOND SELECMAN COLE

The Oklahoma Historical Society announces with sorrow the death of Redmond Selecman Cole on July 16, 1959, member of the Board of Directors. At this time, he was the first member of the Board, in point of service, having been elected and having served from 1911 to 1917; and again, from 1948. He was Vice President of the Society for ten years: 2nd Vice President, 1948-50; 1st Vice President, 1950-58. Judge Cole was an active member of the Society for forty-eight years, having joined as one of the first Life Members in 1911. His death has left a feeling of great loss in the Oklahoma Historical Society, with the close of his many years of interest and service.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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EDWARD EVERETT DALE

BERLIN B. CHAPMAN

R. G. MILLER

ELMER L. FRAKER

Summer, 1959

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Cover: View of Bartlesville and Oil Field, Indian Territory, 1906, from rare photograph in Oklahoma Historical Society Collections.

WILLIAM SHAFFER KEY: OKLAHOMA PATRIOT

By Muriel H. Wright

Major General William Shaffer Key, United States Army, is Oklahoma's distinguished citizen-soldier named on the State's Patriot Stone in the Memorial Bell Tower at Valley Forge.¹ His record as a soldier, merchant, realtor, banker, builder and president, or director or trustee, of a score or more of business, fraternal and culture institutions forms one of the marvelous stories of outstanding achievement of which all America is proud. General Key was a man of dynamic personality which together with his own love of history and his vision led the Oklahoma Historical Society for many years in the high aim to advance and honor the State through the spread of a deeper appreciation and knowledge of its past. Yet above all, General Key was a beloved citizen with a host of friends all over the world when his death came on Monday, January 5, 1959, at Oklahoma City. Words of tribute here to General Key are inadequate, and this review of his life as a military man and of his activities as a civic leader at home give only a glimpse of his place as a great Oklahoman.

William Shaffer Key was reared in the mellow, almost mystic memories of the historic struggles and valorous deeds of the "Old South." He was born in Dudleyville, Tallapoosa County, Alabama, on October 6, 1889, the son of Cullen R. C. Key and Hadassah Fargason Key. Both his grandfathers were Confederate veterans. His paternal grandfather, William R. Wilburn Key, served with General Robert E. Lee in the Army of Northern Virginia. His maternal grandfather, Thomas B. Fargason, fought in the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, and after the War, became a noted Baptist preacher in Alabama.

General Key's military life began as a young man when he joined the National Guard of Georgia, in which he rose to the rank of lieutenant before he came to Oklahoma in 1911. He enlisted in the Oklahoma National Guard upon his arrival here and, in due time, was Captain and Commander of his Company at Wewoka. His company was the first to report when the Guard was called for duty on the Mexican Border

¹ This place of honor for the name of Major General William S. Key was sponsored by the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Oklahoma, with the building of the Memorial Bell Tower at Valley Forge.



MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM S. KEY

in 1916, and Captain Key defended the Rio Grande with the first Oklahoma Infantry. He immediately volunteered for military service when war with Germany was declared in 1917. A year and a half later when the Germans surrendered, Lieutenant Colonel William S. Key was with the seventh Division on Hill 323 beyond the Meuse. After World War I, he re-entered the Oklahoma National Guard as Captain, and served continuously for twenty years, reaching the rank of major general.

On September 16, 1940, he was mobilized as Major General of the 45th Division, United States Army (formerly National Guard of the United States and National Guard of Oklahoma), followed by peacetime maneuvers in Louisiana, his brilliant leadership developing the 45th Division into one of the most efficient combat organizations in the history of American arms. His career was spectacular for as commander of the 45th Division while it still was a national guard unit in 1940, he became Commandant of Fort Sill with the exception of the School of Fire, retaining his duties as Commander of the 45th Division training center. Then came World War II during peacetime maneuvers in Louisiana. A long period of waiting for overseas orders closed on October 26, 1942 when the War Department at Washington announced General Key's appointment as Provost Marshal General of the United States Army in Europe. This order away from the 45th Division was grievous to General Key for his heart was with the men of the 45th that he had trained and now could not lead into combat. Later when this Division was in the battles on the front in Italy, he remarked, "I know what those boys are going through up there on the line fighting day and night. I am constantly with them in spirit. I wonder if the people here appreciate what the American soldier is sacrificing in this war."

His leadership and work as Provost Marshal General were cited in the Legion of Merit awarded him in 1943 when he was transferred to serve as Commanding General of the U. S. forces in Iceland. This citation states: "Major General Key initiated the prisoner of war division in the provost marshal's office and through his guidance a co-operative division was developed which operated with all the allied governments.

"Major General Key's personality, tact and good judgment in dealing with the civil and military authorities of the British government have contributed greatly to cordial Anglo-American relations."

In May, 1943, when Lieut. General Frank M. Andrews, Commanding General of the American forces in Europe, was lost in an army plane crash against the side of a mountain in Greenland, General Key served for the interim before the appointment of General Andrews' successor as Commander of the European Theater of Operations. Then came the announcement that General Key was to serve as the Commanding General of the American forces in Iceland where he arrived in June, 1943, and remained until December, 1944. During the year and a half, he directed a vigilance that proved a major factor in winning the great "Battle of the Atlantic" of World War II. Iceland was one of the most important strategic points of the War as it commanded the sea and air lanes to Europe. General Key made many friends among the people of Iceland, saying of them: "Those people have a right to be proud of their culture. They have known literacy for more than a thousand years. Everywhere you turn there are books, books, books. And publishing houses. They are cultured Europeans." The General became deeply interested in the Icelandic history and liked their literature and music. The work of the Iceland Command was virtually completed by the end of 1944, and General Key was transferred to a new assignment. He was awarded the decoration of the Knight Commander, Order of Falcon, Iceland, and the U. S. Distinguished Service Medal for his "exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service in a position of great responsibility as commanding general" of the Iceland base. The citation states:

General Key was charged with the responsibility of organizing and regrouping the United States military forces in Iceland. Through his resourcefulness, sound planning and tactical employment of reduced forces, he accomplished his mission despite extremely difficult field conditions.

In assembling and shipping large stocks of surplus installations to the Icelandic government, he displayed marked executive ability and superior leadership. His personality, tact and understanding in dealing with the Icelandic government and the population earned the good will of the people, thereby enhancing the prestige of the United States government and its military forces and establishing a firm foundation of mutual confidence.

General Key, by his noteworthy achievement as an organizer, initiative, and devotion to duty, contributed in a notable degree to the success of military operations in the European Theater of operations.

General Key was in Oklahoma City in December, 1944, his first real visit home since 1940, and left this country immediately after the first of the year, 1945, for his assignment in Hungary. The War and the Navy departments in February announced technically his new position as Head of the American Armistice Control at Budapest, Hungary. General

Key took with him a hand-picked staff of men— Magyar speaking, German speaking and Russian speaking. His work closed in the summer of 1946, and he was awarded the Oak Leaf Cluster to his Distinguished Service Medal early in December, in ceremonies at Oklahoma City. Those attending the ceremonies included the former members of his staff in the 45th Division and Maj. General Roy Hoffman, who commanded the Division prior to General Key. The officers present were Maj. General George A. Davis, Oklahoma Adjutant General; Brig. General Hal Muldrow, Jr., Division Artillery Commander; Brig. General R. W. Kenny, Assistant State Adjutant General. Colonel George J. Forter, Head of the Organized Reserve in Oklahoma, read General Key's citation:

On behalf of the United States government, he helped to regulate and supervise the execution of the terms of the Armistice Agreement between Hungary and the allies. He directed the successful repatriation of thousands of Hungarian displaced persons, and he demonstrated exceptional diplomacy and resourcefulness in dealing with allied representatives as well as with the highest Hungarian governmental officials.

Through his sound judgment, tact and administrative ability, General Key earned the co-operation and good will of his associates and contributed greatly to cordial international relations.

Other military decorations and awards, not heretofore mentioned, honoring General Key included the Bronze Star Medal, Commendation from the Secretary of War, the State of Oklahoma World War I Medal with 5 stars, World War II Medal with 1 star, various military campaign medals and decoration of the Order of Bath, England.

General Key's career as a civic leader and builder is outstanding in Oklahoma. After he moved from Alabama to Wewoka, Oklahoma in 1911, he developed a number of business interests which include the Key Hardware Company and the Wewoka Gas Company. From 1927, he made his home in Oklahoma City where he became an independent oil and gas operator with business properties in Oklahoma, California, Texas, Missouri and Colorado. He built and owned the Key Building (present Oklahoma Natural Building on North Harvey) and operated it until he disposed of the property in 1947. He served as director of a number of business institutions: Security National Bank (1928-29); First National Bank and Trust Company (1929-33); Lincoln Income Life Insurance Company (Louisville, Kentucky, 1938-41) and was named director of the Oklahoma Natural Gas Company in 1948. He was named Director of the Oklahoma Mutual Savings and Loan Company in 1954.

Beginning in 1924, William S. Key was drafted at different times to serve in an official capacity. He served as Warden

of the State Penitentiary, McAlester, from 1924 to 1927, in the administration of Governor M. E. Trapp, and introduced much needed penal reforms and established efficient business management of the Penitentiary. It was placed on a self-operating basis within two years so that it did not require an appropriation for maintenance from the State Legislature, the first institution to attain such a remarkable record up to that time in Oklahoma. Colonel Key served as Chairman of the State Pardon and Parole Board from 1928 to 1932, and was elected President of the Warden's Association of the United States. He was again named Warden of the State Penitentiary in 1935 by Governor E. W. Marland but was soon drafted to serve as head of the Works Progress Administration in Oklahoma, his executive ability leading out from the problems of the depression and directing a building program that included the completion of more than 250 school buildings, 53 armories and 20 libraries, besides other public buildings in the state. Colonel Key was a Democratic candidate for governor in 1938 but was defeated by Leon C. Phillips by 3,000 votes out of 600,000 votes cast. Though the defeat seemed a setback at the time, there was a greater field ahead for Colonel Key's talents.

His civic activities include a long list: President of the Oklahoma City Rotary Club, (1930-31); Director of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce; President of Oklahoma State Safety Council; Chairman of the Oklahoma City Aviation Commission (1947-55); Chairman and member of the Salvation Army Advisory Board for many years; a trustee of Oklahoma City University; member of the First Baptist Church, Oklahoma City, and was past president of the Men's Bible Class. His local club membership included the Oklahoma Club, Men's Dinner Club and American Legion. One of General Key's last big civic jobs was when he was named general chairman of a bond issue campaign for \$7,498,000 for airport improvements in November, 1957. He was credited with much of the success of this important bond issue in the development of Oklahoma City.

General Key was widely known for his Masonic activities, to which he devoted much of his time during his last years. As a 33rd degree Mason, he was Sovereign Grand Inspector General, having received the Purple Cap of his office in 1950, holding jurisdiction over Oklahoma Scottish Rite Masonry for nine years prior to his death. He was a member of the National Sojourners Committee of 33, Red Cross of Constantine and Shrine, and was President of the Masonic Charity Foundation of Oklahoma. His last efforts in view of many difficulties were as a leader in the successful establishment of

the new consistory and temple at Tulsa, in early December, 1958.

Throughout all the years, General Key held a deep love for history, especially Oklahoma Indian and military history. It seemed as if he had personally known the many, great American Army officers who had served at the frontier posts in the Indian Territory at different times during a period of 150 years. It was this lively interest that brought him active membership and service on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for more than thirty years. He was first elected as member of the Board of Directors in February, 1927. He was elected and served as Vice President of the Historical Society from 1936 to 1950. After the death of the President of the Board, Judge Robert L. Williams, in 1948, General Key was acting President until 1950 when he was elected President of the Board of Directors. He resigned this position early in 1958, saying it was necessary to cut down his outside activities yet he remained a member of the Board of the Historical Society to the end. As President, General Key brought prestige and a wider acquaintance with the Historical Society as an outstanding institution in Oklahoma. The Society's program of work in the field of state history was broadened during his presidency: The marking of Oklahoma historic sites was begun in 1949, a project that has grown successfully, creating much interest throughout the state, now one of the major activities in the Society's research in history, and in the locating and actual marking of the sites in the field. General Key was warmly in favor of the Annual Historical Tours established in 1952, under the leadership of R. G. Miller, member of the Board of Directors, and always accompanied these annual spring pilgrimages. Those who accompanied the first tours will always remember General Key's presence, his jovial good humor and his booming voice when speaking and introducing guests at the programs given by local communities and towns where stops were made along the way, some far off the regular highways. One should hardly mention these as "public appearances" in the life of one who had an important place in hundreds of impressive ceremonies and notable gatherings both at home and abroad yet the mention recalls the personality of this noted Oklahoman.

General Key was every inch the patriot and the soldier. A friend of his has written of the State's loss in his passing:²

It was easy to call him "General." Even in civilian clothes he still looked as most folks think a general should look.... It took

² Roy P. Stewart in his "Country Boy" column, *The Daily Oklahoman*, January 7, 1959.

little imagination to visualize on his shoulders the stars of command.

Yet he was a citizen soldier. He had all the loyalty of the regular. He had great respect for the American military tradition of a small, professional corps backed by a sincere, studious civilian reserve. He venerated our military heroes. He studied their campaigns, just as he read with retentive memory, the history of those leaders....

There was nothing artificial about the general. His handclasp, his vocabulary, his energy, his enthusiasms, all were of a size and stature that fitted the man....

His death is a great loss to the State which he, although Alabama born, adopted long ago with the fervor of a native. He was a part of the state, a working partner in its growth, its plans and its institutions....

General and Mrs. Key made their home in their beautiful residence at the corner of Culbertson Drive and Lincoln Boulevard, not far from the Historical Society Building. He married on May 5, 1914, at Wewoka, Miss Irene Genevieve Davis, daughter of George R. Davis and Alice Brown Davis. Mrs. Alice Brown Davis was of a distinguished Indian family in Oklahoma, a sister of the late Principal Chief of the Seminole Nation, John F. Brown, and she herself served prominently as Chief of the Seminoles for several years at the close of their tribal affairs. At the death of William Shafer Key, his funeral services were held in the First Baptist Church and interment was in Memorial Park Cemetery, Oklahoma City. He is survived by his wife, three children, six grandchildren and one great grandchild. The three children of General and Mrs. Key are William S. Key, Jr., Genevieve (Mrs. William Lee Harper) and Major Robert C. Key, U. S. Army (West Point, 1946).

A genealogical record states that in the traditionary notices and records of the "Hundred Rolls," the Key family is of Anglo-Saxon origin. Members of this family are found in the records from the beginning of English settlement in America to 1720, in Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The most famous is the author, Francis Scott Key, who immortalized the "Star Spangled Banner," our national anthem. General Key's great-great grandfather, John Walter Key, served in the American army during the Revolution.

Dr. Charles Evans, who was a personal friend of General Key and had served with him in several organizations and on several boards, paid him these last words of tribute:³

In a large sense, William S. Key was so endowed by nature, physically, mentally and spiritually, that his life became a radiating force that reached into many fields of endeavor found in Oklahoma and American life.

³ Dr. Charles Evans, "Tribute to William S. Key," in *Indian Consistory News*, April, 1959.

Educators called to him as an advisor. Churches pleaded with him to come and speak in their pulpits and become a part of their fundamental crusades. The Y. M. C. A. placed him as a very cornerstone in the building of their house and home in Oklahoma City but also kept him near its side in every-day planning.

Little and Big Business invited him to occupy pivotal positions in financial affairs. His broad study and personal interest in the oil industry, banks, building and loan, gas and electric and many others of kindred kind sought him as an able guide and director. It seemed that even these sereve business worlds honored and sought him more for his warm, genial Christian character than they did for his mental acumen, though his thinking received highest respect. When he sat among circles of men and women who met to pass upon the loftiest proceedings of church, state or Masonry his chief contribution lay in what he gave to them out of his happy, Christian spirit.

No words can do justice to the devotion he gave to the locality of his home, to his state or to his nation. In the eloquent address delivered by his pastor, Dr. H. L. Hobbs, in the Baptist church in Oklahoma City on the day of his burial, in ringing tones that seemed, in its high fervor and daily touch with General Key, to reach to the farthest ends of the great city, he was called "a great Christian Soldier."

FROM THE HUNDREDS OF LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS RECEIVED
BY MRS. WILLIAM S. KEY AND FAMILY:

HEADQUARTERS FOURTH ARMY
Office of The Commanding General
Fort Sam Houston, Texas

6 January, 1959

Mrs. William S. Key
600 Culbertson Drive
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mrs. Key:

All of Fourth United States Army joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to you in this hour of personal bereavement.

As we share in your sorrow, we also share in the pride of official kinship to General Key, a brilliant and a gallant officer in the service of his country. He was a leader whose influence extended far beyond his chosen State of Oklahoma. His unselfish service as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army has been inestimable value to the United States Army and our nation.

General Key will always have an honored place in the hearts of his fellow soldiers everywhere.

Sincerely,
(Signed) Stan Meloy
G. S. MELOY, Jr.
Lieutenant General, USA
Commanding

Washington, D. C., 6 Jan. 1959

In behalf of the department of the army, and personally, I join with the many friends and associates of General Key in extending to you and your family deepest sympathy in your great bereavement.

General Key's illustrious military record and his nearly eight years as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army stand as incon-

testable proof of his loyal devotion to his country and of the exemplary manner in which he served its causes throughout his lifetime.

We of the Department of the army have lost an esteemed colleague and our nation one of its most patriotic citizens.

It is my sincere hope that you and yours may find some measure of consolation in the realization that his was a life well spent, the fruits of which will linger in blessings to his country, to you of his family, and to a wide circle of friends both at home and abroad.

I sincerely regret my inability to attend the funeral services on Wednesday, 7 January. General Meloy, the Commanding General, Fourth Army, will personally represent me and the host of officials and friends from the army who pay respect to this distinguished American citizen-soldier.

Wilber M. Brucker
Secretary of the Army

Washington, D. C., 6 Jan. 1959

Was tremendously shocked and deeply saddened to learn of the passing of Bill, one of the dearest friends I have ever had. From my earliest days as a newspaper man I have keenly appreciated his marvelous character and his dedication. He excelled in every field—military, civil, and fraternal. His passing is a great loss to every American and will be sorely felt by his thousands of friends who have so long looked to him for leadership and friendship. My most sincere sympathy to you and the entire family.

A. S. Mike Monroney U.S. Senator

Washington, D. C., 6 Jan. 1959

It was with deepest regret I learned this morning of Bill's passing. I have been so happy these past years in the close friendship he and I enjoyed, and I share your sense of great loss. He was one of Oklahoma's greatest citizens and among the state's most highly respected men. Mrs. Kerr joins me in expressing our sincere sympathy.

Robt. S. Kerr, U.S. Senator

Louisville, Ky., 6 Jan., 1959

Deeply moved to hear of the death of the dear General. Be assured of prayers of Mrs. Laity and myself in this hour of bereavement.

Lieut. Colonel Edward Laity
(Salvation Army)

New Orleans, La., 6 Jan., 1959

Just heard of the death of General Key and hasten to extend to you my deepest sympathy. He was a wonderful person and I know will be missed by all.

DeLesseps S. Morrison
Mayor, City of New Orleans
(Also Civ. Aide to Sec. of the Army in La.)

Oklahoma City, Okla., 6 Jan., 1959

We are deeply grieved because of the death of General Key and we extend our sympathy to you and your family. General Key was truly a great Oklahoman and a great American. He lived a distinguished and useful life which will be an inspiration to us in the years to come.

Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Holloway

Bartlesville, Okla., 6 Jan., 1959

It was with deepest regret and sorrow I learned this morning of the passing of our good friend, Bill Key, and I hasten to extend deepest sympathy to you and your family. He surely gave much during his lifetime for the good of his fellowman, not only in Masonry but in other phases of life as well. I know his reward will be great. If I can be helpful in any way please let me know.

K. S. Adams

Chairman, Phillips Petroleum Co.

Washington, D. C., 6 Jan., 1959

Loraine and I have just arrived from home to receive the shocking news of the General's passing last night. We join you and children in the deep sorrow and grief you are experiencing. We had profound admiration and affection for the General. He was truly a great man, soldier and mason. We have all suffered a great loss in his death. May our heavenly father have you and your children in his holy keeping.

Luther A. Smith

(Soverign Grand Commander, Scottish Rite
Masonry, Southern Jurisdiction)

Washington, D. C., 9 Jan., 1959

Permit me to express deepest sympathy on your irreparable loss. We Hungarians also feel keenly the passing of the great and good friend of our cause. My personal sympathy also.

Joseph Kœvago

(Former Mayor of Budapest, 1946)

New York, N. Y., 8 Jan., 1959

All freedom loving Hungarians mourn the loss of Major General William S. Key. His name will be remembered always. With deepest sympathy and condolences.

Msgr. Bela Varga,

Chairman Hungarian Committee

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 21, 1959.

Dear Mrs. Key:

Word reached me recently of the death, early this month of General Key. He was a fine soldier and citizen, and served his country with devotion and courage. I was fortunate to count him among my friends.

Mrs. Eisenhower joins me in deepest sympathy to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Dwight D. Eisenhower". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial 'D' and a long, sweeping underline.

Mrs. William S. Key,
600 Culbertson Drive,
Oklahoma City,
Oklahoma.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY ILLUMINATING OIL COMPANY

*Frank F. Finney, Sr.**

The Phoenix Oil Company, predecessor of the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company, had already begun operations on its Osage oil and gas lease and had completed two dry holes when the Cudahy Oil Company's discovery well was brought in as a producing well in April, 1897, to mark the beginning of the oil industry in what is now Oklahoma, and put Bartlesville on the map as the original oil town and the gateway for oil fields to come.

Until the Cudahy well came in the evidence that oil could be found in important quantities in the Indian Territory was inconclusive, but it was known to exist in some measure. Springs had long been known from which crude oil was recovered by the Indians and used for medicine, and several of these were frequented as health resorts.

Traces of oil were found in wells dug for salt, and if the information handed down is reliable, one of them sunk at Grand Saline, now Salina, on the Grand River flowed at the rate of ten barrels a day for a year.¹ A few shallow "post holes" near Chelsea produced oil which was sold locally for cattle dip and axle grease. Showings of oil and gas were found in a test drilled to 1400 feet on Choctaw land about twelve miles west of Atoka in 1889. And it is recorded that in one of two wells drilled on the present townsite of Muskogee in the Creek Nation, oil was found but the title was in doubt and it was abandoned. Positive information on these early operations is incomplete and fragmentary but the Bartlesville well is on a firm historical basis with valid records as the first

* Mr. Frank F. Finney, Sr., was first employed by the I. T. I. O. in October, 1904, and eventually was general superintendent of the Company's gas department. The I. T. I. O. was merged with the Cities' Service in 1941, and Mr. Finney continued in the Geological Department of the Cities' Service Gas Company until his retirement in 1954. His contribution here in *The Chronicles* on the "Early History of the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company" gives hitherto unpublished material on the beginnings of the oil industry in Oklahoma. Mr. Finney is the son of the late T. M. Finney who came to Pawhuska in 1873 and was well-known as a trader among the Osage and the Kaw in the Indian Territory. T. M. Finney's wife was the sister of John N. Florer, noted trader at Gray Horse, Osage Nation, who is mentioned in this article.—Ed.

¹ Muriel H. Wright, "First Oklahoma Oil Produced 1859," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* Vol. IV, No. 4 (December, 1926, pp. 322-28).

well in present Oklahoma of substantial proportions and from which pipeline sales were made.

The adjoining state of Kansas had made much more progress in the search of oil and gas. Although as early as 1873 gas was used for lighting purposes from a mineral well at Iola, Allen County, the gas industry may be said to have had its actual start when gas was piped and used for domestic purposes from a well drilled near Paola, Miami County in 1882. Subsequent prospecting brought forth considerable quantities of gas over the southeastern part of the state, and a number of towns were being supplied gas for lighting, cooking and heating purposes before oil became a component part of the oil and gas business in Kansas.

The oil industry in Kansas properly dates from a producing well drilled in 1892 by the early contractors, McBride and Bloom for a former Pennsylvanian, W. M. Mills, located on the T. J. Norman farm near Neodesha, a little town in Wilson County on the Verdigris River. This well is noteworthy as being recognized not only as the first commercial oil well completed in Kansas but also the first in the great area now known as the Mid-Continent field.

This discovery providing the knowledge that petroleum was to be found in this large region west of the Mississippi indicating its widespread existence was vastly of more importance than then could be foreseen. The amazing contribution petroleum would make to the life and growth of the Nation was unrevealed in its magnitude much as the effects on the country of nuclear discoveries are hidden today.

The internal combustion engine destined to make sweeping changes and take the country out of the horse and buggy age was in the experimental stage. Kerosene for lamps, lubricants for machinery and wheels for the railroad trains, wagons and buggies, were the uses for the products of the oil industry. Naphtha, the gasoline of today, was a nuisance, dangerous to handle and to be gotten rid of at the refineries as a troublesome and useless product. That its objectional explosive properties gave it any value was hardly begun to be suspected and its use to propel horseless carriages had scarcely started. In 1896, four years after the Kansas oil discovery, there were only sixteen of these "benzine buggies" in the whole United States.

As it has been often told, before Edwin L. Drake struck oil at Titusville, Pennsylvania in August, 1859, an enterprising man by the name of Samuel Kier was bottling crude oil which he obtained as a by-product from salt brine wells and selling it for medicine. A circular, advertising his discovery abound-

ed with testimonials of remarkable cures by the use of the "most wonderful remedy ever discovered" ranging from blindness to toothache. If a story, "Johnny Florer's Axle Grease", included in *Wolfville Days*' a book by Alfred Henry Lewis, a well known author of western stories, is to be believed, John N. Florer, a licensed Indian trader among the Osages at the Gray Horse trading post, swindled the Indians by selling axle grease to them just as Kier defrauded the white people with crude oil.

The author, Mr. Lewis, once made a trip to Gray Horse where he was entertained at the Florer home. As he was shown through the trader's store the writer was astounded by the large number of cans of axle grease scattered about the store. It happened that through a mistake of the wholesale house at St. Louis the order from the store had been more than doubled. A stock of almost anything the Indians could call for which was carried in the big general store, included a stock of simple medicines and the Indians were in the habit of calling on the trader for help from these stores when they did not feel well. One Sunday morning, while the visitor was at Gray Horse, an Indian called at the Florer home to get the trader to open up the store and give him some medicine as he said that he was very sick. To amuse his guest, Mr. Florer explained to the Indian in a joking way that the axle grease was a newly discovered remedy that would cure any disease of the human race, and that he had ordered it especially for the Osage Indians. The author, with the help of his imagination, expanded the incident into the story for his book.

The axle grease was the Standard Company's "Mica" brand from its Whiting refinery near Chicago. The crude processed there came from the Lima Ohio field and unlike the oil found in Kansas was laden with sulphur and was known as "sour."

Before oil was found in paying quantities in Kansas, John Florer had been imbued with the belief that the Osage reservation was as he expressed it "underlaid with oil." The idea was first implanted in his mind when an Indian guided him to a spot on the banks of Sand Creek and pointed to a scum casting rainbows on the surface of the water. The Indian managed to soak up and squeeze out of a blanket enough crude oil to provide the trader with a sample.

After Congress in 1891 enacted a law permitting Indian tribes to lease their lands for mineral purposes, and as the development in Kansas successfully proceeded, Florer felt the time had come for him to attempt to bring the plans he had pondered over into being. With the assurance of a good title

he set to work with the twofold purpose of obtaining the consent of the Osages to grant a mining oil and gas lease on their reservation, and to find and interest responsible parties of means and influence in the wildcat scheme.

The Osage full-bloods were fearful of anything that would bring more white people into their reservation to change their customary mode of life and they never acted in a hurry. It took several years and all of John Florer's influence and the support of the more progressive mixed-bloods to convince the conservative full-bloods that a lease on their lands was to their best interest.

Florer's next move is stated in one of his letters of that period: "After I was thoroughly convinced what I could do at home I looked around for a gentleman who could get the influence and backing to put the lease through the Department at Washington and found such a gentleman in Edwin Foster of Westerly, Rhode Island." Edwin B. Foster and his brother Henry Foster had successfully promoted and built the Verdigris Valley and Western railroad from Kansas City, Missouri to Coffeyville, Kansas, which became a part of the Missouri Pacific system. Through Mr. A. C. Stich, a banker of Independence, Kansas, and a former partner of his in the Gray Horse mercantile business, Florer met the Fosters at Independence where Henry Foster was living and received endorsement of the proposition.

On March 16, 1896, James Bigheart, Principal Chief of the Osage tribe on behalf of the tribe, under and pursuant to the action of the council, signed a lease agreement with Henry Foster for the purpose of prospecting and drilling wells, for mining and producing petroleum and natural gas on the entire reservation for a period of ten years. The lease provided a royalty to be paid the Osages of one-tenth of all petroleum procured and fifty dollars per annum for each gas well discovered and utilized.

Henry Foster unexpectedly died after a short illness in New York City before the lease was approved by the Secretary of the Interior. The Osage council then granted Edwin B. Foster permission to substitute his name as representative of Henry Foster and his heirs. The lease was approved by the Hon. John M. Reynolds, Acting Secretary, under date of April 8, 1896, making Edwin B. Foster, the lessee of the great blanket lease on the entire Osage reservation covering 1,470, 559 acres, an area twice as large as his native state of Rhode Island.

The Phoenix Oil Company was immediately formed and incorporated under the laws of West Virginia to which Edwin

B. Foster assigned all his interest in the lease in consideration of 30,000 shares, with par value of \$1 per share, of the capital stock of the company. The stock, 51% of which was to be held in the treasury and not to be sold without consent of the owners, was apportioned to the owners as follows:

Organization stock		10 shares
Treasury		5,000 "
Foster	5/16 -	7,808 "
Flora & Darlington	5/16 -	7,810 "
Crane	1/16 -	1,562 "
Fancher & Glenn	2/16 -	3,124 "
Simons & Gordon	3/16 -	4,686 "

A letter to John Florer from Edwin Foster dated July 4, 1896, from the Astor House, New York, gives a hint of the financial troubles which would beset the Phoenix Company and also that there was some opposition to the lease appearing in Congress:

The trouble is we have not been able to place the treasury stock as readily as we hoped for development purpose, and this has held us back. Mssrs. Fancher and Glenn were working on this and wanted to place a good block before going into the field, but your letters informing us of the "Senator Blair movement" startled us a little and we felt it might be very important as you suggested that we get into the field at once so we raised a little money among us and did so. I have heard from Mr. Glenn through Mr. Fancher, and understand that the first well is about down but presume he has kept you informed and that you have later news than I.

The well was located in the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 13-T29-R10E a few miles south of Chautauqua Springs, Kansas, and near the Kansas line. It was drilled and completed in the summer of 1896, by the contractors, A. P. McBride and C. L. Bloom to a depth of 1 100 feet. A show of gas and oil was found, but not in sufficient quantities to make a paying well. A second well was completed in September south of the Kansas cattle town of Elgin, Kansas, in the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 18-T29-R10E, which was also a failure.

In view of the discouraging results, operations were discontinued during the winter, and McBride and Bloom took a contract to drill a well for the Cudahy Oil Company at the little settlement of Bartlesville, Indian Territory.

Although the village of Bartlesville had not grown much from the trading post founded by Jake Bartles with a store and grist mill, some substantial white men had settled there. Outstanding among them were the pioneers Mssrs, George B. Keeler and William Johnstone, associated in operating a store there, and who, together with another early settler, Frank Overlees, were largely responsible for the well drilled by the

Cudahy Oil Company. These men had taken for their wives members of the Delaware and Cherokee tribes and were as firmly rooted in the Indian country as the tall timber on the banks of Caney River where the well was to be drilled.

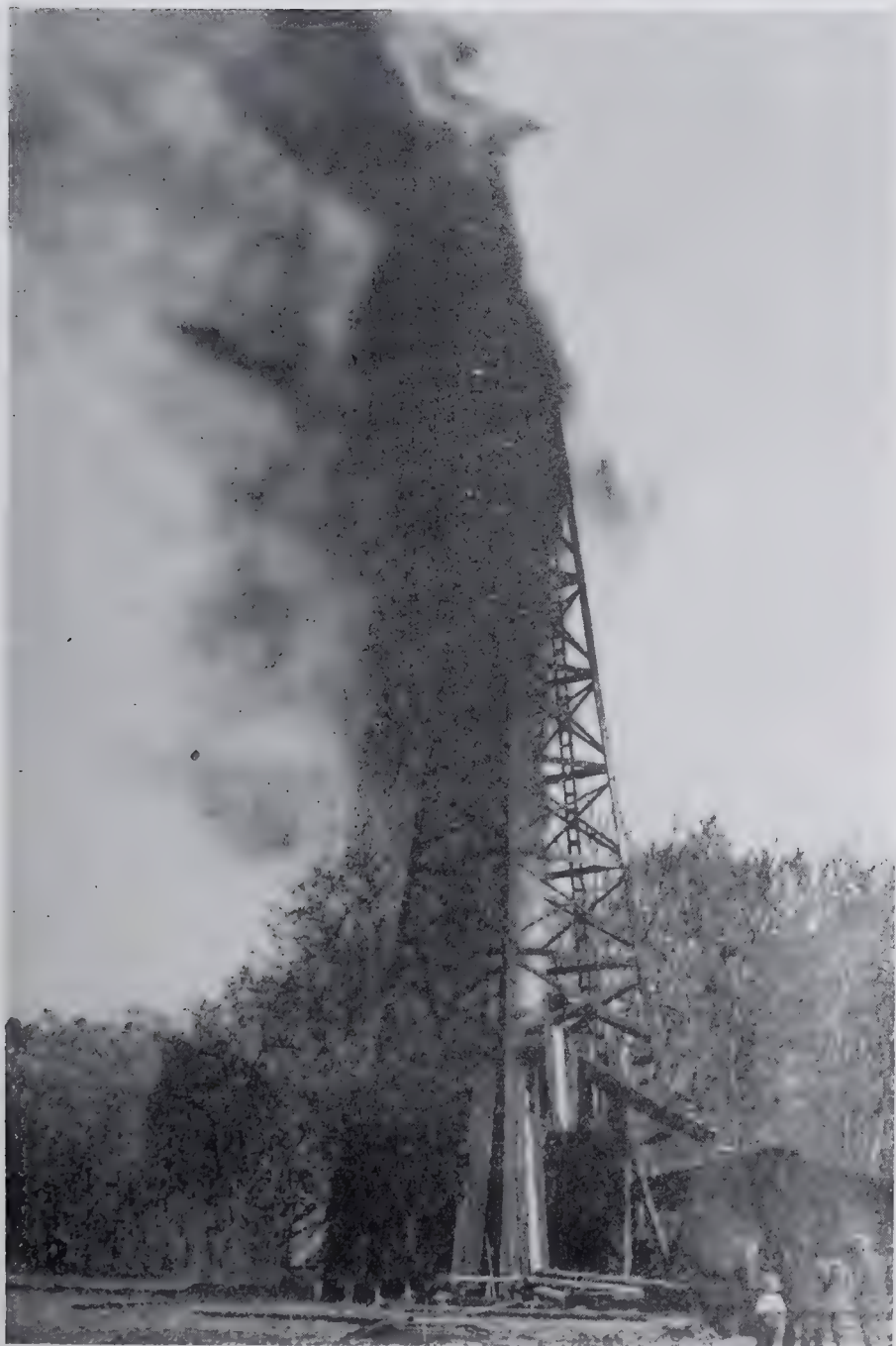
With some associates they obtained a large lease covering an area of fifteen miles square from the Cherokee government at Tahlequah and looked around to find someone who would drill a well. Guffey and Galey, the Pennsylvanian oil men who had been successful in finding oil in Kansas, showed some interest but dropped the project when it appeared doubtful the lease would receive the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Negotiations were then entered into with Michael Cudahy by John F. Overfield representing the lease owners, and a deal was made with Cudahy for drilling the well.

Cudahy, of the large meat packing firm of Omaha, Nebraska, had become interested in wildcatting in the Territory and the two abandoned wells at Muskogee had been drilled for him. Following the drilling of these wells, Cudahy took over and deepened a well between Red Fork and Salpulpia that had been drilled to a depth of 1300 feet by the firm of Steel-smith and Weaver. The work in deepening the well, which was abandoned at about 1750 feet, was done for the Cudahy Company by the active contractors, McBride and Bloom, with whom Cudahy contracted to drill the Bartlesville well. Their tools and the derrick were hauled overland to Bartlesville where the well was spudded in late in January, 1897.

In April, oil was struck in the formation which was to become known as the prolific "Bartlesville sand" later found throughout the oil fields of Oklahoma. The shooting of the well between 1,303 feet and the total depth of 1,320 feet was a special occasion. In the presence of the crowd gathered around the rig, Mrs. Jennie O. Morton, stepdaughter of Mr. George Keeler dropped the "go devil" which set off the nitroglycerine shot. Following a muffled thud, rocks pounded the crown block, a column of oil flowed high over the top of the derrick and Oklahoma's first commercial oil well was born.

With the allotment of the Indian lands, the daughter of William Johnstone and direct descendant of the last principal chief of the Delaware tribe, Charles Journeycake, received the tract as her allotment on which the historical well known as Nellie V. Johnston No. 1, is located.¹

¹ Nellie V. Johnstone, now Mrs. Howard Cannon, a resident of Bartlesville, sold the land on which Oklahoma's first commercial well is located to the City of Bartlesville and has been converted into the Johnstone park. A stone boulder suitably inscribed marks the site and a derrick stands over the well.



Oklahoma's first commercial oil well, the Nellie V. Johnstone No. 1,
at Bartlesville, Indian Territory.

The discovery revived the hopes of the members of the Phoenix Company which held the Osage lease. The eastern boundary of the Osage reservation follows the 96th Meridian which was also the boundary line between the Indian and Oklahoma Territories. Just over this line in the Osage reservation, in October only a few months after the Cudahy well on the Cherokee side was completed, McBride and Bloom, brought in for the Phoenix Company the first productive oil well in the Osage reservation and which was also the first productive oil well completed in the Oklahoma Territory. The well described as Wilkey No. 1 in the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 34, T 27, R 12 E, Lot 32 on Butler Creek was about 2 miles northwest of the discovery well in the Cherokee country. Oil was found in the Bartlesville sand between 1323 ft and 1345 feet, with an initial production of ten barrels a day. The shot brought in a large quantity of water which could not be plugged off. Wilkey No. 2, a much better well was brought in the following month.

To raise funds in order to continue operations, the Phoenix Oil Company assigned to Samuel C. Sheffield a large block of leases which Sheffield in turn assigned to the Osage Oil Company comprised mostly of Phoenix stockholders. After these companies had drilled seven dry holes and four oil wells the drilling on the Osage lease came to a standstill.

There were no railroads or pipelines for the transportation of the oil, and supplies for drilling were hauled from Independence, Kansas, a distance of thirty miles. The Standard Oil Company's small refinery at Neodesha, Kansas, the only possible market was operating entirely on oil from local fields in southeastern Kansas and had no pipeline into the Territory. It was useless to develop a product which could not be marketed, and capital was not to be found by the holders of the Osage lease for development under the circumstances.

It was not until the Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad bulit into Bartlesville and started service in the summer of 1899 that there was any means provided to market any of the oil produced. A 2 inch pipeline was then laid from the Phoenix wells in Lot 32 to the depot and a loading rack was erected. A line was also laid from Lot 40, three and one-half miles southwest, to the station to pipe oil produced by the Almeda Oil Company on its sub-lease in the Osage. Tank cars were furnished by the refinery at Neodesha and the first oil was shipped in May, 1900. A total of 6,216 barrels of oil from the Osage reservation was run during the year 1900 and 10,536 barrels in the year 1901.

So far the operation of the blanket lease on the Osage reservation had been a losing venture and a dismal failure seemed at hand. John H. Brennan, Attorney for the Company and a business associate of John N. Florer, wrote of this period: "It was Col. Florer's presence in the business world, the many trips he made, the many men he interviewed, the intensity of his arguments and his well known character and integrity that started the wheels again."



Mortimer F. Stilwell, Manager,
Bartlesville Indian Territory.

Executive Committee,
H. V. Foster,
J. N. Florer,
J. H. Brennan,
J. J. Gifford.

Telephone 6085 Broadway

H. V. Foster, President,
J. N. Florer, Vice President,
J. H. Brennan, Secretary,
Mortimer F. Stilwell, Manager.

Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company

Operating the Osage Indian Reservation

Producing High Grade Illuminating Oil

No. 50 Broadway,

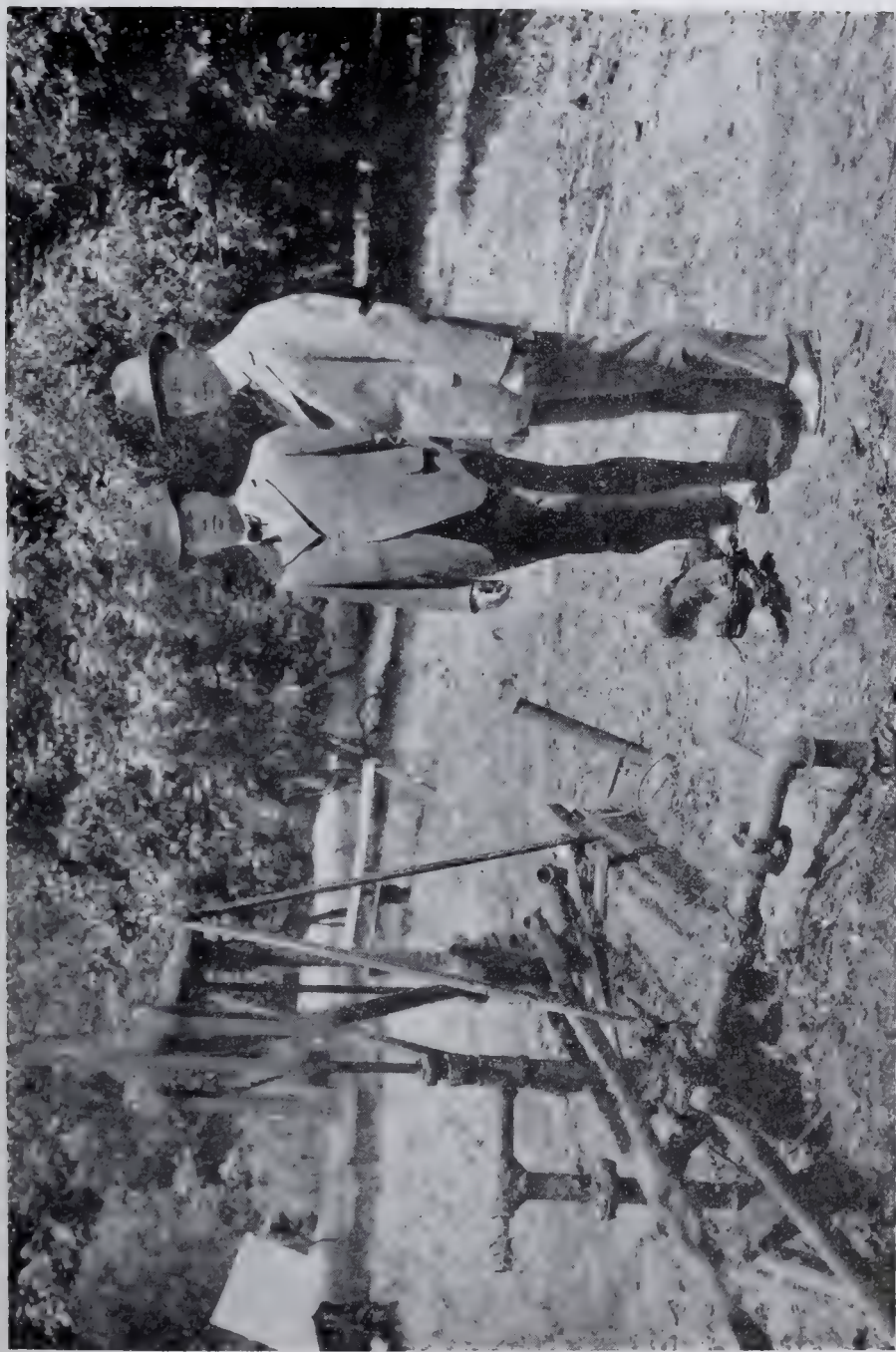
New York, Oct. 12, 1907, 190

Letterhead of the I. T. I. O.

Paradoxically the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company arose from the ashes of the Phoenix Company. It was organized in December, 1901, in the state of New Jersey with a capital stock of 3,000,000 shares of a par value of \$1 per share, to which the Phoenix and the Osage Oil Companies assigned all of their rights, title and interest. Soon after the company was organized Edwin B. Foster died, and William Hoxey was made trustee of the Foster estate.

The new company started out in adverse and unfortunate circumstances. In the process of reorganization some outside parties, other than the original stockholders, made an attempt to get control of the company and there was dissention and trouble within its ranks. For over a year it drifted in disorder until litigation brought receivership, and concord and confidence was finally restored.

The receivership came about from a suit brought by the Mechanic Savings Bank of Westerly, Rhode Island, against the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company and its stockholders for a debt owed the bank. The case was heard at Newkirk, Oklahoma Territory, before Judge Buford in 1903, and the company was thrown into receivership. Mortimer F. Stilwell, a nephew of John Florer and employed in his uncle's Indian trading store at Gray Horse, was made receiver. A sub-lease to satisfy the debt with the Mechanic Savings Bank was made to J. M. Guffey and J. H. Galey on a block



On left, Henry Vernon Foster, President, Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company, and right, Herbert R. Straight, Vice President and General Manager, Empire Gas and Fuel Company, visiting the old "Nellie V. Johnstone" well.

of 113,730 acres in the southeastern part of the reservation in the vicinity of Tulsa and a block of 41,000 acres west of Bartlesville. These two blocks of acreage became the nucleus around which the Nationally known oil operator, T. N. Barnsdall built his Barnsdall Oil Company. Barnsdall also became a large stockholder in the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company. The receivership was terminated in May, 1903. M. F. Stilwell was made secretary and manager of the new company and H. V. Foster, son of Henry Foster, was elected president.

The year brought some improvement in the marketing facilities when the Prairie Oil and Gas Company, the pipeline purchasing subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company, in about June, erected a 35,000 barrel storage tank at Bartlesville and connected the Osage producing wells to it with a pipe line. It did not take long to fill the tank and the pipeline company then installed an unloading station at Caney, Kansas, which was connected by pipeline to the refinery at Neodesha and oil was shipped by tank cars from Bartlesville to Caney.

The Prairie Oil and Gas Company finally extended its six inch line into the Territory in 1904, which had been held up pending a Congressional Act to permit the laying of the line over Indian lands. By July, the Prairie had completed its line to the "Bible" pumping station it had installed about eighteen miles southwest of Bartlesville and was connecting the Osage producing leases with gathering lines. It was during this year that the Standard Oil Company built its Sugar Creek refinery near Kansas City and connected it with the refinery and storage tanks at Neodesha.

With the market for oil opening up the Osage reservation stirred with life, and active drilling began. The attention of eastern operators and speculators from far and wide was attracted to the new field and the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company began to sub-lease tracts in increasing numbers.

The parent company had divided the eastern portion of its lease into three tiers of tracts known as "lots." There were 348 of these lots, each one half of a mile wide north and south, and from three to three and a fraction miles long east and west, extending from the Kansas line on the north, to the Arkansas River on the south. On December 31, 1904, there were 686,931 acres held by sub-lessees.

The parent company retained a royalty of 1/15 interest and most of the sub-leases contained bonus provisions to be paid from the sales of oil produced. The company conveyed solely the oil rights and reserved the right to take over at

actual cost any wells which produced gas only and to take gas from combination wells and casing head gas under certain conditions. An exception was made in the lease of the Pawhuska Oil and Gas Company which received both the oil and gas rights in its sub-lease of 3,200 acres on which it discovered gas in two wells at the town of Pawhuska in the summer of 1903. The Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company proceeded to lay two and three inch lines over the territory being developed and furnished operators gas for the purpose of drilling and operating the leases where the operators did not have sufficient gas of their own.

The anticlinal theory to locate oil deposits was unproved and there were no geologists to guide the operator in his leasing and drilling activities, yet the development in the Osage proceeded successfully at a phenomenal rate. "Wildcats" were sometimes simply located by "hunches," on a few occasions by "witches" with "doodle bugs" but mostly when possible near water for boiler and other purposes in drilling the well.

Up to January 1, 1903, there had been only 30 wells drilled on the Osage reservation of which 17 were oil wells, 2 gas wells and 11 dry holes. By the end of 1904, there had been drilled by the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company and its sub-lessees, 361 wells of which 243 were oil wells, 21 gas wells and 97 dry holes.

The development in the Osage country had a big start over that made in the lands of the Five Civilized tribes. The Osage blanket lease had a firm term to run in contrast to the other tribal leases which were put in jeopardy by the Curtis Congressional Act of 1898, which took the power of the tribes to lease their lands and lodged it with the Secretary of the Interior. Cudahy lost all of his leases excepting the section in which the discovery well was drilled and did not attempt further operations or even pump the well until after the allottee, Nellie V. Johnstone received her certificate of ownership, July 21, 1903, for the tract on which the well was located.

The Dawes Commission which had been negotiating with the Five Civilized Tribes for about ten years to obtain their consent for the abolishment of their governments and the breaking up the tribal lands into individual ownership, concluded the final compact, a supplemental agreement with the Choctaw and Chickasaw, September 25, 1902. The Commission then began the enormous task of allotting the tribal land into individual tracts of about 100,000 Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole Indians and Negro freedmen. The allotment carried with it the oil and gas rights to the

owner, and the development was held up while the allotment work was underway.

It was necessary to obtain the value of the lands to be allotted by parties of appraisers and then to determine who were citizens of the various tribes, requiring judicial hearings into the genealogy of practically all of the applicants. Finally in the summer of 1904, the Commission's assignment was about completed and nearly all of the individuals of the Five Civilized Tribes had been allotted specific tracts. The Secretary then began to approve oil and gas leases and an active drilling campaign began.

Until this time the only producing well of any importance in either of the Territories outside of the Osage country and several wells drilled by Cudahy at Bartlesville, was drilled at Red Fork without the authorization of the Secretary. This well which was drilled in on June 25, 1901 on the Susan A. Bland land produced a surge of excitement and brought a horde of speculators on the ground.²

There was much "red tape" and delay in getting leases approved which brought much criticism against the Secretary, Hon. E. A. Hitchcock. His zeal in protecting the Indians interests led his critics to assert that the Secretary held the opinion that there were only two classes of people in the Indian Territory, "Indians and grafters."

Despite delays in granting leases there was a rush to the Oklahoma lands, and during the last six months of 1904, besides the activity in the Osage reservation, drilling was started and wells completed in the vicinity of the towns of Chelsea, Red Fork, Cleveland and Bartlesville. Titles were passing to purchasers of lots in the towns which carried the oil and gas rights to the owners, and a pool was being developed within the townsite of Muskogee in the Creek Nation.

Wells were also being completed in the town of Bartlesville as well as on neighboring leases. Gas flares at the drilling wells and the dull clank of sledges pounding bits helped to give the village the aspect of an oil town and the people who crowded into the town revealed a boom was on. The Right Way Hotel and Annex across the street from the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company's office which was located on the second floor over the American National Bank, was crowded as though a convention was in progress. If the register of

²Fred S. Clinton, "First Oil and Gas Well in Tulsa County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1952). pp. 312-32; L. C. Heydricks Collection on the Red Fork Oil Discovery, 1901," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, (Winter, 1953-54), pp. 446-7.—Ed.

the hotel had been preserved it would show not a few names of future oil barons of Oklahoma, some of whom stayed in the Bartlesville area and others who moved on to open new fields elsewhere. Its pages would also have many more names whose hopes for riches faded like mirages into thin air.

Among the newcomers were the essential men with the know-how from the oil fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia. These drillers, rig builders, pipeliners and other hardy workmen added a distinct new element to the citizenship of the country.

With the influx of the new arrivals, Bartlesville was growing fast. It was the first town in Oklahoma to be piped for gas which was furnished from the Indian Territory Illuminating Company's wells in Lot 32 until gas wells were completed nearer and even in the town itself. One of these wells on the Johnstone homestead, caught on fire when a by-stander carelessly struck a match, burned the derrick down and provided for days a spectacular illumination for the town.

In further proof of its reality as an oil town, black clouds of smoke floated over from the burning of waste oil accumulated in sumps and the Caney River, and on several occasions the town was shaken up when nitroglycerine stored at magazines "let go." Oil well supply stores were established and the Prairie Oil and Gas Company built a large number of 35,000 barrel steel tanks at its Ramona and Copan tank farms. The pipeline company was compelled to put into storage the oil purchased in excess of its pipeline capacity, produced at that time mostly from the Osage leases. With the increased production the Prairie Company reduced its price from \$1.36 per barrel on January 1, 1904 to 70 cents on January 1, 1905 for light oil (32 degree Baume).

The Gulf and Texas Companies came into Oklahoma from Texas with their trunk lines at about the time Oklahoma became a state in the latter part of 1907 and with the Prairie Company provided a market for oil from the Glenn pool about ten miles south of Tulsa. The discovery well in this astonishing field, which proved without question that the new state came rich in oil reserves into the Union, had been completed by Galbreath and Chelsey on the Ida Glenn farm, November 22, 1905.

As the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company's Osage lease would expire by limitation March 16, 1906, the Company in the latter part of 1904 applied to the Secretary of the Interior for an extension of the lease. This was referred to Congress and the Indian Appropriation bill was passed and

approved March 3, 1905 renewing the lease for a period of ten years to the extent of 680,000 acres and with an increase of royalty from one-tenth to one-eighth fixed by order of the President of the United States.

The Osages were finally obliged to accept allotment which they had long opposed and a bill breaking up their reservation into individual tracts was passed by Congress and approved June 28, 1906. Unlike the allotments of the members of the Five Civilized Tribes which carried with them the oil and gas rights to the owner, royalties were reserved to the tribe and the revenue derived was to be divided equally among its individual members. This provision of equal sharing among 2,229 enrolled members of the tribes and their heirs would make the Osages on a per capita basis the richest people of any country in the world.

An idea of the remarkable increase in wealth derived by the Osages from oil and gas royalties and bonuses may be gained by comparing the tribes revenue for 1906 of \$228,267.34 with that of \$27,639,600.00, yielding per capita payment of \$12,400.00 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923.³

John N. Florer who died January 10, 1907, lived to see his dream come to pass, and was assured that the Osage reservation was "underlaid with oil," but even this optimistic pioneer Indian trader, had he lived long enough surely would have been amazed at the immensity of the oil and gas resources which grew from doubtful and uncertain beginnings.

In the following years under the direction of its President, H. V. Foster, the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company continued its operations in the Osage reservation, and branched out to explore in other areas of the state. This exploration had outstanding success in bringing in the major Seminole and Oklahoma City fields with the discovery wells. The Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company, in 1941, was merged with the Cities Service Company, which had long been a large stockholder, and the course of the pioneer company came to an end.

³ *The Pawhuska Daily Journal-Capital*, November 20, 1929, p. 5. Speech of J. George Wright, Osage Indian Agent at State Birthday Party in observance of Oklahoma's twenty-second anniversary at Tulsa: 15,962 wells have been drilled in the Osage for oil and gas of which 9,848 were producing oil and 411 producing gas on June 30, 1929. From 1907, to June 30, 1929 there has been produced in the Osage 378,653,500 gross barrels of oil, revenues from which, including bonuses and royalties, has netted the Osage Tribe \$233,045,025. Each Osage enrolled or their heirs has received or placed to his or her credit to June 30, 1929, \$102,534.00 from oil and gas sources.

During the year 1918, 54% of all the gas sold throughout the States of Kansas, Oklahoma and Missouri was produced in the Osage Nation.

PUSHMATAHA'S TRAVELS

By Ruth Tenison West*

The Great Medal Chief, Pushmataha, dramatically demonstrated his knowledge of the land west of the Mississippi River, in his famous debate with General Andrew Jackson at the treaty ground near Doak's Stand, Mississippi, a tavern, four miles north of Pearl River on the Natchez Trace, in the Choctaw Nation.¹ He accused General Jackson of misrepresenting the country the U. S. Government wanted to "swap for a little slip of land at the lower part of the present Choctaw Nation." (5,500,000 acres, subsequently divided into nine counties.) Jackson demanded that "General Push"² prove his accusations.

Pushmataha described the western country and added:³

* Ruth Tenison West (Mrs. A. C.) of Commerce, Texas B.A., M.A., University of Texas, has done additional graduate work in history, English and philosophy. She taught psychology in a junior college and, during World War II, served as Employee Relations Counselor, Civilian Personnel, at Camp Maxey, Texas and at Hq., 4th Army, Fort Sam Houston, Texas. For the past ten years she has done research on the life of Chief Pushmataha in historical collections and libraries throughout the country. Mrs. West's family was in Oklahoma beginning in 1841 when her great grandparents Mr. and Mrs. Joseph B. McDermott lived at Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation. Henry L. Tenison, Mrs. West's father, drew a 160 acre claim in the Kiowa-Comanche land opening in 1901, near Mt. Park where he opened a general merchandise store. He also opened a store at Snyder. When the disastrous tornado struck Snyder in 1905, leaving 97 dead and some 200 persons injured, many of the dead and wounded were placed on the shelves of Mr. Tennison's store building.

Mrs. West's contribution of "Pushmataha's Travels" was on the press for publication in *The Chronicles* when the announcement came of the publication of the new book *Chief Pushmataha American Patriot* by Dr. Anna Lewis, well known Oklahoma historian (Exposition Press, New York, 1959). A review of the book appears on page 255 in this summer number of *The Chronicles*. Mrs. West's story here will doubtless arouse reader interest in Dr. Lewis' more extended study of the great Choctaw chieftain—Ed.

¹ Dunbar, Rowland, *History of Mississippi, Heart of the South*, Vol. I, pp. 98-101. This is known in Choctaw history as the Treaty of Doak's Stand, 1820.

² *Ibid.*, p. 509. This title was in general use. See Mississippi Archives, Box A, Series A. Nos. 15, 16 Governor's Territorial Archives, Photostatic copies R & P. O., War Dept.:

"Name	Rank	Commencement Services	Exp. of Service
Pooshamattahah	Gen.	20 August 1814	20 Jan. 1815

(Near bottom, inverted, is written)—"Capt Pooshamattahah"

"M Mackey U. S. Interpreter

John Pitchlynn Int:

The Choctaw Co. to Pensacola which they never have been paid for. Jan. 1814." Other muster rolls carry Pushmataha as Captain or Captain-Leader or Lieut. Col.

³ Rowland, *op. cit.*, p. 101.



(Courtesy Oklahoma University Press)

Chief Pushmataha, Choctaw Nation

. he has offered to swap to me an undefined portion of Mexican territory. He offers to run the line up the Canadian River to its source and thence due south to Red River. Now I know that a line running due south from the source of the Canadian would never touch any portion of Red River, but would go into the Mexican possessions beyond the limits even of my geographic knowledge.

This was an amazing statement when one recalls that several streams from the Taos and Culebra ranges of the Rocky Mountains join in northeastern New Mexico to form the Canadian River which flows south then east across the Panhandle of Texas into Oklahoma, and that the Canadian is 900 miles long. Mexico did not win her freedom until the following year, 1821, and Spain jealously prohibited all foreign travel toward her prized trading posts at Santa Fé and Taos, near the head waters of the Canadian, as evidenced by the arrest for trespass of Zebulon Pike in 1807.

July 12, 1820, John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War,⁴ had written Gen. Jackson, "I cannot designate particular the lands which it would be desirable to give to the Choctaws in exchange for theirs, not being sufficient acquainted with the localities of the West of the Mississippi belonging to the United States."

Lincecum records that General Jackson produced a map, traced out and read the names of the rivers for Pushmataha. The Chief said, "The paper is not true," and with the handle of his pipe hatchet he marked out on the ground the Canadian and the upper branches of the Red River.⁵

The Commissioners were General Jackson and General Thomas Hinds, Mississippi's hero of the Battle of New Orleans, representing the new state, admitted to the Union in 1817. The Commissioners were amazingly frank in their report of the treaty negotiations to Washington.⁶

Major John Pitchlynn⁷ who had served as U. S. Interpreter since 1786, had naturally been expected to use his influence

⁴ *American State Papers*, "Indian Affairs," Vol. II, p. 232.

⁵ Dr. Gideon Linceum, "Life of Apushmataha," *Mississippi Historical Publications*, 1906, Vol. IX, p. 471.

⁶ *American State Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 229-41

⁷ Major John Pitchlynn, an Englishman, came to live among the Choctaws about 1774, and soon won their esteem and respect as a dependable, upright young man. He was present with the Choctaw chiefs when making the Treaty of Hopewell in 1786, and was appointed by the government commissioners as Choctaw interpreter, a position he held in the tribe for many years. He married first a Choctaw girl, and they were the parents of a son, James Pitchlynn. Major John Pitchlynn married second, Sophia Folsom, daughter of Ebenezer Folsom and his Choctaw wife, Nikita. They were the parents of eight children who reached maturity. The oldest child was Peter Perkins Pitchlynn who was a noted Choctaw leader for many years. The oldest daughter, Mary Pitchlynn married Samuel Garland who served as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1862-64.—Ed.

to secure the land cession. For several months he had been busy following Jackson's instructions, trying to influence the head men.

Jackson offered to "make it worth his while" if James Pitchlynn, the Major's eldest son, would circulate through the Nation and persuade the Choctaws to give up their Mississippi lands and go west. James requested Jackson to "address yours to the Chickasaw Agency care of General Sherburne [Chickasaw Agent], to James Pitchlynn."⁸

Jackson's reply was intercepted, opened, and an insulting endorsement added. The letter then travelled to David Folsom, to Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury (Presbyterian Missionary who had established the first Choctaw Mission in 1818), to Major John Pitchlynn, then back to Jackson.⁹ It created a scandal and feeling ran high in the Nation.

When Tecumseh had come to the Choctaws for help before the Creek War, following his great vision to organize all Indians west of the Alleghenies against the whites, Pushmataha had defeated him in a great contest of wills and oratory. Pushmataha had saved the isolated Tombigbee and Natchez settlements; Mobile called him their savior from Creek depredations. Now a horde of land-hungry newcomers had surged into Mississippi after the war, all demanding Choctaw land. They neither knew, nor cared, about the great debt owed the Choctaws. On August 12, 1819, in General Council at French Camp, Choctaw Nation, Pushmataha had spoken for his people, "We are sorry we cannot comply"¹⁰

In 1820, to force the hand of the Choctaws, the Mississippi Legislature passed a highly controversial law abolishing all tribal rights and privileges of the Indians. Persons exercising the functions of chief were subject to prosecution. Citizenship was conferred and State laws were extended over them.¹¹ Claiborne states that Pushmataha and Moshulatubbee, forced to hold another treaty at Doak's Stand, were "helpless to a great extent."

Pushmataha's honors, so recently awarded by his white friends, were now meaningless. In 1813, Gen. Claiborne "had presented him with a splendid suit of brigadier regimentals,

⁸ *American State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 230.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 234, "A letter also was received which had been some time since written to Mr. James Pitchlynn by Gen. A. Jackson with an insulting endorsement upon it. It related to the treaty and was broken open before it reached the person to whom it was addressed. It was delivered to David Folsom who states he left it with the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, by whom it was conveyed to Mr. Pitchlynn."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

¹¹ J.F.H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory & State*, 1880.

gold epaulettes, sword, silver spurs, and hat and feather, ordered from Mobile at a cost of three hundred dollars."¹² In 1816, the Mississippi Territorial Legislature passed resolutions honoring him for his help in the late war, awarded him a \$50 "rifle gun," and authorized that \$50 be paid him every first of January for five years.¹³

The Choctaws had helped Jackson through the Creek War, at New Orleans, and Pensacola. Pushmataha lead some 600 warriors on the Black Warrior River in 1814, more than 700 at Alabama Heights the following spring. They had never been paid.¹⁴ To use the words of John Swanton, Andrew Jackson always showed "callous indifference" to the rights and justice owed the Indians.¹⁵

But Pushmataha knew the great western country that would be the future home of the Choctaws; Jackson did not. That day he also proved that he had taken the measure of Andy Jackson, the man. He used this knowledge to drive a sharp bargain in establishing the boundaries of the Choctaws' new western lands. Jackson denied there were white settlers living on this land. Pushmataha manoeuvred him into giving his word that all white intruders would be put off.¹⁶ This bargain became a matter of vital importance during the period of negotiations in Washington in 1824-25. Many whites said Pushmataha had outsmarted Jackson.¹⁷

The reason seems obvious why Jackson merely mentioned Pushmataha in his official report, although he gave a detailed account of Puckshenubbee's activities. But many white spectators were present who listened and remembered and talked.

Peter P. Pitchlynn, fourteen-year-old son of Major Pitchlynn, had just returned from school in Tennessee. When he was presented to Jackson he refused to shake hands because he believed a fraud was being perpetrated on his people.¹⁸

¹² J.F.H. Claiborne, *Life & Times of Gen. Sam Dale* (New York, 1860), p. 133.

¹³ "Resolution from State Capitol, Mississippi," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. (December, 1928), pp. 481-2.

¹⁴ *American State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 119.

¹⁵ John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Bulletin 137, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 80.

¹⁶ Lincecum, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-2.

¹⁷ Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942), p. 10;*Indians and Pioneers* (New Haven, 1930), p. 172.

¹⁸ Charles Lanman, *Recollections of Curious Characters & Pleasant Places* (Edinburgh, 1881), p. 66 ff. Peter P. Pitchlynn (1805-1881). In 1820, he was made Captain of newly organized Light Horse police. He served as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1864-66. He was long the distinguished representative of Choctaw Nation in Washington. He furnished Lanman with all principal facts used in biographies of Pitchlynn and Pushmataha.

Cyrus Kingsbury went to Doak's Stand Treaty Ground. The Missionaries believed "His attendance at the negotiations appeared to have been providentially ordained. Several reports had obtained a circulation, unfavorable to the mission and school."¹⁹ One suspects that this refers to Kingsbury who may have been given the letter Jackson wrote to James Pitchlynn. Kingsbury was some assistance to Pushmataha in securing the treaty stipulation to sell fifty-four sections of Mississippi land to establish Choctaw schools.

Colonel Silas Dinsmoor, the former Choctaw Indian Agent,²⁰ was present, as were Benjamin B. C. Wailes, Colonel John McKee and Gideon Linceum, all friends of Pushmataha. All played a part in preserving the record of Pushmataha's vital role in protecting his people.

The first published account of Pushmataha's life was his obituary which appeared in the *National Journal*, Washington, Dec. 28, 1824, reprinted by the *Religious Intelligencer*, New Haven, January 8, 1825. His experiences west of the Mississippi were not mentioned.

On May 23, 1831, Colonel Thomas L. McKenney wrote James Lawrence McDonald for information on Pushmataha's life to include in his history, *The Indian Tribes of North America*.²¹

June 24, 1831, McDonald replied from Jackson, Mississippi:²²

Peter Pitchlynn was one-fourth Choctaw. Charles Dickens met him on an Ohio steamboat, spoke of his "sunburnt complexion and bright, keen dark, piercing eyes."

¹⁹ *The Missionary Herald*, 1821, Vol. XIII, p. 208.

²⁰ After more than twenty years' service, Gen. Jackson had him removed in 1812 in an outburst of vindictive anger.—Parton, *Life of Jackson*, II, p. 57; Chas. C. Sydnor, *A Gentleman from the Old Natchez Region* (1938), pp. 54, 251. In 1813, Dinsmoor was succeeded by Col. John McKee, cousin of Sam Houston. McKee was an ardent admirer of Jackson.

²¹ *McKenney & Hall*, new edition, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, (Edinburgh, 1933), pp. VIII-XX. In 1816, McKenney became "Superintendent of Indian Trade." In 1821, he began his monumental history. He organized the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1824, and became its Chief.

²² Thos. L. McKenney, *Memoirs*, Bk. II, pp. 109-119. (New York, 1846). McDonald was a brilliant Choctaw, at fourteen a ward in McKenney's home while he finished an academic course under the Rev. Dr. Carnahan, later President of Princeton College. He then studied law in Ohio in the office of Judge John McLean, later Judge of Supreme Court. He was admitted to the Bar, then returned to the Choctaw country to visit his mother. He was chosen one of the 1824 delegation to Washington headed by Pushmataha. According to McKenney, he took charge of negotiations after Pushmataha's sudden death. McKenney writes, "I found him so skilled in the business of his mission . . . as to make it more of an up-hill business than I had ever before experienced in negotiating with Indians. I believe Mr. Calhoun thought so too." The "Peter P. Pitchlynn Collection," Thomas Gilcrease

. . . . If I could now see Major Pitchlynn and spend a few days with him, I am sure that I could get some curious details of old *Push's* history, and such as I think would prove interesting. But I am one hundred and fifty miles from Major Pitchlynn, and I do not expect to see him for some months

. . . . He was distinguished in early life as a warrior, and in the first or second battle in which he was ever engaged, he is said to have produced the scalps of five or six warriors whom he had slain with his own hand. His earlier contests were principally with the Osages, or *Washashe*; and on one occasion he was surrounded, with less than a dozen followers, in a vast prairie, by a band of about two hundred Osages, against whom he maintained an undaunted contest of more than an hour's duration, until the enemy, struck with some unaccountable panic, retreated

He was, however, chiefly distinguished for his eloquence. His style of speaking, whether in public or private, was nervous and highly figurative, and his talent at repartee was, I think, unequalled. I never knew him at a moment's loss for an apt answer to any question, whether serious or jocose. He was facetious rather than sarcastic, and he was, generally speaking, the soul of good humor. He was slow to anger, but when aroused, as fierce as a tiger; of which, however, I never saw but one or two instances in all my acquaintance with him.

He was, indeed, an extraordinary man, and I wish that justice could be done him. You might safely say of him, that his intellect was of the highest order—his perceptions rapid—his eloquence persuasive or commanding, and his courage unconquerable. He was generous even to prodigality, and continued through life poor, when he might have become rich

P. S.—Col. Silas Dinsmoor, of Cincinnati, and Col. John McKee, of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, can both, I am confident, furnish you with valuable materials

A summary of Pushmataha's activities and travels west of the Mississippi River, from various published sources, follows:

1ST EXPEDITION

Lanman:²³ Pushmataha distinguished himself on an expedition against the Osages on the western side of the Mississippi before his twentieth year. The older men shook their heads in derision at the "boy-warrior's" bragging descriptions of his future exploits. In Osage country, a desperate struggle began and continued almost an entire day before the Osages were defeated. Early in the fight the boy had disappeared and was condemned as a coward. At midnight he faced his friends at their rendezvous. When they jeered him for running away, he replied, "Let those laugh who can show more scalps than I can." He took from his pouch five scalps which he had lifted in a single-handed attack at the rear of the enemy. Thereafter, he was considered a great warrior and called *Eagle*.

Institute of Art and History, Tulsa, contains a letter McDonald wrote his intimate friend Peter from Washington, dated November 6, 1824, reporting lack of progress on negotiations.

²³ *Lanman, op. cit., p. 206.*

Hodge, *Bulletin 30*:²⁴ Lanman's story is quoted with the added statement that Pushmataha was given "a chieftaincy".

2ND EXPEDITION

McKenney & Hall: At twenty, Pushmataha was a captain, or war chief, and a great hunter who often crossed the Mississippi after buffalo. While his party was hunting on Red River they were attacked and totally defeated near the Spanish line by the Callageheahs (Cherokees). He escaped, alone, to a Spanish settlement,²⁵ where he arrived nearly starved. On the way, he had found a little spotted horse grazing on the plains and had traded him for one single fish. He remained with the Spaniards five years as a hunter.

Cushman: Follows McKenney's account of Pushmataha's activities beyond the Mississippi. He adds, "At this time (1773) Missouri, Kansas and Arkansas were under Spanish Dominion."²⁶

Lanman: While hunting buffalo on the headwaters of the Red River (near the eastern borders of New Mexico) with his party of one hundred, Pushmataha's band was attacked by 500 Toranqua (Tonkawa) Indians. Several Choctaws were killed and Pushmataha lost his favorite cap — ornamented with eagle feathers and the rattles of the rattlesnake, but he managed to escape into the borders of Mexico, where he spent several years with the Mexico Indians.

Hodge, *Bulletin 30*: Defeated by a number of Cherokee, Pushmataha moved into the present Texas, then Spanish territory, where he lived several years.

3RD EXPLOIT

McKenney & Hall: After five years spent brooding over his plans for vengeance and collecting necessary information,

²⁴ Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians*, *Bulletin 30*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Vol. II, pp. 329-330.

²⁵ McKenney & Hall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 63, 71 note 3; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780* (Cleveland, 1914). Original translations of French and Spanish manuscripts, Archives of Mexico and Spain, dealing with Indian relations and trade. Following the Treaty of Paris, 1763, Spain hired Frenchmen to manage Indian Affairs in Texas. There were no Spaniards north of the Missions and Presidio of San Antonio de Bexar, or Villa de San Fernando, Capitol of Province of Texas.

²⁶ H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas, 1899), pp. 298-9. Cushman, son of a missionary, lived in the Choctaw Nation during Pushmataha's lifetime. He evidently did not see the Chief, but knew his nephew, Chief Nitakechi and most of the prominent men of the Nation. He also had access to Choctaw missionary records.

Pushmataha started back to Choctaw country, alone. Stealthily, by night, he attacked a little Callageeah village. He rushed in, killed seven of his enemies, and set fire to their lodges which were entirely consumed before the surviving occupants recovered from their alarm.

Lanman: Returning to his own country, he went alone in the night to a Toranqua village, where he killed seven men with his own hand, set fire to several tents, and made his retreat uninjured.

Hodge, *Bulletin 30*: Pushmataha added to his reputation for prowess, on one occasion going alone at night to a Tonaqua (Towakoni) village, killing seven men with his own hand and setting fire to several houses.

4TH EXPEDITION

McKenney & Hall: About six years later, he raised a party of his own friends, and led them to seek a further revenge for the defeat which still rankled. He surprised one of the Towakani towns on Red River and killed two or three without any loss on his own side. He then engaged in an extensive hunt and was absent from home for eight months.

4TH, 5TH, 6TH EXPEDITIONS

Lanman: For a few months Pushmataha tried hard to lead a quiet life among his own people, but the old spirit of revenge still rankled. During the next two years he performed three expeditions into the Toranqua country, and added eight fresh scalps as a fringe to his war costume. The Toranquas, Tonkawas, or Man-eaters,²⁷ were so named because they sometimes indulged in cannibalism. Because of his skill in fighting them, Pushmataha came to be known as the "Man-eater." On being questioned as to the secret of his success in fighting, he simply replied:—"I scare them first, and then I whip them."

Hodge *Bulletin 30*: During the next two years he made three more expeditions against the same people, adding eight scalps to his trophies.

McKenney & Hall: Resting from this expedition but eight days, he prevailed on another party of Choctaw warriors to follow him against the same enemy. He brought home six scalps without losing a man. On this occasion he was absent

²⁷ For Texas tribes known to their neighbors as "man-eaters", see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, under "Cannibalism." See Tonkawa in *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), pp. 247, 254, by Muriel H. Wright.

seven or eight months. One year afterward, he raised a new party, and was once more successful.

Lanman writes: "Passing over about fifteen years of his life in 1810" From this sentence, we can date these expeditions west of the Mississippi River between 1784 (Pushmataha's twentieth year) and 1795. (It should be noted that Pushmataha spent long periods of time in Oklahoma hunting, traveling, exploring, activities which had nothing to do with fighting.) McKenneys account falls into the same time period.

Lincecum: Gives an almost hour-by-hour, highly embellished progress report of Pushmataha's first expedition.²⁸ This fight with the "Ovashsashis" (Osages) includes incidents at a "lime sink." Lincecum reports lengthy conversations between Pushmataha and his companions. In outline, this incident is identical with one contest reported in McDonald's letter to McKenney, where Pushmataha with less than a dozen Choctaws were surrounded by some 200 "Washashe," or Osages, who retreated, struck with unaccountable panic. Lincecum gives the reason for the panic as four or five hundred warriors who ran "without uttering a single word or vocal sound of any kind," chasing the Osages out of sight.

Lincecum describes in vivid detail a second expedition²⁹ against the Osages which Pushmataha commanded brilliantly. The Choctaw war party was so large he split it into three divisions, each with a separate leader. Pushmataha is reported to have brought back 890 scalps, a fantastic number in Indian warfare, and undoubtedly an exaggeration.

These stories can not be disregarded because Dr. Lincecum spoke Choctaw fluently himself, was a business partner of John Pitchlynn, Jr., knew Pushmataha and heard him speak twice.³⁰

In 1807, Pushmataha and his warriors were at the mouth of the Verdigris where they had a fight with the French-Canadian, Joseph Bogy, or Bougie, trader to their enemies, the Osages.³¹

H. S. Halbert writes:³² "Pushmataha after his accession to the chieftaincy, made a number of expeditions against the Osages . . . which were generally attended with success."

²⁸ Lincecum, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-49.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 455-63.

³⁰ "Autobiography of Gideon Lincecum," *Mississippi Historical Publications*, 1904, Vol. VIII, p. 443.

³¹ *U. S. Senate Document No. 23*, 24th Congress, 1st Session.

³² Draper Collection, Tecumseh mss., Vol. 10, "Halbert's Correspondence," pp. 35-7.

Himonubbee, eighty-seven years old in 1885, told Halbert the story of one of these raids. The incident occurred "One fall, about four years before the Creek War of 1815." Pushmataha and his band of thirty warriors were about to attack an Osage village on the western side of the Arkansas River. Himonubbee told how the village happened to be warned. "Pushmataha returned home with his warriors, a solitary scalp being the only trophy of the expedition."

The Choctaws signed the Treaty of 1805 on Nov. 16, 1805, at Mount Dexter, in Pooshapukanuk, in the Choctaw country. Plans were made to get the Southern Indians indebted to the U. S. government, then force them to give up their lands to pay their debts.³³ The Treaty Ground on the Noxubee was two and one-half miles above present Macon, Mississippi. It was on the Big Trading Path, "The Mobile Path," near the River crossing. The site was one-half mile above the spreading black oak on the north side of the Noxubee where Pushmataha was born.³⁴

Gaines³⁵ tells of a meeting the preceding June, 1805, at old Spanish Fort St. Stephens, between the U. S. Commissioners, General Robertson of Nashville and Colonel Dinsmoor, and the leading Choctaw Chiefs. A party of forty or fifty, half of them Indians, dined on bountiful supplies from New Orleans, including an abundance of wine.³⁶

A young lieutenant was most troublesome, asking countless questions of the old Chief, Mingo-homo-stubbee and the interpreter who sat next to him:

The Lieutenant asked, "Who was considered the greatest warrior among you?" [There were three great Medal Chiefs, present, Mingo-homo-stubbee, Mingo-Puck-shenubbee and Push-matta-ha.]

The Chief answered, "I was considered the greatest warrior, but found that it was not the case when returning from a visit we paid President Washington at Philadelphia."

"How did you make the discovery?" enquired the Lieutenant.

"The President sent us by ship to New Orleans," said the Chief, "and when we were at sea, entirely out of sight of land, a storm came upon us. The waves were so high they seemed to almost kiss the clouds and the ship rolled about among them until I thought that we would never again see the beautiful hills and valleys, forests and streams of our beloved country; and our bones would be scat-

³³ Robert S. Cotterill, "A Chapter of Panton, Leslie and Company," *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. XI, pp. 275-92.

³⁴ *Mississippi Historical Publications*, Vol. IX, p. 320.

³⁵ Col. George Strother Gaines, appointed 1805, at twenty-one years of age, as Factor of the government trading house at St. Stephens, in Alabama, part of Mississippi Territory. He had great influence over the Choctaws.—*Dictionary of American Biography*.

³⁶ G. S. Gaines, "Reminiscences," in *Mobile, Alabama, Register*. July 3, 1872.

tered on the bottom of the strange waters instead of resting peacefully with our departed relations. All this alarmed me—I found that I had not the firmness in danger and the utter fearlessness of death of a great warrior, and concluded to go down in the cabin to see how my friend Puch-she-nubbee was affected by this (to our party) new and strange danger. And what do you think he was doing?"

The Lieutenant eagerly asked, "What was he doing?"

"Why," said the old Chief, with a very grave face, but a humorous twinkle in his eyes, "Why, he was making love to an old squaw we took along to cook for us, and he seemed to be as unconcerned about the danger as if he was at home in his own cabin sitting by the fire, and listening to the songs of the winds among the trees."

Also signing the 1805 Treaty, besides the Commissioners and the three Great Medal Mingos, were James Pitchlynn, John McKee and John Pitchlynn, U. S. Interpreter.

A Quaker publication³⁷ states several meetings were held between the Friends and Choctaw Chiefs in Philadelphia, in February, 1792. No names are given.

In 1824, Pushmataha made a speech to the Secretary of War in which he said, "I came here when a young man to see my Father Jefferson." McKenney says, "We took it down as he spoke it."³⁸ In 1792, Jefferson was Secretary of State; from 1800 to 1808, he was President. Pushmataha would have used "Father," the conventional Indian term of respect, to a person holding either office.

Pushmataha wrote a letter, Aug. 9, 1813, protesting the wanton killing of one nephew and the injury of another by irresponsible whites.³⁹ He said, "The President of the United States I have seen" But which President?

Every student of Pushmataha's life encounters perplexing and intriguing gaps in his story. Since old council fires can not be relit, one must seek corroborating data from other sources to solve such questions as: Where did Pushmataha go when he escaped across the Red River to a Spanish settlement (McKenney)? When he escaped after a battle on the headwaters of the Red River into the borders of Mexico? Where he lived with Mexican Indians (Lanman)?

De Mézieres⁴⁰ describes a village of the Yatasi, a tribe of the Caddo Confederacy, in the vicinity of Shreveport. It had only three warriors and a French trader. Twenty-five leagues distant was the village of the Petit Cados (Little Cadohadacho) with sixty warriors. Du Pain was the trader. At "Prairie

³⁷ *Transactions between the Indians and Friends in Pennsylvania in 1791 and 1792* (London, 1792). p. 10.

³⁸ *McKenney & Hall, op. cit.*, p. 68.

³⁹ *American State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 119.

⁴⁰ Bolton, *op. cit.*, Book II, pp. 72, 81, 83, 205, 250; Hodge, *Bulletin* 30.

of the Enemy," not far distant, were ten warriors. The Great Caddos, thirty leagues west of the Little Caddos, had ninety warriors. Their town on the Red River at the mouth of the Kiamichi was one hundred miles above the great bend of the Red River. The old Frenchman Aleci Grapé commanded the Cadodachos Nation. He occupied the old French fort as a storehouse. Other Frenchmen lived there also.

One hundred leagues west on the banks of the Red were the villages of the Panis (Wichita). "It contained four villages, The Taoyache, the Ouatchita, the Niscaniehe and the Toyacane, in all 1,000 warriors." The Taovayas settlement ("Spanish Fort" near Nocona) had defeated the Spaniards under Parilla in 1759. In 1779, Mézieres took away the two canon Parilla had left behind. Layssard, the elder son, was the French trader. The Wichita proper lived in two towns on opposite sides of the Red River, below the junction of the Wichita. Mézieres gave these villages the names of San Theodoro, site on the Texas side of Red River, and San Bernardo, the site on the Oklahoma side of the river, in the southeastern corner of Jefferson County. These settlements were closest to the headwaters of the Red River where Lanman places Pushmataha's fight.⁴¹

We know, without being told, that the Caddos must have accepted Pushmataha, or he could not have lived in safety for five years in their country. The French and Choctaws were always good friends and allies. Perhaps the French trader vouched for him. The excellence of French-Choctaw relations is reflected in the wonderful speeches made by Pushmataha and his delegation to General La Fayette, the first week in December, 1824. As a further mark of their esteem, they rode as escort to the General from Gadsby's Hotel, beyond the Capitol, on the Road to Baltimore.⁴²

Why did McKenney fail to give more information concerning Pushmataha?

One possible source was Colonel John McKee. He did not die until Aug. 12, 1832. (McDonald suggested him to McKenney in his letter dated June 24, 1831). McKee was a signer of the Treaty of 1802 as Agent to the Choctaws.⁴³ He was assigned to lead the Choctaw group which Pushmataha commanded in the Creek War. In 1813, he was again made Choctaw Agent. He personally carried the "rifle gun," gift of the Mississippi Territory into the Nation to present to the Chief.

⁴¹ John R. Swanton, *Source Material on the History and Ethnology of Caddo Indians*, Bulletin 132, Bur. Amer. Ethnol.

⁴² *Niles Register*, December 4, 1824.

⁴³ Dictionary of American Biography.

Colonel Silas Dinsmoor, second source suggested by McDonald was an educated man who "kept an excellent choice of books at the Choctaw Agency." In 1803, he began collecting information on Choctaw manners, customs, laws and "the names and private and public characters of the most influential men" among the Choctaw.⁴⁴

Major John Pitchlynn, third suggested source, was often referred to by those who knew Pushmataha and wrote about him as having the best fund of information. His son, Peter Perkins Pitchlynn, died January 17, 1881. That same year, Lanman published the biographies of Pitchlynn and Pushmataha who had gone to a happier "hunting ground" fifty-seven years before. Peter evidently possessed the Choctaw love for tradition for he carefully preserved family records and correspondence, some dated before 1800, now in "The Peter P. Pitchlynn Collection," Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa. There evidently was bad blood between Peter and his half-brother, James, for he deliberately chose an anecdote to tell Lanman in which James is the villain, Pushmataha, the hero. Perhaps Peter never forgave James for selling out his people at Doak's Stand. One can well believe that Pushmataha had been Peter's boyhood hero, that he avidly collected information about him, as boys do, and that this hero worship lasted a lifetime. It is fitting that these two great Choctaws should now lie in the same Congressional Cemetery, in Washington, D. C.

⁴⁴ Wm. C. C. Claiborne to Silas Dinsmoor, Esq., January 28, 1803.—WCCC Mss. letters, Mississippi Archives, Jackson.

STELLA FRIENDS ACADEMY

*By Mary Blue Coppock**

Seated around their breakfast table one morning in the year of 1896, were Alvin and Laura Coppock and their ten children. This was two years after the Coppocks had established their home in 'M' County of the "Cherokee Strip."¹ Morning devotions were over, and during the course of the meal, the father who had attended a business meeting of their church the night before, casually announced to the family that he had pledged \$350.00 toward the erection of an academy. The family knew he had previously made a substantial pledge, but the announcement of this additional amount, left them all but speechless; for they knew only too well what additional sacrifices they would be required to make to fulfill this pledge. For two years life on the plains had indeed been rugged; crops had been failures, or at best, provided the scantiest of necessities. But in those days father's word was law; so regardless of the hard work and sacrifices entailed, each knew that somehow this money would be raised. Considering the value of the dollar of to-day, such an amount would now be quite insignificant; but the sum of \$350 then, would perhaps purchase about as much as \$3,500 would to-day.

The above incident is personal in nature but is given as an illustration to show that the sacrifices made by the Coppock family were typical of those made in the homes of the several families of early day Friends and other citizens of the community five miles to the northeast of Cherokee, Oklahoma, where Stella Academy once stood. When this Academy was erected, the nearest high school, with the exception of the one at Alva, Oklahoma, was in Kansas many miles away. For years Stella Academy stood as a memorial to the deep concern this group of pioneers had for a higher education for their children.

It is interesting to recall the events that lead this group of people, all members of the Friends Church, to this section of Oklahoma. In the late 1870's most of these families were located in a farming community of Iowa, adjacent to the Friends College of Oskaloosa, Iowa. Here the price of land was high; the winters long and severe, and the cost of feeding

* The author of this history of Stella Friends Academy is Mrs. M. L. Coppock, Sr., of Cherokee, Oklahoma.

¹ The site where the Academy and Dormitory and other buildings stood, was donated by Ernest Howard. This location is: S½; SE¼; Sec. 24 Township 27; Range 11.

livestock throughout the winters almost prohibitive. It was largely due to these conditions that these Iowa neighbors decided to seek a milder climate. The trek led them to Jewel County, Kansas, one of the northern tiers of counties of that state, where, to their sorrow, they soon discovered the winters not much different from the long, cold winters of Iowa. So when "Uncle Sam" opened the "Cherokee Strip" for settlement, five members of the Jewel County group of Quakers, William Howard and two sons, John and Ernest; and Albert Dillon and son, Bert, made the famous run for homesteads at this opening on September 16, 1893. All five staked claims in the vicinity five miles northeast of the present town of Cherokee. When the water was found highly alkaline, three other men who had staked claims nearby the Howards and Dillons abandoned their claims, leaving the land free for filing by some one else. This was immediately reported to friends back in Jewel County, Kansas. This was done with such fervor and praise for the prospects down here that three men came down immediately to investigate. These men were Micajah Pickrell, Alvin George and Alvin Coppock.

After inspecting the three abandoned farms, Mr. George, Mr. Pickrell and Mr. Coppock started to the Land Office in Alva, twenty miles to the west, to file on the three claims. On the way it occurred to them they had made no decision as to which farm each would file on. There was a decided difference in the quality of the land, one piece in particular being much better than the other two. Alvin George proposed that since Mr. Coppock had the largest family he should have the best farm; and that Mr. Pickrell with the next largest, should have the second best, while he, not yet married take the poorest. After considerable discussion and protest, the above mentioned plan was agreed upon, and thus the Southeast Quarter of Section 30, became the Coppock homestead.

By March 1894, six months after the exciting run for homesteads, the prairies of the Cherokee Strip were no longer barren and monotonous, but were dotted with buildings and trees. Almost every claim by this time had a house upon it, some of frame construction, some of sod, while many settlers were living in the lowly dugout. All lumber and building material had to be hauled from the towns of Alva, Oklahoma or Kiowa, north across the line in Kansas, both of which were located approximately twenty miles from the Stella neighborhood, as this community was eventually called.

Buildings and trees were not all that dotted the prairies, as those were the days of large families and many children were roaming the countryside in search of entertainment. From

the very beginning of their sojourn here, the lack of schools weighed heavily on the minds of this group of people. So within six months from the day of the opening of the Strip, funds had been solicited, a sod school house built and Stella Howard selected as teacher for the first eight grades. This building was erected on the Andy Botleman farm, on land which Mr. Botleman donated for this purpose. The school was known as the Stella School, named in honor of the first teacher. The Township was also called Stella, named for this same young lady. Stella School remained a subscription school until after the Cherokee Strip was incorporated in Oklahoma Territory, after which taxes were levied, collected and through the due process of law the correct percentage was returned to this district for the express purpose of maintaining public schools.

Provision had been made for a grade school, but for those who had completed the grades, there was no higher school of learning. At first these young people were returned to Kansas where high schools and academies had been established. But with so many young children reaching the high-school age each year, sending them to another state for further education became not only an expensive arrangement but one very unsatisfactory to the parents. They deemed it very unwise to have such young people away from home discipline.

To clarify some of the situations that will arise in this narrative a little later one must recall the first Sunday after the run into the Strip. A Sunday School had been organized in the home of William Howard. This was the first religious service held in this community, and was the forerunner of many interesting events that occurred later. One of these events was connected with the moving of the Micajah Pickrell and Alvin Coppock families from Kansas to Oklahoma. The two families made up a party of about twenty people who came by covered wagons. The wagons were heavily loaded as they brought all their household and farming equipment, while the livestock was driven behind the caravan by the smaller boys. The cows were milked both night and morning thus contributing much toward the necessarily scant meals. It took nine days to make the journey of about 300 miles. The first Sunday out no traveling was done as this was considered wrong by this God-fearing, God-trusting group. On the night of the eighth day they camped at Kiowa, Kansas, about twenty miles from their final destination. That evening the men held a conference and decided by leaving early Sunday morning they could arrive at the Howard home in time to attend the Sunday School services. They agreed that attendance at Sunday school would justify the Sunday traveling. So, they con-

cluded on Sunday evening, arriving in time to participate in the Sunday service.

Immediately after the organization of the Sunday School, plans were begun to establish a Friends Meeting under the supervision of Rose Hill Quarterly Meeting at Wichita, Kansas. When all requirements had been met Alvin Coppock and wife, Laura, were elected to serve the Church as its first ministers. This was the first church established in the Cherokee Strip and was known as the Stella Church.

Under the supervision of the Stella church, an Academy with the equivalent of four years of high school, plus one year of college, was established. The minutes of Stella Quarterly Meeting of February 17, 1895, which was held in the little sod school house, record:

To Stella Monthly Meeting: As there has been talk of trying to build an Academy in this vicinity, and some preliminary work done looking to that end, we the committee appointed to bring the matter before you, wish to give you a brief summary of what has been done. A meeting was called February 17, 1895, by I. M. Pollock and J. M. Parkeson for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the people in regard to the matter. After a thorough discussion of the subject it was decided to draw up and circulate the following agreement:—We the undersigned agree to contribute the sum opposite our names for the purpose of building a Friends Academy in the vicinity of Stella school house to be used for educational and church purposes, the exact site to be determined by the Friends Monthly Meeting.

A committee was appointed to make estimates on the cost of different sized buildings. The following resolution by J. Hester was adopted:

That it was the sense of this meeting that having canvassed the neighborhood, find there is about \$600.00 promised for the building of the academy. That the building committee report the cost of the structure, 40 by 60 feet with two recitation rooms, at \$615.00, with the erection being done by volunteer labor. That we now turn the matter over to the Monthly Meeting for its consideration. In accordance with this resolution we lay this report before you, together with the subscription list and the minutes of the several meetings, and request you give it your most earnest attention and take such action as you think the circumstances warrant.—Committee: P. N. Ferguson, H. C. Dexter, C. C. Zimmerman.

The Meeting is united in approving and appointing a committee to consider the matter. Isaac Pollock, John Howard, Charles

² The Proclamation of President Grover Cleveland on August 19, 1893, for the opening of the Cherokee Outlet (popularly called "The Cherokee Strip") on September 16, 1893, provided for the organization of 'M' County with the local land office at Alva. This county was soon named "Woods County" in Oklahoma Territory. The eastern part of old Woods County was organized as Alfalfa County when Oklahoma became a state in 1907, and Stella Friends Academy was within the boundaries of this new county where the old site is located today.—Ed.



Stella Academy, erected 1897.



Students at Stella Academy, 1916-17.

Zimmerman are appointed as a committee of investigation, and Charles Culver, Arlo Fell and Robert Wallace a Committee on Location and Construction.

In the fall of 1897, an accredited high school known as Stella Friends Academy was opened in a large tabernacle tent, pending the completion of the academy building, with H. C. Fellow, A.M., Ph.D., Principal, and his wife Melissa Fellow as assistant. Other instructors that first year were Josie M. Snediker, Ernest Howard, Gertrude Bates and Chester Coppock. The first Board of Trustees were Isaac Pollock, President; Alvin Coppock, Treasurer; John Howard, Corresponding Secretary; Arlo Fell, Laura Coppock, Pearl Nuckles, Frank Veatch, Irene Hester, Charles Jackson and John Hays, members.³

The first catalog of the school, issued in 1897, contains the following description:

Stella Friends Academy is situated in Woods County, Oklahoma Territory, nineteen miles east of Alva. Located in the eastern part of the beautiful Salt Fork valley, on the mouth of the Medicine river, standing on an eminence, the Academy buiding can be seen from the distant range of hills ten to fifteen miles away. The building is a frame structure 28 x 48 feet, divided below into auditorium, reception and library rooms, and above into five rooms for ladies dormitory purposes.¹ The rooms and library are fitted up with the best of furniture. All the material used in the construction of the building was hauled in wagons, drawn by horses, from nineteen to forty miles. Surrounding the building is a beautiful campus of ten acres laid out in ample playgrounds and surrounded by groves of young trees.

Tuition is \$6.50 per term of twelve weeks. Pupils can secure excellent accommodations for self-boardng a fifty cents a month. First class board in private families, \$2.00 per full week, and \$1.50 per school week. An excellent working cabinet of 1,000 specimens and curios from various parts of the world is available for students in Natural Science and History.

A very strict course of four years was required for graduation. Latin was required throughout the four years unless German was preferred in the Senior year. The four years of Latin included Caesar, Virgil, Cicero and Horace. The first Library consisted of 400 volumes of standard works on history, literature, science, mathematics, pedagogy. These were always at hand for the daily convenience of the pupils.

³ The "Coppock Memorial Bible Chair," a Bible professorship has been established at Friends Bible College, Haviland, Kansas, as a fitting memorial to Alvin Coppock, who maintained an active concern for Quaker education throughout his lifetime. He not only helped found Stella Friends Academy but was a "tower of strength to that school during its fruitful ministry." When the Academy closed, Alvin and Laura Coppock moved to Haviland, Kansas, where he served as vice-president of the Kansas Central Bible Training School which is now known as Friends Bible College.—Ed.

When the Academy building had been completed in 1897, work was begun immediately on a dormitory for young ladies. The building was made possible through the generosity and assistance of James Welch who had lately moved into the community from Iowa. This was a two-story dormitory, divided into living quarters for the principal and his family, and dining room and kitchen on the first floor; with six large, airy and sunny rooms on the second floor, to accommodate twelve girls. Another dormitory was built in 1907 on land donated by James Welch. This was across the road to the south from the Academy grounds. This was a three-story building of cement blocks, with accommodations for twenty-four girls, and with a large, well lighted basement used for kitchen and dining room. The first dormitory was then converted into a boy's dormitory.

Enrollment the first year (1897-1898) was seventy-five; the second year, ninety. Many names familiar in the Cherokee vicinity to-day were found among those early students.

In 1911, an industrial department was added, having a two fold purpose: first, to aid students by supplying work for them, thus assisting them financially; second, to teach them an occupation. A farm of sixty-five acres was procured; and broom and cement factories were established. The work done by the boys in this department was most commendable. The girls assisted with the general housework, cooking and sewing.

The enrollment at the school remained good until the Rock Island and Santa Fe railroads were built through this section of the country. Towns sprang up all along these railroads, and in the due course of time, a high school an established institution in each of these towns. As a result the enrollment at the Academy gradually declined, until in the Spring of 1921, after twenty-four year of useful life, Stella Academy closed its doors permanently. The land and buildings were sold at public auction, and the buildings razed in the year 1922.

Thus, passed into history Stella Friends Academy, the first high school of Alfalfa County. All that remains are the memories that linger with the very few founders still living, and with those who once were students here. It is not too much to say, that perhaps no institution in the State of Oklahoma considering its size and scope, ever sent from its portals so many young people who had received such valuable instruction in correct morals and spiritual truths. While to-day the methods used in such teaching might meet with criticism and censure, yet these early day instructors were zealous adherents of the Friends Doctrine, and were firm believers in



View of Girls Dormitory, Stella Academy



View of old Dormitory for Boys, Stella Academy



their cause and their methods of instruction. Much credit goes to the instructors of Stella Academy for its splendid rating, many of whose names are lost to history.

Too much praise and credit cannot be given to the fearless and God-serving pioneers who made this institution possible, especially when one judges their high endeavors and the remarkable results they obtained. Many live to-day who would rise up and give thanks for this institution, for what it stood, and for those who made it a reality. Men and women of culture, of excellent character and high intelligence are scattered in all parts of the world, who give credit to Stella Friends Academy for any meritorious services they have rendered the world. These former students can be found in all the professions: law medicine, engineering, college instructors, ministers, missionaries, as well as in all the humbler walks of life.

This short history of Stella Academy brings the thought that church, or religious institutions of learning are still needed. It is from such schools that young people enter the business world with a balanced and a just perspective of life and with a character based on the cardinal and christian virtues.

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE TRI-STATE DISTRICT

By A. M. Gibson*

A scrutiny of mining camps in the Trans-Mississippi West yields patterns of amazing similarity. Whether a lead-mining camp in the southwestern Missouri Ozarks, silver workings in the alpine region of the Colorado Rockies, or the Sacramento gold camps of California, each was characterized by a recurring sequence of trends—social, intellectual, and economic. While much literature has been produced interpreting these trends for the mineral communities of the Far West, little if any attention has been given to the camps of the Tri-State District, even though its mines have sustained production for well over a century, claiming a yield of one and one-half billion dollars worth of mineral, and achieving recognition as the world's leading producer of lead and zinc.¹

Embracing Jasper and Newton counties in Missouri, Cherokee County, Kansas, and Ottawa County, Oklahoma, this mineralized region supported substantial mining camps before the Great California Strike, and was able to supply a sizeable number of skilled prospectors and miners for the California operations. Throughout the Tri-State District, the same social, intellectual and economic trends evident in the general Western mining camp frame of reference can be identified. The evolution from entrepreneur to wage earner status for the miner-pro prospector, absorption of small, independent holdings by mining syndicates supported by outside capital, jerry-built shack dwellings and business establishments, a neglect of the social graces, disdain for learning, and contempt for religion, plus a riotous ribald pattern of living, making mining camps the epitome of bacchanalian activities, characterize the camps of the Tri-State just as they do for the Sacramento, Virginia City, and Cripple Creek regions. Of added significance for the Tri-State camps is the sharp contrast their quickened pulse and general turbulence supplies to the staid and conservative agrarian society found on their periphery.

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¹ A. J. Martin, *Summarized Statistics of Production of Lead and Zinc in the Tri-State Mining District*, U. S. Bureau of Mines Information Circular No. 7383 (Washington, 1946).

Life in the mining camps of the Tri-State District ran the gamut of raw human experience, from the exciting, glamorous stampede of miners with the electrifying news of a strike and the establishment of a new camp, to the deadly despair of finding lean ore and wasting a grubstake. In the early camps, miners worked a nine to ten hour day, six days a week and took Sunday off. While some farmed, gardened, and cared for livestock in their free time, others hunted and fished in the streams and timberland near the mines. Many patronized the abundant resources for ribald entertainment supplied by the various camps. According to Joel Livingston, Joplin, the leading camp for the district, had in 1875:²

Seventy-five saloons open both day and night and in most of them a full orchestra gave free concerts every night and in most a matinee Wednesday and Sunday afternoons. The following are names of some of the popular bars: Healthwood Bar, Board of Trade, and the Steamboat Salon, the Golden Gate, Miners Drift, Bullock and Bouchers, the Bon Ton, the Palace, and the Brick Hotel Bar. One of the popular places was Blackwells Bar and there something new and exciting was always pulled off. In November, 1876, Mr. Blackwell arranged for the entertainment of his patrons a fight between a Cinnamon Bear which was brought up from Arkansas and six blooded bull-dogs. One thousand two hundred people witnessed the fight which was won by the bear.

And a local miner poet added that:³ "Suez was still east of us and there were no Ten Commandments for way down yonder in Southwest Missouri, where women drink and curse like fury; where the barkeepers sell the meanest liquor which makes a white man sick and sicker, where the tin horns rob you a little quicker, that's where Joplin is."

While the consumption of whiskey in the camps must have been considerable, moderation was encouraged, since, as the Missouri Labor Commissioner noted in 1887, miners who drank to excess found it difficult to secure backing for a grubstake if working on their own, or to gain employment if hiring out by the day. He added that in the hiring of workmen, married men received preference over single men.⁴

Miners showed considerable interest in baseball and boxing. A large portion of the space in early issues of the *Joplin Globe*, *Joplin News Herald*, *Granby Miner*, and *Picher King Jack* was devoted to coverage of athletic events. The report of an unusual Granby baseball game was chronicled as "The

² Joel T. Livingston, *A History of Jasper County and Its People* (Chicago, 1912), I. 175.

³ *Joplin Globe*, March 13, 1949.

⁴ Missouri Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of Missouri, 1887* (Jefferson City, 1887), 225.

Granby Daisy Cutters played the Neosho Club and were defeated by a score of 27 to 64. The material of the Daisy Cutters is superb, and relying on sheer nerve, they neglected their practice."⁵ Another diversion among miners was to "group together, exchange experiences, and stories, and this if not watched is done on company time, and at great cost to labor efficiency."⁶

One of the favorite miner pastimes was to celebrate a new strike. When a prospector made a discovery of ore, the men of the camp turned out to share the glad tidings. Women and children vacated the streets as they were "pretty rough sometimes." The celebration started with a single file parade of the miners, winding snakelike in and out of stores and saloons and back onto the street, the participants "singing, whooping, holding their picks . . . and shovels high, ringing cowbells and dragging tin cans." Some carried burning torches. Along the course of the parade, the miners "bought candy, cigars . . . and plenty of whiskey."⁷

The highlight of the week's activities for the miners and their families was Saturday night. According to Walter Williams:⁸

Saturday night in Joplin is a sight worth going miles to see. All the banks of the city are kept open from 7 until 8, and over \$100,000 is paid out in several counting rooms. Then the operators receive pay for the week's turnin, and miners and other laborers are paid their week's wages. From 8 o'clock until midnight, the stores are crowded with people making purchases, paying the week's grocery bill, laying in supplies for next week, and swapping experiences. Fully one-fourth of the week's business in the stores is transacted on Saturday night.

Lane Carter, a mining engineer from Chicago, was another observer impressed by local social behavior of the miners. "On Saturday nights or Sundays," he reported, "if one walks through the crowded streets of Joplin and mingles among the miners, one will hear little foreign talk. Plain 'United States' interspersed with a few emphatic 'cuss words' of Cornish origin is the language of the men."⁹

Creation of law and order was a serious problem in the early history of the Tri-State camps. After a few months of turbulence, however, the "respectable people" were able to

⁵ *Granby Miner*, October 4, 1873.

⁶ Charles W. Burgess, "Mining Costs in the Missouri-Kansas District," *Mining and Engineering World*, XXXVIII (April, 1913), 804.

⁷ Mabel H. Draper, *Though Long the Trail* (New York, 1946), 171.

⁸ Walter Williams, *The State of Missouri* (Columbia, 1904), 294.

⁹ Lane Carter, "Economic Conditions in the Joplin District," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, XC (October 15, 1910, 759.

gain an upper hand, a miner's code was adopted for each camp, the more violent crimes were brought under control, and the "reign of terror" abated.¹⁰ In each camp, municipal government was finally established, its functions carried on by public officers, and the citizens were represented through a city council. Picher, Oklahoma was an exception. Modern Picher has municipal government, but for most of its existence, it had, according to the *Daily Oklahoman* a "feudal organization".¹¹

The company (Eagle Picher) employs a deputy sheriff who has authority to enforce regulations where needed. The social organization is rather feudal in character. The whole town of Picher is built on land leased by the company. As the company's representative, Mr. Bandelari is sort of an overlord, a court from whose judgment there is no appeal. He administers the law of the land. Community differences which inevitably arise are brought to him for adjudication when the litigants are unable to effect a settlement themselves. The company control of the land vests its representative with the power to make his judgments binding. Anyone who refuses to accept the court findings can be dispossessed of his home. Rarely is this extreme penalty imposed. Chief offense against which there is no compromise is infraction of the bone dry law. Eviction is promptly decreed against the resident who is caught bootlegging. The consequence is that booze has practically been eradicated from the camp. When the town was real young it had a gambling den called the "Red Apple." Roulette and faro were part of all camps and Picher was no exception. But prospectors and single men gradually were displaced by family men and the "Red Apple" has gone and not even the core is left.

Like prospectors and miners in other Western camps, the workmen in the Tri-State showed little interest in substantial homes and the amenities of life. While labor and sanitation inspectors lamented the hovels that comprised the mining camps, apparently the miners were satisfied. From the beginning, the workers seemed to be in an eternal hurry. They rushed in to prospect so as to strike ore as soon as possible. Promoters hastened to develop the region quickly. When miners ceased being operators and became day workers, they were in a hurry to get to their jobs so as to earn the good wages paid, especially if they were shovelers. One observer called this condition the "Joplin Colic."¹² Probably, in the beginning the neglect of adequate housing was due to haste. The land system undoubtedly made a contribution too. Land and royalty companies controlled most of the mining land, either in fee or lease.

¹⁰ F. A. North, *The History of Jasper County, Missouri* (Des Moines, 1883), 396.

¹¹ *Daily Oklahoman*, August 12, 1917.

¹² Garland C. Broadhead, "Southwest Missouri Lead Interests," *Engineering and Mining Journal* (February, 1883), 73.

In the early days, poor transportation facilities made it necessary for the miner to live as close as possible to his diggings. The land was divided into mining plots and leased to miners. They could also lease lots for home building purposes. At Granby, for example, the miners were allowed to build dwellings and fence a garden plot free of charge on company land.¹³ The Rex Mining Company permitted miner lessees to build homes near their mining leases on its Joplin Thousand Acre Tract.¹⁴ Needless to say, these homes were poorly constructed. In their rush to get prospects underway, the miners gave little attention to comfort and sanitation. The important thing was to have minimum shelter available. Many of the miners were from the nearby Ozark hill country, and were accustomed to little better than a log shanty. Also, since most early dwellings were on mining land and largely undermined, there was less incentive to build a better home. The chief interest was to locate as close to the diggings as possible.¹⁵

The company town, complete with stereotyped dwellings, company store, and scrip, so common in the Western mining fields, failed to develop in the Tri-State District. The closest to this was an enterprise undertaken by the Missouri Lead and Zinc Company near Joplin. This company divided its 1,300 acres of mining land into prospect plots, laid out a residential district, and erected 350 miners' homes. A self-sufficient community, complete with company lumber yard, blacksmith shop, and store were added to meet miner needs. But whether mining on their own or working for wages, the miners were paid in cash.¹⁶ In modern times, Picher, Oklahoma, most approximates a company town. In 1951, because the town was extensively undermined, a part of the business district was in danger of caving. The Eagle Picher Company granted financial assistance to businessmen in moving buildings and improvements to a safe location.¹⁷

The Missouri Bureau of Labor Statistics noted substandard housing in 1889 as one of the big problems in the district. Its report lamented that this was needlessly so since wages were good, but "the trouble is," concluded the Bureau,

¹³ Missouri Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of Missouri, 1889* (Jefferson City, 1889), 378-379.

¹⁴ John R. Holibaugh, *The Lead and Zinc Mining Industry of Southwest Missouri and Southeast Kansas* (New York, 1895), 13.

¹⁵ J. B. Rhyne, *Social and Community Problems of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, 1929), 11.

¹⁶ "The Missouri Lead and Zinc Company's Plant," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, LXIX (June 2, 1900), 648.

¹⁷ *Picher Tri-State Tribune*, December 21, 1951.

"the savings which could certainly buy a comfortable home are dumped into holes in the ground" through prospecting for new deposits.¹⁸

Dr. Anthony J. Lanza of the U.S. Department of Public Health, made a house-to-house visit through the district in 1914 exploring housing and sanitary conditions. He noted that:¹⁹

Generally speaking, among miners . . . home conditions are fair to good . . . those living in the outskirts of towns, or on mining land between towns, were bad. Taken all in all when wages of the miners in Southwest Missouri are considered, home conditions are far below par as far as sanitation and comfort are concerned. The situation in this respect is remarkable, because it is so needlessly bad. The miners made \$3.50 to \$5.00 per day, and even more at times, and they do not migrate to the extent observed in other mining communities. The chief obstacles in the way of improvement are a failure to appreciate better living conditions, and possibly to a lesser extent, the fact that many families live on mining land upon which nothing but temporary shacks can be built.

Lanza visited a total of 694 homes in his survey and noted that most of them were one, two, and three room "shacks." On the state of cleanliness in these dwellings he recorded that 317 were good 318 fair, and 159 were classified as bad.²⁰ Lanza found the water and sanitation facilities objectionable too.²¹

The water supply of a great number of homes is rather unique. Water of good quality is obtained from deep wells, and is peddled around the district in water wagons and sold by the barrel wherever there are no water pipes. Wells are scarce, and in the majority of the homes the water barrel suffices for cooking and personal needs The outhouses are wretched, a feature in which southwestern Missouri resembles a great part of the rural communities of the United States. In 680 premises there were 644 insanitary privies, which consisted of the simplest kind of a box structure over a shallow pit, dug in the ground. There were sewer connections in 36 premises. In view of the prevalence of filthy privies all over that part of the country, the scarcity of wells is fortunate, and undoubtedly the fact that water is peddled from a pure source is the greatest factor in preventing wide-spread typhoid fever and other intestinal disorders In none of these homes was there a bathtub or bathing facilities other than could be obtained from a pan of water on the kitchen floor. In 281 premises there were 92 cases of tuberculosis and 120 cases of miners' consumption.

During the Department of Labor Conference on Working and Housing Conditions, held at Joplin in 1940, it was noted by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins that miner housing

¹⁸ *Eleventh Annual Report*, 337.

¹⁹ Anthony J. Lanza, *Miners Consumption—A Study of 433 Cases of the Disease Among Zinc Miners in Southwest Missouri*, U.S. Public Health Service Bulletin No. 85 (Washington, 1917), 337.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 182.

was still largely substandard.²² By traveling around the fringes of Joplin Galena, and Picher, one can still observe the remains of "mining slums."

Typical mining camp attitudes toward religion were registered in the Tri-State District. There were however, sufficient church-goers present in the early days to show in the religious censuses. These reveal that the region was dominantly Protestant, with a wide range of faiths represented. Also, it is evident from the comparative statistics derived from the contrast of Tri-State counties with agrarian counties of similar size population-wise and situated on the mining periphery, that the mining counties were much less interested in religious affiliation than their population counterparts. In relation to total population, the religious population for the peripheral counties amounted to about thirty-two per cent while the mining counties could show only about fifteen per cent.

This undoubtedly reflects the rough, boisterous reckless attitudes characteristic of mining camps. What the statistics do not show was the remarkable independence of doctrinal view and fundamentalism exhibited by local congregations, even those associated with national denomination groups with a reputation for liberalism in doctrine and anti-fundamentalism. Among the Protestants, the Baptists were the most numerous, followed in order by the Disciples of Christ, Methodists, and Presbyterians.²³

The inertia in Tri-State intellectual life reflects the traditional mining camp contempt for refinement and amenities. The mining counties, when compared to their neighboring agrarian counties, have shown, if not an indifference, at least a retardedness in providing adequate educational facilities. Some exceptions can be found, however, to this general rule. Mabel Draper, a Tri-State pioneer, recounted that once in a while the miners showed strong enthusiasm for educating their children. According to her, a Joplin town meeting 1872 resulted in the organization of a school board for the purpose of erecting a two-room schoolhouse. She added, "the money came in a hurry, one thousand dollars by popular subscription, and a few days later, right up the hill from us there were

²² Frances Perkins, *Conference on Health and Working Conditions in the Tri-State District*, U.S. Department of Labor (Washington, 1940), 35-36.

²³ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports, Religious Bodies, 1906*, I (Washington, 1910) *Religious Bodies, 1916*, I (Washington, 1919), *Religious Bodies, 1926*, I (Washington, 1930), and *Religious Bodies of the United States, 1936*, I (Washington, 1941). These have served as sources for the data on Tri-State religious life.

piles of rocks from the nearby mines for the foundation and stacks of good smelling new lumber.”²⁴

By 1876, Joplin had two grammar schools while Carthage boasted a \$36,000 school building with twelve teachers.²⁵ Miami, Neosho, Carthage, Galena, Webb City, and Joplin quite early established public libraries which contributed to the general intellectual uplift of the district. While the larger communities finally were able to furnish adequate educational facilities for their youth, the smaller mining settlements pulled the district average down. This was reflected in the district expenditure per pupil for education. Not only were the Tri-State counties low compared to most other counties in their respective states, but they were likewise considerably lower than their respective average state per capita expenditures. For example, in 1950 Cherokee County spent \$240.98 per pupil while the state of Kansas spent an average of \$297.31; Jasper County expended \$169.92 compared to Missouri's average of \$198.24 per pupil; and Oklahoma spent \$149.75 per capita compared to Ottawa County's \$133.97.²⁶ If the Tri-State was marginal in expenditures for education, it also manifested an unusually heavy pupil loss in the fourteen to eighteen year-old age group. The percentage of this age group attending school in Tri-State ran for several decades around fourteen per cent, while peripheral counties mustered twenty-five to thirty per cent.²⁷ This low percentage for the Tri-State undoubtedly is explained by the large number of male youths leaving high school to accept employment in the mines.

The Tri-State cultural heritage is saturated with the concept of individualism, a trait best illustrated by the “poor man's camp” tradition. To the layman, this means that a workman could engage in mining operations with only a small amount of capital, and if his prospect were fortunate, he stood a good chance of becoming wealthy. James Bruce, local mining engineer, noted the wide opportunities there as late as 1912 when he wrote. “The Tri-State District is a poor man's

²⁴ Draper, *Though Long the Trial*, 172.

²⁵ *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Jasper County, Missouri* (Joplin, 1876), 19.

²⁶ State and county per capita expenditure information extracted from Letter of Department of Education, State of Missouri, Jefferson City, October 8, 1953; Letter of State Board of Education, State of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, October 15, 1953; and Letter of State Department of Education, State of Kansas, Topeka, October 25, 1953.

²⁷ Pupil loss statistics derived from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910. Population, II* (Washington, 1912), *Fourteenth Census of the United States 1920. Population, II* (Washington, 1922), and *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population, II* (Washington, 1932).

camp and almost every miner who has spent any number of years in it . . . has at some time owned a prospect . . . and has made at least some attempt to organize a company to secure a lease, and try his luck at finding diggings."²⁸

The sociologist has a term, mobility, that is useful in characterizing this facet of Tri-State social life. Because of the "poor man's camp tradition," there has been considerable vertical mobility. That is, according to the Missouri Labor Commissioner in 1889, men working for a daily wage in the mines, customarily saved a portion of their earnings to grubstake them in prospecting.²⁹

There are few large companies employing men by the week or month. The rule is for each man to mine for himself, paying a stipulated royalty to the owner of the land. If within a few days the prospector finds nothing, he takes his rope and windlass and bucket to another spot of land, digs another hole and prospects again, keeping on thus until ore is discovered. Miners who work for the few companies in the country save their wages, and when a hundred or so of dollars have been accumulated, sink it into some prospecting shaft. One miner is now as poor as when he began, but is rich in anticipations. He will save his wages, expecting that at last the next prospecting will prove a bonanza. The successful few are heard of not once, but time and time again. The story of how one man digging a well for water in his back yard found, instead of water, a vein of ore from which he took out \$100,000, is told around almost a hundred thousand times. On the other hand, the thousand who spend their surplus wages in prospecting for lead, but who never find it, are rarely heard of. One man reported to the Bureau that he sunk two years' savings looking for ore, then returned to work for more money, but before saving enough to continue his prospecting, another man jumped his claim and going six inches deeper struck an exceedingly rich vein. Owing to this gambling spirit but few miners seem prosperous or own their own homes, although wages are fair.

The scattered nature of the deposits, and their relatively shallow depth enabled miners with limited funds to seek ore. The thousands of shallow test pits around the district attest to the hope and labor of miners to become wealthy. Wiley Britton, an early resident of the district, has estimated that "probably one out of fifty to one-hundred would not be too low an estimate" for those who struck it rich.³⁰

Those who made a rich strike moved from the wage earner to the operator class, and just as there was social movement upward in the social scale, based on economic success, so was there a similar movement back to the wage earner class if

²⁸ James L. Bruce, "Ore Dressing in the Joplin District," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, XCIII (February 24, 1912), 405.

²⁹ *Eleventh Annual Report*, 336-33.

³⁰ Wiley Britton, *Pioneer Life in Southwestern Missouri* (Kansas City, 1929), 19.

the prospect did not produce. Unwise investments in new prospects, or careless spending, proved the undoing of many a successful miner.³¹ The word "miner" is anomalous in the Tri-State District and produces a problem in semantics for the researcher. It meant both one who worked for wages as well as an operator who hired workmen. The operator worked, too, in the early days, and the names of operator associations reflect this, since there was the Southwest Missouri and Southeast Kansas Zinc Miners Association. This group consisted of mine owners seeking through concerted action better markets and investors in district mines.³² Only after 1900 can one discern a more specialized use of the word "miner." Thereafter, it meant an employee working for a daily wage, and "operator" came to be used as a designation for the mine owner.

In 1889, the Missouri Labor Commissioner made a study of district economic conditions, and he found the "gambling spirit" of local miners toward prospecting, "dumping their savings into holes in the ground," a major cause of hardship and social problems. His investigation revealed several intimate glimpses into the homes of the miners, one of which follows:³³

PIT BOSS

Condition—Family of six; parents, two sons 28 and 21 years of age, and two daughters of 22 and 17; father is pit boss; gets \$2.50 per day; works 8 months in the year; father and son both prospect part of the year; cleared \$250 at prospecting last winter; youngest son helps the father; family occupy common box house of 3 rooms and kitchen built by father and married son; cost \$140; surrounded by small scrub-oak bushes; no fence, carry water from well 100 yards from house; walls of house unplastered and covered with newspapers; family have an air of intelligence, but house not neatly kept. Father has mined for 17 years; had no money when he started; has none now; belongs to Grand Army; father, son and two daughters all belong to Knights of Labor; younger daughter takes music lessons, paid for by younger son. Sample dinner: Hot biscuits, corn bread, butter, gravy, potatoes, coffee and buttermilk; everything cooked well. Have chickens, cow and calf. Daughter's wedding cost \$10.

While there was vertical mobility in the district, there was a general lack of mobility in terms of space until after 1920. That is, between 1860 and 1920, once people came into the Tri-State camps, they generally remained. In this period, the region not only held its own in terms of population, but

³¹ William R. and Mabel Draper, *Old Grubstake Days in Joplin* (Girard, 1946), 18-20.

³² "Mining News," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, XLIX (April 19, 1890), 454.

³³ *Eleventh Annual Report*, 338-346.

actually showed an increase.³⁴ This is explained by the geology of the region—extensive mineralization and its capacity to sustain commercial mining over a long period, plus climate and soils which enabled the miners to support themselves and their families during periods of metal price depressions and mine shutdowns.

In spite of the fact that the Tri-State District showed no loss of population as a region until 1920, there was considerable mobility in local mining towns. For example, strikes in the Galena field drew miners from Joplin, and the Picher strike attracted people from all over the district. Anthony Lanza noted this intra-district migration in 1915, but he was impressed by the regional population stability. "In most mining camps there is considerable annual migration, but in the Joplin District, the miners are natives and previous to 1915, outsiders had not come in any large number."³⁵

Intra-district migration was lamented by the *Granby Miner* in 1873 as responsible for nearly depopulating Granby, since "many miners, naturally migratory, were deceived by the blowing of newspapers and went to Joplin."³⁶ The Missouri Labor Commissioner commented in 1889 that "Those who have lived here for several years and made it their home seem well contented, but the restless ones spend most of their time prospecting, become dissatisfied with the work, and go away for awhile, though they generally come back and commence prospecting again."³⁷

The fact that population has remained stable in the district through the years is explained by the abundant employment opportunities in the mines, supplying the means of support for miners and their families. Even in periods of national prosperity, however, the mines might be shut down for short periods due chiefly to sagging ore prices or a surplus of mineral in buyers' bins.

Such a situation in the mines of Arizona and Colorado would have set off a migration of workers to other sections. In the Tri-State District it was common, until around 1920, for the more thrifty workers to have a small farm or garden plot and a cow, a pig or two, and chickens. The wives and children generally took care of the livestock, and the miners farmed or gardened after a day's work in the mines and in

³⁴ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860 Population*, I (Washington, 1862), through *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950. Population*, I (Washington, 1952).

³⁵ Lanza, *Miners Consumption*, 15.

³⁶ *Granby Miner*, October 11, 1873.

³⁷ *Eleventh Annual Report*, 378-389.

periods of unemployment. The women canned food, and the pigs were butchered and processed for winter's use. Until recently, the wooded sections around the mining camps furnished abundant wild life for food as well as fuel for cooking and heating. The many district streams, unless contaminated by mine water, supplied bass and channel catfish for the family larder.

No other mining region in the country has been more capable of sustaining its people than the Tri-State District. Until recent times, even during economic distress, a miner could support himself and his family. Of course, for those miners families living in camps like Picher, where the mines and tailing piles extended literally to their doorsteps, no such economic independence was possible, and in times of mine distress, these people suffered considerably.

Another reason why the population has remained fairly stable in the past is that whenever a depression set in, unemployed miners would lease ground in the shallow deposit fields and prospect. Most of them earned enough to support their families by gouging for ore with crude methods and equipment. In 1914, the *Engineering and Mining Journal* noted this tendency in attempting to explain "Why Joplin Does Not Languish":³⁸

When a miner is pushed out of work by a shutdown, he often helps develop new fields. He becomes a prospector and producer . . . when he loses his job. Often, miners are found in old diggings' working surface gouges and shallow lead deposits. Only a small outlay is required in capital . . . a hand windlass, a barrel sawed in half for tubs, a rope, a few strong hands, a few picks and shovels, and enterprise enough to rig up and dig a hole to the ore. He is generally able to get enough timber around the ground to crib up the shafts and provide sufficient timbering to hold the ground long enough to accomplish the work of getting the ore.

Even during the great depression following 1929, some of the more resourceful miners of the district, reported the *Journal*, sought to make some sort of a living by prospecting:³⁹

Back to the gouges is the slogan of the Tri-State District. There are 3,000 miners out of work. About 1,000 are operating small prospects over the district. Many are anxious to prospect for shallow deposits but lack the capital. Hand windlasses, horse hoisters, buck rocks, hand jigs, and sluice boxes again are in vogue and this is furnishing a livelihood for many district miners.

The fact that many of the workers were recruited from the farms of the district furnishes another explanation of popu-

³⁸ "Why Mining at Joplin Does Not Languish, "*Engineering and Mining Journal*, XCVII (January 24, 1914), 793.

³⁹ "Mining News," *Ibid.*, CXXXI (May 31, 1931), 434.

lation stability. Malcolmb Ross wrote facetiously that the "Ozark hills are rich in hungry hillbillies," and he recounts that one operator claimed that "all you have to do to get fresh miners is to go out in the woods and blow a cowhorn."⁴⁰ Whenever the mines were open, farmers' sons would go to the mines, and when operations ceased they returned to the rural areas. Also, as the mines have become more highly mechanized, requiring less workmen, many miners have been absorbed in other industries recently established in the district.

The history of Tri-State mining camps fits quite well into the Western mining frame of reference, with two possible exceptions. One anomaly is indicated by the foregoing description of stability of Tri-State population. The vicissitudes of mining, including an erratic ore market with frequent declines in metal prices, have resulted in the periodic closing of Western mines until the market quotations resume a profitable level. Regularly, workmen have evacuated the Western camps quickly in the face of a metal depression and have sought employment elsewhere. Mining camps became ghost towns overnight, largely because of their location in mountainous or desert areas, where even temporary subsistence by farming was impossible. The Tri-State, more favorably situated in terms of climate and soils, enabled the local miners to support themselves by farming until the mines reopened. Thus, the region was able to sustain its people and avoid the fluctuations of its more westerly counterparts.

The other exception to the Western mining frame of reference found in the Tri-State District concerns labor activity. Mining camps throughout the West have been highly receptive to labor agitators and organizers, and through the years comprised a bulwark of strength for the Western Federation of Labor and the I.W.W. Small cells of these organizations were established in the Tri-State and their agents sought to organize the entire district, but with little success. The miners of the Tri-State have displayed a remarkable independence toward union organizers. In the late 1930's, the C.I.O. accomplished some organization of district mine and smelter workers. The age-old indifference toward unionization returned in the 1940's. Ironically, Tri-State miners, with a national reputation for labor union inertia, have been recruited many times between 1885 and 1950 as strike breakers for the mines of the Far West.

Until recently, it was possible to escape the problems of mine unemployment in the Tri-State District. No longer,

⁴⁰ Malcolmb Ross, *Death of a Yale Man* (New York, 1939), 185.

however, is it as easy to gain security on an individual basis. One of the reasons the labor movement has been so slow in taking hold in the district is because the miner could take care of himself one way or another. It has become progressively more difficult as living costs and standards have increased, and unionization in the 1950's has developed in proportion to the Tri-State miner's growing inability to meet his own needs on an individual basis.

COUNTY HIGH SCHOOLS IN OKLAHOMA

*Frank A. Balyeat**

Providing secondary education for pioneer Oklahoma Territory youth was a very difficult problem and was not solved soon or well. Most of those ready for high school were not within daily walking or riding distance of secondary schools of any sort. Only a few attended the preparatory department of public colleges where tuition was free. Very few towns were able to provide high school facilities and the private and church schools were few and small.

In the first sixty years of its history, Oklahoma tried three plans, through legislative enactment, to enlarge districts and to increase the financial base sufficiently to provide high school facilities without undue burden to tax payers. Several counties voted on proposals to establish county high schools, under a law enacted in 1901 and repealed in 1909. Four counties did organize and operate under this law. In 1919, another county established a high school under a law enacted to meet its needs. Between 1903 and 1935 Oklahoma had five county high schools, which operated from four to 26 years each.

Besides the county high school plan, the Territorial Legislature tried two other methods of bringing secondary education sufficiently near to the homes of these youth. These were the township high school and the consolidated district. These two need brief presentation in order that the reader may better understand the motives and efforts behind the county high school.

TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOLS

The township high school was authorized by the First Territorial Legislature, in 1891, and repealed by the Second Assembly, in 1893. Under this proposal, each Congressional Township, six miles square, included four common school districts, each three miles square. A township board was to coordinate the work of the four district boards and operate a high school, approximately in the center of the township. It is doubtful that any township actually began a high school during these two years. The three-mile square common school

* Dr. Frank A. Balyeat of the College of Education, University of Oklahoma, has presented here the first history and review of county high schools in Oklahoma—a subject that has little, if any, notice in Oklahoma's history of education.—Ed.

district was the prevailing pattern in Oklahoma for a good many years, sometimes modified by county lines, topography, sparse population, or other factors.

CONSOLIDATED DISTRICTS

Chronologically, consolidation was the third of these plans to begin and it was the last to be discontinued. In 1905, the Territorial Legislature enacted a law which permitted two or more districts to combine, when approved by a majority of the voters in the areas affected. A school, central for the combined area, could offer one or more years of high school work. A modified form was the Union Graded school, which had a "wing" school in each of the consolidated parts, where the common branches were taught. A centrally located school offered high school subjects as well as the upper elementary grades. In both cases, transportation was provided for those living a specified distance from the school. Often the consolidated district was built around a town district, which already had a high school, though some were strictly rural.

Consolidation grew rapidly in extent and in success through the first four decades of statehood, enabling many thousand boys and girls to attend high school who would otherwise not have had that privilege. The Oklahoma reorganization law, enacted by the 22nd Legislature and amended by the 23rd, discontinued the consolidated district as a legalized unit. By 1950, improved roads and transportation, the shifting of population to town, and other causes contributed to make the consolidated district less and less needed. The term "consolidation" is still sometimes loosely used in Oklahoma to characterize to combining of districts.

COUNTY HIGH SCHOOLS

In 1901 the county high school law was enacted by the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature and slightly amended in 1903. Between 1905 and 1933 there were at least six other laws dealing with county high schools. Two of these were concerned mainly with Cimarron County. Others dealt with disposal of funds or property of schools that had been discontinued.

The first law provided that any county with 6,000 population could, by vote of its qualified electors, build, equip and operate a high school for the entire county, supported by county-wide tax levy on all property. When one-third of the electors of a county petitioned for a vote on the county high school proposal, the commissioners called an election, usually specifying in the ballot where the school would be located. A favorable majority of those voting authorized the school.

Then the county commissioners appointed six trustees, to serve with the County Superintendent as chairman. Not more than three of the six could be from the same township or of the same political party. They annually estimated the amount of money needed and the county excise board then determined the levy needed to raise the amount approved. The maximum tax rate allowed for support was usually one mill on the dollar of property valuation.¹

Tuition was free to all resident pupils of the county; those from other counties paid the tuition set by the trustees. A bond issue, approved by the qualified voters of the county, provided and equipped the buildings. It appears that only two of the five counties erected high school buildings and only one of these still stands, the one at Helena. At least one county tried unsuccessfully to vote building bonds and another may have secured the money but did not erect a building.

Pupils living too far from the school to reach it daily from their homes usually lived during the week in the school town, returning home over the week end to care for laundry needs, replenish food supply, or sometimes to help with the farm work. A good many boarded in homes or in clubs or did light house-keeping. Some mothers kept house for their children and those of neighbors, returning home most week-ends and at the close of the school year.

"Boards of Trade" in several towns waged vigorous campaigns to secure county high schools, thinking of the increase in that town's business and of getting their local high schools supported by the whole county. There is little doubt that the too obvious eagerness of these towns reacted against their efforts. Rural voters and those of rival towns generally opposed the measures vigorously.

The law named five types of curricula but most schools offered only the college preparatory. In those days, high schooling was considered mainly as preparation for college. Business subjects proved popular and, at least in one of the five schools, the teacher-training curriculum attracted a good many, especially girls.

At least eight counties rejected proposals to build county high schools, and there may have been more. Cleveland County was probably the first of these, heavily rejecting a proposal to establish a school at Lexington. Other counties defeating the measure included Blaine, Canadian, Garfield, Kay, Lincoln, Pawnee and Pottawatomie. Some of them

¹ *Oklahoma Session Laws for 1901 and 1903.*

defeated the measure two or three times. Only Cimarron, Creek, Logan, Okfuskee, and Woods Counties established schools, the latter becoming Alfalfa County High School in 1907, when Helena was no longer in Woods County.

LOGAN COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL, 1903-1911

First of the five to organize was Logan County High School, at Guthrie, where there was already a good school in the Territorial capitol city. This school was really a continua-



(From old print. Courtesy of Dr. Jessie Newby Ray)

Logan County High School

tion and expansion of Guthrie High School, enlarged to provide for all of Logan County and with county-wide financial support. It was well situated, geographically, to serve the whole county.

Soon after the Territorial Legislature passed the county high school law, the Guthrie Commercial Club appointed a committee to work with County Superintendent W. S. Calvert

to formulate plans to establish a school there. At an election in November, 1902, the voters of the county gave more than a 500 majority in favor of the proposal. Trustees Stafford and Calvert were sent to towns in Kansas and Missouri to study similar schools there and to suggest plans for building.²

School opened in the fall of 1903, using the Christian Church to supplement the room provided by the Guthrie High School building. The new building of twenty-three rooms was occupied December 17, 1904 and formally dedicated February 18, 1905 including on the program speeches by the Territorial Governor, the Mayor of Guthrie, the Territorial University President, and the Territorial Superintendent of Instruction.³ With receipts from a play given by the high school pupils, in December, 1904, the new auditorium, with a stage 25 by 36 feet was equipped with opera chairs to accommodate an audience of 1,500.⁴

This larger structure sufficed for the county school during its eight years of existence. In 1911, when Logan County High School was discontinued, the title to the building was transferred to the Guthrie District and the work of Guthrie High School resumed in it. In 1925-26, the senior high school was moved to its new home near the Masonic Temple, and what had been Logan County High School building was then used by Fogarty Junior High School.⁵ This building, in North Guthrie and just east of U. S. Highway 77, was later razed to give way to the more modern home for Fogarty High School.

Logan County High School actually served the entire county, not only the local area, as was true in some other counties. Enrollment the first year was 316, with 390 the second, and 422 the third, and with only 185 living in Guthrie. In 1908 it was 508 and later passed 600, with every township represented.⁶ The first graduating class of 15 had doubled by 1906, and they continued to grow. W. S. Calvert, the first principal, followed by Snowdon Parlette and then by Chas. H. Roberts, were supported by staffs of able teachers, trained in good colleges. In the last years the faculty exceeded twenty instructors.

This school offered a high grade of work. Its large enrollment, from all over the county included, especially in the

² W. S. Calvert, in *Logan County High School Annual*, 1905.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Oklahoma School Herald*, Dec. 1904.

⁵ Lula K. Pratt, "A History of Guthrie, Oklahoma," M. A. Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1930.

⁶ E. Sherman Nunn, "A History of Education in Oklahoma Territory," Ed.D. Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1941.

earlier years many who could not otherwise have secured a high school education. Gradually, though, village and consolidated schools grew and roads improved. The Farmers Institute of Logan County adopted a resolution in 1908, calling for repeal of the county high school law which, they said, "taxed the whole county for the education of the children where the school was located."⁷ Steadily the little high schools grew and more tax payers felt the burden of supporting two high school programs. By 1911, the need of the county high school had decreased to the extent that, by agreement of those concerned, it was discontinued. In 1959 there are six high schools in Logan County with five or more teachers each, providing good facilities within easy reach of all Logan County youth.

FIRST HIGH SCHOOLS IN WOODS COUNTY, 1905-1907 AND ALFALFA COUNTY, 1907-1909

Woods County High School existed by that name only two years, 1905-1907, becoming Alfalfa County High School when, with the coming of statehood, Woods County was divided into three. In 1904 Woods County, Oklahoma Territory, comprised approximately what is now Woods, Major, and Alfalfa. Having been settled more than a decade, this county had developed a good many small towns, but none large enough to support a high school. Northwest Normal School at Alva, the county seat, had been in operation since 1897 providing high school opportunity for the youth of Alva and some others who attended its preparatory department. However, most pupils of that large county could not conveniently reach either Alva or Tonkawa where the Oklahoma Preparatory School had opened in 1902.

On November 8, 1904 Woods County electors voted, 2,509 to 2,104, to establish a county high school. The 1903 amendment permitted county commissioners to locate a school not already located by the terms of the election. "A local county commissioner induced the other two members to locate the school at Helena if the people voted its establishment."⁸ This was a small town and in an area rather remote from much of the county's population and, because of this, the school was doomed to have much difficulty in drawing sufficient enrollment.

In January, 1905, the newly appointed trustees made plans to erect a building of 32 rooms on 15 acres of campus just out-

⁷ Clay W. Kerr, *The Development of the Legal Structure and the Program of Public High School Education in Oklahoma*, Ed.D. Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1956.

⁸ Daniel W. Pierce, "A History of Alfalfa County, Oklahoma," M. A. Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1926.

side Helena. The next Legislature passed a law "authorizing Dick's Township to vote bonds for the erection and equipment of Woods County High School, Helena, Oklahoma . . . in the sum of \$5,000."⁹ Thus, with bonds voted by the county and those voted by the home township, sufficient money was raised for land, building, and equipment of the only county high school that still stands in Oklahoma. In 1907, the relatively small Alfalfa County inherited the school with its "\$60,000 bonded indebtedness and annual operating cost of \$6,000."¹⁰ The name had been changed to Alfalfa County High School. The tax payers of Alfalfa County found the cost of retiring bonds and operating the school more than they could bear. On December 14, 1909, Alfalfa County voted, 1,433 to 144, to discontinue the high school which had already closed the previous spring, and to give the campus and buildings to the State. The Connell School of Agriculture, one of the six secondary agricultural schools in the new State, was already using the school plant. When that school's appropriation was cut off in 1917, Connell closed, its property then given to the Helena District. In 1921, the State bought the property from the Helena District to open a State orphanage.¹¹ Most years since then, Oklahoma has had some sort of an institution there.

When Woods County High School first opened, in the autumn of 1905, there was an initial enrollment of 185. Enrollment did not reach a figure comparable to the provisions made at any time during the four years of its life, it being really a regional school. At first, local churches were used by classes while the building was being completed. J. H. Sawtell was the first principal, later an instructor in Government at the University of Oklahoma. On the staff the first year, as teacher and athletic coach, was J. P. Evans, who had been the first county superintendent of Kiowa County. He succeeded Sawtell as principal, being succeeded by J. H. Findlay, the last principal of Alfalfa County High School.

The first faculty of six teachers included excellent talent, according to a pupil who did all her high school work there, finishing with the first graduating class, in 1908. Like most Oklahoma high schools then, it offered a three-year course, pupils taking five subjects each year and entering college on 15 units. The first class included seven members, and six of them attended college, the seventh already married at graduation. Along with the usual academic subjects art and music soon found favor, both in the curriculum and as extra-curri-

⁹ *Oklahoma Session Laws* for 1905.

¹⁰ Pierce, *op. cit.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

cular activities. One influence of this expansion in offering was to encourage Helena community to maintain a good Chautauqua program.¹²

In addition to teaching Latin and mathematics, Evans coached athletics and proved his recruiting ability by drawing potential stars, sometimes roaming into Kansas in his search for athletes. Soon Woods County High School had outstanding track teams, Wilhite and Carmichael winning a large share of the points at the 1906 meet in Norman.¹³ Besides track and field, there was football for boys and basketball for both sexes.

The brief existence of Woods, later Alfalfa County High School, illustrates well the error of political control and unwise location. With the best of high school plants in Oklahoma, this had to be sacrificed in 1909 when the school permanently closed. Helena, from that time, paid for the education of its own high school pupils, just as other towns in the county were then doing.

CREEK COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL, 1909-1913

There is a dearth of records and other source material about Creek County High School, at Mounds, a very small town in the extreme corner of the county. A few items were found in the records of the State Department of Education and scattered, but meager, items were found in the files of some newspapers, especially the Mounds *Signal* and the Creek County *Courier*. Much of the data and most leads came in letters which the writer received from two men who still remember CCHS well. Fred L. Patrick, Sapulpa attorney, lived at Mounds during the four years of that school. Wm. M. Jenkins was its last principal, having been assistant principal the preceding year. He is the son of Wm. M. Jenkins, once governor of Oklahoma Territory.

In 1908, when this part of what had been Indian Territory was trying to organize schools under the laws of the State of Oklahoma, Creek County had few towns of sufficient size to support high schools. Sapulpa and Bristow, both on the Frisco Railway, joined in Mounds' request for a high school there. Mounds then had the largest high school enrollment in Creek County. It seems that while the law of 1901 was still in effect, the Creek County electors "voted for a county high school by a large majority."¹⁴ Further evidence of the time and size of the vote has not been found in this study.

¹² Mrs. Rhoda Foster Warne, Personal Interview.

¹³ *Oklahoma School Herald*, June, 1906.

¹⁴ *Creek County Courier*, April 7, 1910.

In March, 1910 the Oklahoma Legislature passed an act authorizing warrants up to \$75,000 to be issued for the purpose of "erecting and completing a building and furnishing the same, to be used as a County High School, to be located at Mounds, Creeks County, Oklahoma."¹⁵ Apparently the Creek County vote had been taken the previous year, before the repeal of the law of 1901, and this new measure definitely legalized a bond issue to construct the school building. Creek County High School had really been operating as such since September, 1909, in the Mounds District building, where it continued during its four years existence. No building was ever erected for this county school.¹⁶ There may have been a favorable vote on a building bond issue. At any rate, the County High School Trustees negotiated with the Manhattan Construction Company for a \$60,000 building, which apparently was not begun.

The people of Mounds raised contributions to purchase a school site on a campus of ten acres which they deeded to the Trustees.¹⁷ This writer has not discovered what became of the money or the land, though an act of the Legislature in 1913 provided for the disposal of money and property of "disestablished" county high schools, and it may be that the passing of this act was to care for the Mounds situation.

Records in the State Department of Education show that the first principal of the school was Phillip Power. Each of the four years the school had a different principal, the last three being Darwin T. Stiles, Adolph Linscheid, and Wm. W. Jenkins. Linscheid had come to Mounds from Bristow and went, in 1913, to Southeastern State Normal. Later he served long and well as president of East Central State College at Ada.

During these four years the school employed six teachers and enlarged the offering to include home economics and manual training, with these departments well equipped. Business subjects were popular. From four to seven graduated each of the four years, though the enrollment probably did not exceed one hundred at any time. "The Creek County High School has been costing Creek County \$10,000.00 a year . . . and the attendance from outside Mounds Township has never been more than a dozen pupils."¹⁸ There is other evidence to show that the school did draw more widely and extensively than the above quotation indicates, but never sufficiently to justify continuing county support.

¹⁵ *Oklahoma Session Laws for 1910.*

¹⁶ Wm. M. Jenkins, letter to the writer, Sept. 27, 1958.

¹⁷ Fred L. Patrick, letter to the writer, August 5, 1958.

¹⁸ *Mounds Signal*, Feb. 21, 1913, quoted from *Bristow Record*.

By 1913, Sapulpa, Bristow Drumright and Kiefer had high schools in operation. In reorganizing the Board of Trustees, a majority was arranged from the western part of the county, resulting in a vote in the spring of 1913 to discontinue the county high school. The faculty for the next year had already been chosen. In the summer of 1913, the Mounds District No. 5, assumed responsibility for high school work, continuing in the same building the school formerly supported by Creek County. During 1913-14, manual training and home economics were discontinued, due to cost, and work above the 10th grade was temporarily dropped, as the Mounds School assumed full financial responsibility for the school.

OKFUSKEE COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL, 1909-1935

Okfuskee County High School operated twenty-six years in the small town of Paden, quite near the western line of the county and not near another center of white population. This long period is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of county high schools in Oklahoma, and one of the most difficult to understand or to explain.

During the first year of statehood, Okfuskee County voters were eagerly looking forward to participating in their first election of State and National officials, as this area was, until 1907, part of Indian Territory. Okemah was the county seat and some of the other towns felt the need of some kind of "institution." At a mass meeting held at Paden in August, 1908, a county high school was the topic being discussed and it was reported that one proponent stated, "Let Okemah have the county seat and Weleetka the penitentiary, but let Paden push for schools."¹⁹

October 6, 1908 the Okfuskee County Commissioners were presented with a petition signed by 876 voters of the county, more than the one third needed to call for a vote on the county high school proposal. The commissioners submitted the measure at the regular election, November 3, 1908, and it probably received very little attention outside the Paden community, due to interest in the general election. The proposal carried 1,196 "for" and 1,038 "against." A majority of the precincts voted against it, including Weleetka and Boley but Okemah, for some reason, voted favorably. The Paden majority was 205, which was 47 more than the majority in the entire county. Thus, in reality, the Paden vote decided the issue.²⁰

¹⁹ Okemah *Independent*, August 20, 1908.

²⁰ Paden *News*, Nov. 13, 1908.

In March, 1909, the county high school law was repealed, but with the provision that any county operating a high school or having voted to establish one as much as sixty days prior to the date when the repeal became effective would be allowed to operate a county school under the law of 1901 and the 1903 amendments to it. This enabled Okfuskee County High School to open in Paden in September, 1909, in the Paden public school building, where it operated through its twenty-six years.

Weleetka citizens filed an injunction questioning the legality of the election at which the measure had carried. The vote was upheld by the court in May, 1910. Later the Trustees negotiated for a contract for a two-story, brick building, 104 by 68 feet, in dimension, at a contract price of \$19,851. In the autumn of 1911 the voters of the county defeated, 569 to 384, a bond issue to erect a county high school building.²¹ It is improbable that another effort was ever made to secure a building for this county-supported school, the district patrons apparently satisfied to have the local high school supported by tax payers of the whole county.

There were two high school teachers, including the principal, the first few years and with very small enrollments, and they mostly from the Paden District. Early principals included T. A. Gross, E. E. Knack, and Luther Russell. In its later years there were five teachers, maybe six sometimes. The principals and Paden superintendents in the last decade included Cecil E. Oakes and Gilbert L. Robinson. Through the last two decades the school was accredited by the State Department of Education for 19 to 23½ units, showing a fair range of elective courses. For a good many years, there were two units each of Latin and Spanish, the latter dropped first and Latin disappearing in the very last years. Home economics and agriculture, as well as business subjects, music, and speech proved popular in latter years.

In January 1916, the enrollment was reported as 32, with only 26 still on the roll, and "this is the largest enrollment the school has ever had. Do the people of Paden realize the value of the county high school to them," asked the editor, "with the cost contributed by the entire county?"²² It is not probable that the school ever drew much beyond the district boundaries and a few from neighboring districts. Its location made this inevitable. It is hard to understand why tax payers of other parts of the county allowed the school to run so long. "Red Phillips, as Speaker of the House of Rep-

²¹ Paden *Herald*, Jan. 28, 1916.

²² *op. cit.*

representatives, was instrumental in bringing about the abolishment of the Okfuskee County High School at the close of the school year 1934-35."²³

In the records of the County Superintendent of Okuskee County is an account of an important meeting held at Okemah, July 22 1935.²⁴ The County High School Trustees had invited to meet with them the County Commissioners, County Excise Board, County Attorney, and members of the Board of Paden District No. 14. The chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was to determine whether further funds could be raised for the county school. When it was explained that there were no available funds the following resolution was offered and passed unanimously:

"Whereas: There are no funds to continue operation of Okfuskee County High School, and

"Whereas: Without funds this board is unable to function, therefore be it

"Resolved: That this board cease to even attempt to function and be it further

"Resolved: That School District 14 be asked to accept the responsibility of continuing the school."

July 1935 was the last time that Okfuskee County High School legally existed. Prior to that date Paden Schools had included grades one through eight.²⁵ The "Oklahoma Public School Directory" for 1935-36 shows an increase in the number of Paden teachers from eight to eleven, the increase being due to absorbing the high school. Mr. Oakes states that it continued in the same two-story red brick building, owned by the Paden District, where it had been previously operating at the expense of the entire county.

CIMARRON COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL, 1919-1932

Just ten years after the repeal of the county high school law, the Legislature enacted new legislation, strictly designed to meet the needs of one county. Cimarron, the large county at the extreme end of the Oklahoma Panhandle, had a small and sparse population, widely scattered over the entire area. No town had immediate prospects of supporting an accredited high school. The few youth who were getting secondary education attended the preparatory department of Panhandle Agricultural College, more than thirty miles distant from the

²³ Gilbert L. Robinson, Letter to the Writer, June 10, 1958.

²⁴ Letter to the Writer from Mrs. Leona Abshier, County Superintendent of Okfuskee County, June 5, 1958.

²⁵ Cecil E. Oakes, Letter to the Writer, June 17, 1958.

nearest Cimarron County home, or went elsewhere outside the county.

Senate Bill 32 became law March 29, 1919. It was "An act providing for county high schools in all counties having scholastic population of less than 2,000 persons, etc."²⁶ The 1920 census showed for that county a total population of 3,436, so the scholastic population was below 2,000. At that time there was probably no other way to secure high schooling for the increasing number of desirous youngsters of Cimarron County.

This law differed in some important respects from the 1901 law, under which the other four county high schools had been organized. It enabled the County Commissioners, without a vote of the electors, to appoint a Board of Trustees, with power to organize and operate a county high school with a maximum tax rate of one mill on the dollar of assessed evaluation. Each Commissioner selected two Trustees at the beginning, these six serving with the County Superintendent, who was the chairman. Thereafter, the Trustees were elected by the three commissioner districts, two from each. They were specifically empowered either to build or to rent for the needs of the school.

Under these provisions, school began in September, 1919 in two rooms of the new frame building of the Boise City district. Principal Eugene Smith, was assisted by another teacher, in the instruction of 24 pupils, including 11 in the eighth grade, six in the ninth, five in the tenth and two in the eleventh. After two or three years, at the insistence of the State Department of Education, the eighth grade was transferred to the Boise City schools, and was no longer supported by county-wide tax. Enrollment grew steadily, reaching at least 150 in the last year that the school operated, and with graduating classes with as many as 15 members.

Additional room was leased in the Boise City school building as the staff grew to five, including the principal. Year after year the visiting member of the State Department of Education staff warned that the building situation was unsatisfactory. It is doubtful that a building bond issue would have carried, and those in charge no doubt foresaw the changes that would before long mean the closing of the school.

The pupils had an academic curriculum, designed mainly for college entrance. The class of 1921 included the two boys who had enrolled as juniors when the school opened. Of the

²⁶ *Oklahoma Session Laws for 1919.*

fifteen graduating in 1928, nine entered college, including those who went to business schools. Spanish, usually taught for two units, was offered most of the years, as was home economics, also for two units. Agriculture and manual training had small offerings and that in only a few years. Business subjects drew heavily.²⁷

October, 1925 saw the building of the first railroad through the county, the last Oklahoma county to be reached by a railroad.²⁸ In five years the Boise City population trebled and new towns sprang up over the county. In these towns were interesting numbers ready for high school but a good many miles from Boise City. These small towns asked for accreditation of their high school beginnings and soon there were small accredited high schools in various parts of the county. Not willing to pay tax to support their local high school and the county school at Boise City, too, an ever increasing number of tax payers protested. The school voluntarily closed in 1932, after thirteen years of genuine service to the county.

In April 1933 another act of the Legislature abolished "... all county high schools in counties having a population of less than 25,000, according to the United States census of 1930," and it provided for disposal of the funds or property left by a school thus discontinued.²⁹ It is interesting to note that in 1930 the population of Okfuskee County was 29,016, so the Okfuskee County High School was not affected by the 1933 law.

Only three men served as principal of Cimarron County High School, Eugene Smith for the first eight years, Joe R. Crew for one year, and Walker E. Hubbard the last four. Mr. Hubbard then became Boise City superintendent, still helping to direct the high school which was by then a part of the system of that consolidated district.

"The Cimarron County High School was organized in the summer of 1919. It has served a very useful purpose to the citizenship of Cimarron County. With the close of the school in the spring of 1932, the organization ceased operation. . . . The Cimarron County High School has been of untold value."³⁰ Thus closed an unusual chapter in the history of secondary education in Oklahoma. The Legislative act

²⁷ From Records in the State Department of Education.

²⁸ Lewis, Charles B., "The Development of Cimarron County," M. A. Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1940.

²⁹ *Oklahoma Session Laws* for 1933.

³⁰ Eugene Smith, "Problems of Finance Affecting the Schools of Cimarron County, Ed.M. Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1932.

of 1919 made possible a high school education for many deserving youth at a time when no other means were available to them, yet it made the burden easy on the whole and was easy to discontinue when the need had decreased so much. It had done its work and had done it well.

In 1958-59, according to the "Oklahoma High School Directory," there are accredited high schools in Boise City, Felt, Griggs, and Keys, with a total of twenty-nine teachers and a geographical coverage that brings school facilities within easy reach of all Cimarron County youth.

OKLAHOMA CITY, FROM PUBLIC LAND
TO PRIVATE PROPERTY*By Berlin B. Chapman*

PART I: SURVEYING THE TOWNSITE

Introduction

Three score and ten years ago Oklahoma City was public land, and the subsequent rise of a city of 500,000 population was a growth scarcely paralleled in history.¹ One strolling along Grand Avenue can see in the jogs of the streets the scars of its origin, and hundreds of people now living have known intimately some of the '89ers who helped convert public land there to private property. It is the purpose of this study to relate that transition. With the passing of pioneers, more reliance than ever must be placed upon archival records containing what they wrote and witnessed in this interesting period of provisional government and the acquisition of town lots.

When the last Indian reservation was established in Indian Territory in 1881, there remained in the heart of the territory a tract of nearly 3,000 square miles known as the Oklahoma country or Oklahoma district. This tract of unassigned lands extended from present Stillwater to Norman. In the south central part of the tract, on the banks of the North Canadian, was to grow the metropolis of Oklahoma. David L. Payne and his land-hungry boomers were removed from the vicinity in 1880.

The origin of Oklahoma City is entwined with railroad history. Continuous settlement began with the building of a railroad; the first houses were constructed of track ties and sheltered "track men;" and the site was called Oklahoma Station. The importance of the railroad in replacing cattle trails, and as an artery of travel and commerce necessitates an understanding of its history.

¹ In preparation of this series of articles the author gratefully acknowledges assistance given in the Library of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, in the Kansas Historical Society, and in the Oklahoma Historical Society. For the National Archives he desires to mention the guidance of John E. Maddox in Justice Department files, the excellent organization of the Legislative Branch headed by Harold E. Hufford, and constant reliance on Maurice Moore whose proficiency in files of the General Land Office was proverbial among searchers. The Research Foundation of Oklahoma State University expedited the study.—Ed.

Economic factors were considered in selecting a route for the railroad. The dominant force was the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, incorporated in Kansas. A line was built south to Wichita in 1872, to Arkansas City in 1879, and there the terminal remained until 1887.

The first survey by the company across present Oklahoma from north to south was a reconnaissance of three distinct routes: "A" from Coffeyville, Kansas, to Gainesville, Texas; "B" from Arkansas City to the Red River at Salt Creek, thirty miles west of Gainesville; "C" from Arkansas City to Gainesville. A report on these lines was made on May 20, 1884, by H. L. Marvin, locating engineer.² In summarizing the comparative value of the three routes for transportation Marvin said that the local carrying trade of line "A" when the country should have been developed, would be about equal to that of line "C". Either would be in excess of that of line "B" as the country on line "B" was much less productive than that adjacent to either of the other routes. The business of line "A" would be subject to competition from the road of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company, thus giving to line "C" the better value of business. The coal on line "A" gave to that route an additional interest which merited consideration.

Marvin reported that the cost of construction on line "C" would be considerably less than either of the other routes and the gradients would be much easier. The most expensive route would be "B" on account of the heavy work through the central portion of the route and from the absence of timber for construction purposes. Route "A" would also be an expensive line, south of the North Fork River. Route "C" would only be expensive south of Caddo Creek. Except for short distances at four summits, route "C" was the shortest between Kansas and Texas. From the standpoint of distance

² The report is in Chicago, Library of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, *Santa Fe Splinters*, vol. 22, pp. 109-127. It was made to Albert A. Robinson, General Manager and Chief Engineer, Topeka, Kansas.

The Santa Fe records fell into two groups, construction and operation. Valuable fragments of the construction records remain, but the operation records are virtually nil for the pioneer period in Oklahoma. *Santa Fe Splinters* is a series of manuscript volumes containing railroad documents compiled by Joseph Weidel. In a preface in 1940 he said: "The true and complete history of the Santa Fe will never be written because the records for the early years are now largely non-extant through loss, misplacement, dispersion or destruction." The "Santa Fe" was incorporated in Kansas on February 11, 1859, as the Atchison and Topeka Railroad Company. The name was changed on November 24, 1863, to Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company; and on December 12, 1895, to the present name of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company.

and expense of construction, Marvin said the route from Arkansas City to Gainesville was much the best.

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company owned the securities of the Southern Kansas Railway Company. On July 4, 1884, President Chester A. Arthur approved an act of Congress granting to the latter company the right to construct a railroad from Kansas through Oklahoma district to Texas.³ The company had an easement, not a fee, in the lands of the right of way. The company should build at least one hundred miles of road within three years after the passage of the act, or its grant would be forfeited as to that portion not built. Under penalty of forfeiture of all its rights and privileges, the company was forbidden to aid, advise, or assist in any effort looking toward the changing or extinguishing of "the present tenure of the Indians in their land." The officers, servants, and employees of the company necessary to the construction and management of the road should be allowed to reside, while so engaged upon the right of way.

On May 28, 1873, the Texas legislature passed an act to incorporate the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway Company. The road was built north from Galveston by people of the city.⁴ The directors at a special meeting held on August 1, 1883, adopted a resolution stating that in their opinion it was advisable for the company to secure a right of way through Indian Territory, west of Denison, and "that the Executive Committee be authorized to secure the same." At a meeting of the board of directors on September 8, 1884, a resolution was adopted instructing the general manager to send an engineer to examine the country on the proposed line of road from Fort Worth through Indian Territory to Kansas, with directions to report on the most feasible route, the nature and topography of the country, prospects, if any, for a supply of coal in the line, and on all matters relating to the cost of the road, and capabilities of the country through which it would run.

On November 25 Michael L. Lynch, locating engineer for the company, made a report on the country from Fort Worth

³ 23 Statutes, 73.

⁴ The first capital stock was sold by popular subscription in the City of Galveston, and the first bonds were taken by the stockholders. For a review of the Gulf company, see Elinore M. McDonough, "Building the Santa Fe," *Splinters loc. cit.*, vol. 7, pp. 222-269. The words "Santa Fe" common to the names of the Atchison and Gulf companies were significant only to the extent of designating a geographical point they both expected to reach.

north to Red River, and beyond through the Indian Territory.⁵ He said of the region north of Gainesville:

Especially would a town established at the crossing of Red River furnish considerable freight, as there is a large amount of cotton raised in the Chickasaw Nation across the river, nearly all of which is now tributary to Gainesville, and is hauled over the Missouri Pac. road. You would intercept a considerable amount of this at the river, and get your share of the balance at Gainesville, and in addition would be most favorably located for the hauling of stock cattle from the breeding grounds of the south for distribution to the pastures of the "Pan Handle" and the Territory, besides such cattle as would be intended for direct shipment to Kansas. Of the amount of cotton raised in the Chickasaw Nation, Gainesville alone ships about 20,000 bales annually.

Lynch considered the matter of constructing a road from Gainesville to Okmulgee but recommended another route. In his judgment a line should be built north and south through the territory in continuation of the main line in Texas to a connection with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe at the Kansas line, or to a junction with them at some point in the Indian Territory, should they decide to come farther south. Lynch said: "By extending in this manner, as recommended, you would have a direct through line from the Gulf to a connection with the Railway System of the southwest, and an air [straight] line and at a distance (Galveston to Hunnewell) of only 670 miles, the greatest advantages of which are too obvious to need comment from me." Lynch noted that the Oklahoma country west of the Indian Meridian was smoother and more of an open prairie than to the south and east, and so continued quite up to the Kansas line, and was in consequence much more favorable to railroad construction than the country to the south and east. He said:

The entire country (where not cultivated) during my examination (October and November) was covered with a rich growth of luxuriant grass, which would average 12 to 14 inches in height, and was still green and succulent enough to cut for hay. There are a great many cattle in the country but the effect of their grazing could not be noticed on the range, which is capable of supporting many millions more without injury. The cattle seen on the trip were in remarkably fine condition, fat, and sleek, and fit for the market as they stood without any hand feeding. A very small portion of these cattle are owned by individual members of the several tribes, the great majority being owned by large stockmen or stock companies from the States, who acquire the right to live in the country through marriage, which confers citizenship in a certain form with right to hold land, stock, etc. Many who hold citizenship as above become members of Stock Companies or hold stock on the range for other parties for a share of the profits.

⁵ Lynch's report is dated Nov. 25, 1884, and is in *Splinters, loc. cit.*, vol. 7, pp. 181-190.

A new organization under an old name was effected when twenty companies in the vicinity of southern Kansas united to form the Southern Kansas Railway Company, by articles of consolidation dated April 16, 1885.⁶ Incorporation was under the laws of Kansas. An amendment was made to the charter to conform with the act of Congress of July 4, 1884.

On March 3, 1886, an agreement was reached by which the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe purchased the entire capital stock of the Gulf company, giving its stock at par for stock of the Gulf. The Gulf agreed to build a road from Fort Worth north into Indian Territory to meet the Atchison at Walnut Creek, now Purcell, and to complete it in one year, or in time for the cattle movement to pastures.

The Southern Kansas Railway Company built south from Arkansas City, and on November 29, the first regular train schedule became effective. It provided for an accommodation train each way from Arkansas City to present Ponca City. Stations were located about ten miles apart, the distance being determined by the productivity of the region. A station was at Deer Creek (now Guthrie), and another was on the banks of the North Canadian, both being established on an unoccupied expanse of prairie.⁷ Thousands of men were employed in building the two rail lines, which on April 26, 1887, were joined at Purcell.

⁶For a history of the Southern Kansas Railway Company, see the valuation of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, *Inter-state Commerce Commission Reports*, vol. 127, (1927), pp. 410-416. A copy of the executed contract of March 3, 1886, (no. 4899) is in the Library of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Company. The stockholders were notified of the agreement by circular dated May 15, 1886.

⁷Austin B. Griggs, valuation engineer for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, was a student of the history of the railroad. He wrote:

"Col. J. W. F. Hughes of Topeka was appointed Roadmaster, December 1, 1886, and had charge of the track work from Ponca to Purcell. He says that he built the first houses at the present locations of Guthrie, Edmond, and Oklahoma City, no towns or improvements having been built prior to the construction of the railroad through these locations. The houses that he built were constructed of track ties and were used to house the track men.

"When the track work was nearing Purcell, it appeared that the Company was behind time to reach the connection at that point under the time limit placed by the Federal Government and to avoid the possibilities of delay, M. C. H. Curtis, Chief Clerk to Mr. Robinson, came down the line with a locomotive and bunk car, picked up all the Station Agents and the Roadmaster, cut the telegraph line and went on to the south end of the line near Purcell where they remained for a few days so that the U. S. Marshal could not find anyone upon whom to serve an injunction. A writ was issued at Muskogee but was not served before the connection was made at Purcell, 154 miles south of Arkansas City."

Frank J. Best, an employee of the Santa Fe, recalled that shortly after the completion of the railroad "the stock rush of Texas cattle began to roll to pastures in northern Indian Territory and southern Kansas."⁸ By June 12, the entire line across present Oklahoma was in operation. A July timetable in the archives of the Santa Fe shows that on the Arkansas City Extension an express train left Arkansas City at 9:40 a.m., reached Oklahoma at 1:36 p.m., and Purcell at 2:55 p.m. The northbound express left Purcell at 1 p.m., reached Oklahoma at 2:17 p.m., and Arkansas City at 6:45 p.m.

The July timetable lists the station as "Oklahoma," with Verbeck nine miles farther south. A post office was established at "Oklahoma Station" on December 30 with Samuel H. Radebaugh as postmaster.⁹ The name was shortened to "Oklahoma" on December 18, 1888. A clerk who wrote the regimental returns for the Fifth Cavalry in September, 1889, referred to "Oklahoma," and the next month he gave the location as "Oklahoma City." Santa Fe records show that the company changed the name to "Oklahoma City" on December 1, 1901, which name first appears on the *Official List* dated January 1, 1902. The post office was changed to "Oklahoma City" by order of the Postmaster General effective July 1, 1923. However, envelopes continued to be postmarked "Oklahoma" for several weeks, Colonel George H. Shirk having one dated September 14.

A. W. Durham (or Dunham) became Santa Fe agent at Oklahoma Station on February 20, 1888, and remained in the position about eleven years. He said: "When I took charge of the station it was the only agency between Arkansas City

A copy of the paper by Griggs is in the Oklahoma Historical Society. It was an address before the Guthrie Rotary Club, dated February 10, 1939. A contemporary photo of the first Santa Fe train to cross into present Oklahoma is in the *Santa Fe Magazine*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Jan., 1940), p. 13.

⁸In the Santa Fe archives in Chicago are two articles by Best: "Early Day Account of the Santa Fe Railway in Oklahoma," and "The Santa Fe Railway as an Oklahoma Pioneer." Copies are in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

As new track was laid it was the practice for the construction department to accept shipments as an accommodation to the public. Regular tariffs were not published until the track officially was turned over to operation. June 12, 1887, was the official date when regularly scheduled passenger service over the line was begun.

⁹Photographs of the first post office and of Radebaugh's certificate of appointment are in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1958), pp. 74-76; see also E. H. Kelly, "When Oklahoma City was Seymour and Verbeck," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 347-353; NA, Records of Appointments of Postmasters, vol. 101, *Oklahoma*, p. 161. The present site of Oklahoma City was called Verbeck at the time the railroad was constructed.

and Purcell, a distance of 154 miles, and it supplied a vast area of country, including the Sac and Fox, Kickapoo, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa and Comanche agencies, as well as the Fort Reno military post."¹⁰ George Gibson operated a boarding shack near the station, and a stage ran regularly between the station and Fort Reno. Indian freight amounted to about a million pounds a month, some of it being hauled by freighters a hundred miles. In 1888 a thousand carloads of cattle were shipped from the station. Outgoing freight included a carload or two of buffalo horns, and a number of carloads of bones of cattle and buffalo gathered by enterprising nesters. Among the first travel groups to "scramble for tickets" were squatters going to Purcell. They went there for a few days just before cavalry detachments from Fort Reno were dispatched to round up and deport intruders.

The Southern Kansas Railway Company operated the road from Arkansas City to Purcell until May 1 when it leased its properties to the Santa Fe for operation.¹¹ An addenda to the "Stockholders' Report" of the Santa Fe on December 31 said of Oklahoma district: "There is every reason to believe that the earnings of the Atchison line will be largely increased by the settlement of this region, as the line passes North and South through its entire length, and is the only railroad by which the country is directly reached."¹² Congress by an act of March 2, 1889, provided for disposition of the lands of Oklahoma district to actual settlers under the homestead laws. Frank J. Best said:

This sudden and wholly unexpected coming event caught the Santa Fe unprepared to cope with this torrent of business While every effort was put forth, and very much done, yet much more was needed, so that much confusion resulted and they had to resort to "Priority" on shipments. Carloads piled up that trackage

¹⁰ A. W. Durham, "A Correction," *Santa Fe Employees' Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (Feb. 1910), p. 76; "Oklahoma City Before the Run of 1889," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1958), pp. 72-78; Act. Com. W. M. Stone to the register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, June 8, 1891, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 6, pp. 63-76. In directories of Oklahoma City for 1889 and 1898 the name of the agent is A. W. Dunham.

¹¹ The two roads were merged on February 15, 1899.

¹² *Splinters*, loc cit., vol. 1. p. 87. Section 13 of the act of March 2, 1889, providing for the opening of Oklahoma district, is perhaps the best known "rider" in the legislative history of Oklahoma; 25 *Statutes*, 1005. On March 2 the section was included in an amendment introduced by the Senate Committee on Appropriations, which included Preston B. Plumb of Kansas. The amendment was amended in the Senate and in conference committee, and became law on the day of its introduction. The committee included Plumb and Representative Bishop W. Perkins of Kansas. The history of the "rider" is in the *Congressional Record*, March 2, 1889. In the National Archives a search among the files of the Senate Committee on Appropriations revealed no additional pertinent information.

could not accommodate, and all sidings as far north as Wichita and south to beyond Gainesville had carload shipments for Oklahoma points, principally Oklahoma and Guthrie.

On March 23, the day President Benjamin Harrison issued the proclamation for the opening of Oklahoma lands on April 22, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* carried a front-page article stating that at "Oklahoma City" the "woods seemed full of boomers." A reporter found that in the vicinity "the land is already every foot of it taken up as claims, and has been for years." He added: "Concealed in the bushes, in the woods, along the river banks, coming out only at night to go to the station to get the news, live at least 1,000 men."¹³ At the station or "city" was a depot, freight house, section house, hotel, post office, and other buildings. The Santa Fe had stockyards and side tracks. Just prior to the land opening the side tracks were greatly increased and the depot facilities were improved. In order to maintain the shipping point for Fort Reno, Harrison on April 20 set apart a quarter section known as the Military Reservation of Oklahoma Station.¹⁴

Companies were eager to secure rights to prospective townsites in Oklahoma district. On April 2, the Oklahoma Capital City Townsites and Improvement Company of Topeka, Kansas, made application to John Willock Noble, Secretary of the Interior, to locate and enter seventeen designated townsites in the district. F. P. Baker was president of the company and Le Grand Byington was secretary. The company proposed to enter the tracts as trustees for the prospective inhabitants under the provisions for townsite entries in

¹³ The *Kansas City Times* on April 20, 1889, reported that near Oklahoma City a deputy marshal with posse had "corralled in the woods and ravines a party of 300."

¹⁴ About a hundred pages concerning the reserve are in NA, GLO, Military Reservations, box 113. Included is a plat received by the Reservation Division of the Adjutant Generals Office on April 16, 1889. It embraces the southwest quarter of section 34 at Oklahoma City. The date of the executive order of the President is incorrectly given as April 9, 1889, in *Ann Rept., Gen. Land Office*, 1890, p. 170.

In 1887 the Quartermaster's Department erected a house at Oklahoma Station for use in shipping military supplies and for other purposes. Redfield Proctor, Secretary of War, requested that a quarter section be reserved "until such time as the military authorities may find it advantageous in the interests of economy to ship supplies for Fort Reno from some nearer and more accessible point;" Proctor to Sec. Int., April 11, 1889, NA, War Dept., *Letters Sent*, vol. 26, pp. 391-392.

J. W. Noble made the recommendation for the reserve to President Harrison on April 19, 1889, in the same letter in which he recommended that the location of the government acre at Guthrie be changed. The full document at the request of the General Land Office appeared in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 21, 1889. See also BLM (Bureau of Land Management), *Okl. Tract Books*, vol. 2, p. 144; *General Orders and Circulars*, *Adj. Gen. Office*, 1889, no. 60.

the act of March 2, 1889, and sections 2380-2388 of the *Revised Statutes*.¹⁵

The company said: "It is certain that many points on the lines of existing railroads and traffic will speedily become bustling 'centres of population' within the meaning of the laws of Congress, creating strife that threatens to verge on violence, if not crime. The claim of the homestead applicant is wholly incompatible with joint occupancy of a townsite, and any attempt to found towns thereon will result in confusion and disorder of most perplexing character." The company set forth that it was a quasi municipal body organized under the laws of Kansas, with ample facilities and with a special purpose to locate, plat, and develop towns on the public lands, for "the several uses and benefit of the inhabitants." The company offered to give bond in the sum of \$50,000, or such other sum as might be required, conditioned to faithfully perform the trust, according to law and the regulations of the General Land Office.

The Interior Department considered itself without authority to grant the application and was of the opinion that the sections cited did not apply to corporations of this character. Noble said that although the President might have the power to reserve lands for townsite purposes under Section 2380 of the *Revised Statutes*, such reservation could not be made for the benefit of a corporation of this character, but would be disposed of in the manner provided by law.

The following charter was filed for record in the office of the Secretary of State in Kansas on April 19, 1889:¹⁶

CHARTER OF THE SEMINOLE TOWN AND IMPROVEMENT COMPANY

The undersigned, citizens of the State of Kansas, do hereby voluntarily associate ourselves together for the purpose of forming a private corporation under the laws of the State of Kansas, and do hereby certify:

¹⁵ Baker and Byington to the President of the United States, April 9, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., box 681. The box contains a list of the proposed townsites and related papers. See also Com. Strother M. Stockslager to Byington, April 13, 1889, NA, GLO, *Misc. Letter Book*, vol. 40, p. 293; Stockslager to Noble, April 15, 1889, *ibid.*, "A" *Letter Book*, vol. 14, pp. 63-66; Noble to Com. Gen. Land Office, April 19, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent*, vol. 79, pp. 100-101. A printed announcement of the directors and bylaws of the company is in NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., box 674.

Byington became an inhabitant of Oklahoma City, and there asserted claim to seventy-four lots; Act. Com. W. M. Stone to Edgar N. Sweet, March 30, 1891, NA, GLO *Townsites*, vol. 5, pp. 285-288; Byington v. Townsite Board no. 2, NA GLO, townsite box 126; 13 L. D. 263 (1891).

¹⁶ The charter is in the Kansas State Historical Society, *Corporations Copy Books*, office of Secretary of State, vol. 36, p. 172.

First.

That the name of this corporation shall be the Seminole Town and Improvement Company.

Second.

That the purposes for which this corporation is formed are the purchase, location and laying out of townsites and the sale and conveyance of the same in lots and subdivisions or otherwise, to construct and operate street railways, electric and gas light works, water works, water power irrigating canals, toll bridges, ice manufacturies, the purchase and sale of negotiable securities in Kansas and elsewhere as the interest of the corporation may suggest.

Third.

That the place where its business is to be transacted is at Topeka, Kansas, and such other places as the directors may designate.

Fourth.

That the term for which this corporation is to exist is twenty years.

Fifth.

That the number of directors trustees of this corporation shall be five, and the names and residences of those who are appointed for the first year are:

J. W. Wilson	Topeka, Kansas
L. H. Crandall	Topeka, Kansas
J. A. Hudson	Lincoln, Illinois
Sidney Clark	Lawrence, Kansas
W. L. Couch	Douglas, Kansas

Sixth

That the estimated value of the goods, chattels, lands, rights, and credits owned by the corporation isdollars.

That the amount of the capital stock of this corporation shall be Seventeen hundred thousand [sic] dollars, and shall be divided into 1750 shares of one hundred dollars each. IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have hereunto subscribed our names, this..... day of April A. D. 1889.

SIGNED:

H. W. Linn, W. A. L. Thompson, Frank L. Webster, Sidney Clark, Geo. S. Chase.

The day before the land opening, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* said: "Oklahoma City is being rather overlooked, but its central location and extra railroad facilities of which it is assured will eventually bring it to the front."

Congress provided that townsites should be for the "inhabitants" thereof; and the act of March 2, 1889, specified that homesteads should be disposed of to "actual settlers." Those provisions were construed as giving occupants possessory rights which could grow into title, or could be sold in

the meantime. There was a dispute as to the meaning of the word "occupants." For Oklahoma City did it include only those who dwelt or lived upon lots they claimed? Did it include those who put improvements upon lots, or leased lots to tenants? If an occupant of a lot could sell his possessory right to it, why could not a group like the Seminole Town and Improvement Company occupy a townsite and sell possessory rights to the lots therein?¹⁷

THE FIRST WEEK

The original townsite of Oklahoma City comprised 240 acres between present Reno Avenue and Seventh Street, east of Walker Street. Angelo Cyrus Scott who arrived there Monday, April 22, said that a moment after 12 o'clock noon on that day the Seminole Town and Improvement Company "stepped upon the townsite at what is presently known as Main Street and began to stake off blocks, and then lots, according to a paper plat evidently previously made."¹⁸ Scott said that by the time the first legal settlers arrived more than an hour later the company had so outlined the street that it was distinctly recognizable. James Layman Brown on May 1 stated it more emphatically: "As early as 12:45 p.m. the town of Oklahoma City was surveyed and all valuable lots taken Perhaps the survey was made earlier, but that I cannot now prove. The lots were taken by persons sticking a stake on them bearing the name of the taker. These stakes were small and were soon trampled and broken down."¹⁹ According to Bunky, within twenty minutes after the opening "white tents dotted the country as far as the eye could see."²⁰

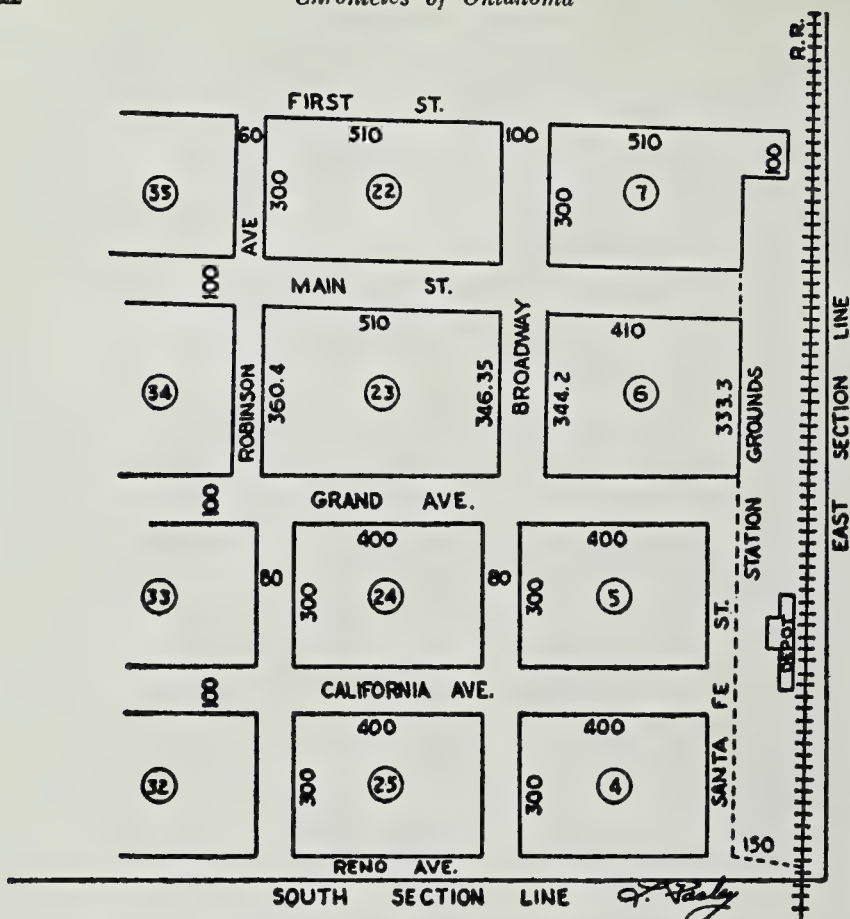
When the northbound train of twenty-three cars reached Oklahoma City near 1 p.m., the passengers learned that about

¹⁷ James Layman Brown thought that most of the certificates sold by the Seminole Town and Improvement Company brought about \$4.00 per lot. A form of certificate by which the company on April 27, 1889, sold and relinquished a lot to a purchaser is in L. B. Hill, *History of the State of Oklahoma*, vol. 1, p. 231.

¹⁸ A. C. Scott, *The Story of Oklahoma City*, p. 13. It was rumored that the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company worked in cooperation with the Seminole Town and Improvement Company; James F. Harrison to Sec. Int., April 29, 1889, box 681, *loc. cit.*; *Kansas City Times*, April 24, 1889. W. W. Scott, Charles and Angelo were brothers. See also A. C. Scott, "J. J. Burke—Pioneer Newspaper Man," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 2 (June, 1932), pp. 290-292.

¹⁹ Brown to Sec. Int., May 1, 1889, box 681 *loc. cit.*; tel. from Inspector John Alfred Pickler to Noble, May 12, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., box 680. On May 12 Pickler reported that the "Seminole survey" of Edmond was made before the hour of the land opening.

²⁰ Bunky [Irving Geffs], *The First Eight Months of Oklahoma City*, p.8.



Map of the southeast corner of Section 33 in Oklahoma City showing the adjusted surveys. Block numbers are circled. Other figures designate feet. The south section line is the center of Reno Avenue. Coming south the Santa Fe railroad intersected the northeast corner of the quarter section, out continued in a slightly southwest direction. The north boundary of the section is just south of Fourth Street. This street runs slightly in a northwest direction.

West of Broadway, except for Block 23, lots are numbered, beginning in the southeast corner of the block. Lots in Block 23 are numbered, beginning in the northeast corner of the block. North of Block 23 on Broadway the blocks are 300 feet wide. The distance from Main Street to Grand Avenue is 52.13 feet farther on Walker Street than on Broadway.

700 persons had been at work on the townsite. A reporter wrote: "The late comers were simply struck with amazement. They did not repeat the wild rush at Guthrie as they were too much astonished to run. They mechanically walked over to the townsite, took what the Government officials had kindly left, not wanting, and went on out two miles staking town lots."²¹ That evening Dr. Virgil Andrew Wood wrote from Oklahoma City: "It seems that but few law abiding men have

²¹ *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 25, 1889. Two locomotive engines drew the train on which were 2,500 persons; Cy Warman, *The Story of the Railroad*, ch. 19.

secured claims. Moonshiners popped up from almost every strip of timber and almost every ravine."²²

From Oklahoma City the only direct connection with the outside world was a single telegraph line strung along the railroad from Arkansas City to Purcell. The railroad company used the wire to its full capacity, largely for train messages. At Oklahoma City on April 22, General Wesley Merritt had a line of couriers to Fort Reno to keep in communication with military authorities. This was because of "much confusion on line of railroad." Passengers and freight made a heavy demand on the railroad, and "a stock rush was on moving Texas cattle to pasture." Avery Turner was superintendent of the Southern Division of the Santa Fe which included the Arkansas City Extension. He often remarked that the land opening "made a very hard summer's work for him."²³

Frank McMaster who arrived at Oklahoma City on the night of April 22 said that a "half-dozen townsite companies" were present at the opening. One of them was the Oklahoma Town Company or "Oklahoma Colony," an unincorporated body of individuals recruited from towns in Kansas. Because it was formed at Colony it was called the "Colony Crowd." Dr. Delos Walker of Greely, Kansas, or Reverend James Murray of Baldwin, Kansas, was president of the company. Among the leaders were James H. McCartney, John Holzapfel, and C. P. Walker, brother of Dr. Walker. A. C. Scott thought it probable that the first legal settlers at Oklahoma City were members of this company. They approached from the south about 1:10 p.m., and on finding the Seminole Town and Improvement Company in possession of the most desirable site, proceeded to settle upon the Military Reservation of Oklahoma Station, a quarter section east of the railroad and north of present Reno Avenue. More than 200 members of the company came to Oklahoma City.²⁴

²² Wood to Editor, *Visitor*, April 22, 1889, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1956), pp. 305-306.

Persons who entered Oklahoma district during the prohibitory period or after March 2, 1889, and before the hour of noon of April 22, were called "moonshiners," presumably because they came in by the light of the moon. According to a contemporary observer, the word "sooner" was not applied to them for five or six months after the opening.—Dan W. Peery, "The First Two Years," *ibid*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (Sept., 1929), p. 284.

²³ R. E. Logan, "Avery Turner Celebrates his Fiftieth Year of Continuous Service," *Santa Fe Magazine*, Vol. XIX (Aug., 1925), pp. 15-20.

²⁴ Marion Tuttle Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*, p. 72. Dr. Delos Walker came to Oklahoma City "because of the novelty and excitement" of the land opening. A sketch of the life of Walker and his photograph are in Hill, *loc. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 8-9.

While the Oklahoma Town Company was thus futilely spending the afternoon of April 22, their rivals, the Seminole Town and Improvement Company, was carrying out with high efficiency a well-planned operation. Louis O. Dick, their agent, was at the Guthrie land office where the following notation was dimly inscribed with pencil in a tract book: "Townsite application, April 22 89 at 3:15 P.M."²⁵ Before John I. Dille, register, Dick made the following affidavit: "I, Louis O. Dick of Guthrie applying to enter a townsite do solemnly swear, that neither I nor any of its occupants thereof did enter upon and occupy any portion of the lands described and declared open to entry in the President's proclamation dated March 23, 1889, prior to 12 o'clock, noon, of April 22, 1889." The application was as follows:

I, Louis O. Dick, Trustee, as set forth in the affidavit and certificate hereto attached, do hereby apply to enter the following described tracts of land, which have been settled upon and occupied as a townsite, to wit: The SE $\frac{1}{4}$ and the S $\frac{1}{2}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 33, T. 12N., Range 3W., also the N $\frac{1}{2}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 4, T. 11N., R. 3W., all in the Guthrie Land District, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, in trust for the several use and benefit of the occupants thereof, according to their respective interests, as and for a townsite, as provided in Sections 2387 and 2388, Revised Statutes of the United States; a duly authenticated plat of which said townsite will be presented, to be attached to this application, as soon as the same can be prepared, and at which time my authority to make this application will also be presented. Lou O. Dick.

The following minutes were made at a meeting of "the occupants of the townsite of Oklahoma City":

Be it remembered that at a meeting of the occupants of the lands above described, held after twelve o'clock noon, of the 22nd day of April, 1889, the following proceedings were had.

The occupants of said tracts being duly summoned and assembled together, the meeting was called to order by the Hon. D. T. Littler of Illinois who stated the objects of the meeting. On motion, Hon. Sidney Clarke of Kansas was elected chairman, and Louis H. Wolfe, secretary. It was then moved, and unanimously adopted that Louis O. Dick be elected and declared the trustee of the occupants of said lands, to file an application in the Land Office at Guthrie, to enter the same for the purposes of a townsite, for the benefit of the occupants thereof, according to their respective interests. On motion, unanimously adopted, it was ordered that the plat of said townsite,

²⁵ NA GLO, *Okla. Tract Book*, vol. 35, p. 143. Dick's affidavit, and the application and plat of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company are in NA, GLO, townsite box 140. A photostatic copy of the documents are in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

On January 16, 1891, John H. Burford and John C. Delaney, register and receiver of the Oklahoma City land office, said: "There is no evidence showing who Lewis O. Dick is or was, where he resides, or then resided, or for whom or in what capacity he was acting." The statement is in *Townsite Trustees v. George E. Thornton and Edward A. DeTar*, townsite box 140, *loc cit*.

as prepared by the Seminole Town and Improvement Company, a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Kansas, which said plat was there exhibited, be, and the same was approved and adopted as the plat of said townsite: That the name of said town be Oklahoma City, and that said Seminole Town and Improvement Company be, and at the time were duly authorized to cause said lands to be surveyed and laid out in accordance therewith, and that said trustee be authorized and directed to attach an authentic copy of said plat to this application to enter said land, as soon as the same could be done.

A "true copy of said minutes" was written in longhand on foolscap paper and "of and for the occupants" was signed by the following persons: Sidney Clarke, president; Louis H. Wolfe, secretary; Jno. E. Frost, Chas. Chamberlin, E. G. Hudson, L. H. Crandell, W. B. Searle, R. C. Bailey, D. T. Littler, Bluford Wilson, James B. Weaver, S. D. Macdonald, Jr., J. S. Zinn, D. A. Harvey. Clarke and Weaver had served in Congress.

When the Oklahoma Town Company learned that they were on the military reservation they went west of the railroad, and an election was held on April 22. In the National Archives is the "Poll-Book" listing 304 electors.²⁶

The judges at the election were John Holzapfel, Henry A. Miller, and C. C. Kincaid. City officers were elected, the number of votes being as follows: James Murray, mayor, 304; C. P. Walker, clerk, 302; Robert Kincaid, treasurer, 304; M. H. Woods, attorney, 303; John Holzapfel, police judge, 300; J. F. Harrison, engineer, 304. The following councilmen were elected and each received 304 votes: H. A. Miller, Samuel Crum, F. Harpster, J. F. Donahoe, A. L. Woodford. On April 23 Murray subscribed to the following oath before John M. Galloway, United State Commissioner, District of Kansas for the Indian Territory: "I do hereby solemnly swear that I will support the constitution of the United States and perform the duties of Mayor of the City of Oklahoma to the best of my ability. So help me God." J. L. Brown considered it a misfortune for the Oklahoma Town Company that Murray was "a very meek, reasonable and just man, and in no sense a boomer." He said that the Seminole Town and Improvement Company took no part whatever in the election.

The Oklahoma Town Company allied itself with the citizens' movement which asserted a special interest in the region between present Reno Avenue and Grand Avenue, east of Walker Street. In 1890 Marion Tuttle Rock wrote of the situation on April 22, 1889:

²⁶ The "Poll Book" is in NA,, GLO, townsit box 140. Note the names of Macdonald, and Zinn in the minutes, and in the poll book. See *Appendix A* for the names of the 304 electors.

The plateau upon which Oklahoma City is now built, for fully half a mile square, was covered with people. All were selecting lots, regardless of streets or lines; and although confusion reigned supreme, good-humor prevailed, and beyond loud talking there were neither brawls nor strifes. At nightfall on that eventful day, Oklahoma City had a population of fully six thousand people During the evening meetings were held with a view of devising means whereby the conflicting surveys could be satisfactorily adjusted.

On the forenoon of April 23 an unsuccessful effort was made to get "the two town companies to adjust their surveys." The citizens' movement then called a mass meeting to be held at 3 p.m. just west of the present Huckins Hotel. A. C. Scott was elected chairman. A citizens' committee of fourteen men was chosen and empowered to survey the townsite and divide it into streets, alleys, blocks, and lots. Members of the committee came from not less than nine states. They were M. V. Barney, John A. Blackburn, W. H. Ebey, D. J. Moore, D. E. Murphy, Charles W. Price, William Raney, Angelo C. Scott, C. T. Scott, W. P. Shaw, Oscar H. Violet, J. B. Wheeler, M. H. Woods, B. N. Woodson. Listed in the poll book were Blackburn, A. C. Scott, C. T. Scott, Wheeler, Woods, and Woodson.

C. T. Scott thus summed up the situation confronting the people: "There were tents all over the streets and everywhere, and they knew it had to be adjusted." He also said:²⁷

The reason the committee of fourteen was appointed was this: There was a company up surveying off the north side of the city, and giving lots for \$10, and a great many people could not get their rights. I think this election was generally acquiesced in, nearly every person in the city at that time was present, and they finally come to the conclusion to elect a committee for the purpose of surveying the city, and that the survey had been commenced by the Seminole Town Company. Some of these people thought that they were not getting their rights. The committee was elected for the purpose of surveying the city into lots and blocks, and adjusting people on their lots.

Secretary Hoke Smith said the committee was "the outgrowth of the emergency of the hour." The mass meeting lasted three hours, and the citizens' committee began its labors that night. No rules were provided to govern their deliberations. They proceeded to organize by electing Blackburn as

²⁷ Testimony of C. T. Scott in the case of Herbert S. Butler and W. C. Arnold v. C. B. Bickford, Nov. 15, 1890, NA, GLO, townsite box 125. Scott said of the election of the committee of fourteen: "The mass meeting convened out here on the prairie. I was elected as one. A man was proposed. All the people were strangers together. The person proposed had to stand up in a wagon and sometimes he was elected and sometimes was rejected. As a rule he was elected. A resolution was passed that not more than one man should be elected from one state. I was elected from Texas, and I think there was another man from Texas. Otherwise each man represented about a state."

chairman. A vice chairman and secretary were chosen, and minutes kept. A townsite of 320 acres was designated. Price said it was the duty of the committee to employ "a corps of engineers and lay off lots and adjust lots to different claimants."²⁸ The committee divided its work and divided itself into subcommittees, five acting all the time as the awarding committee. A rule was adopted that where there was a conflict between the parties, contestants being present and presenting their claims, the awarding committee would then and there pass upon and award the lot to the party claimant appearing from the testimony to be entitled to it as prior staker. Violet said that by a resolution, the committee of fourteen decided "to take as the initial point of the survey the southeast corner of the quarter section, and run a line westward on the township line."

On Wednesday morning, April 24, the citizens' movement with its committee of fourteen began to survey lots, one and a half days behind the well-planned schedule of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company. This survey was by many considered arbitrary, and "drew together such a vast concourse of people that the military was called out to hold the crowd back so that the committee could proceed with its work." The section line, used by the surveyors as a base line, is now the center of Reno Avenue. The work was known as the citizens' survey and proceeded north from the base line. Thus in Oklahoma City proper was laid out the first avenue or street running due east and west.

Trailing far behind Louis O. Dick, James Murray sent by mail an application to the Guthrie land office. It was presented for filing on April 24 at 9 a.m. The statement in the application was Murray's swan song for mayor. It said:²⁹

I, James Murray of Oklahoma having been duly elected as Mayor of the Town of Oklahoma City in Oklahoma, Indian Territory, do hereby apply to purchase for the several use and benefit of the inhabitants of the town of Oklahoma aforesaid, the E $\frac{1}{2}$, section 33, Township 12, Range 3 West containing three hundred and twenty

²⁸ See the testimony of Price and Violet given December 12, 1890, in the Frank McMaster case, NA. GLO, townsite box 126.

²⁹ Murray's application filed on April 24, 1889, is in NA, GLO, townsite box 140. Appended to the application is the following statement: "I, C. P. Walker, the duly elected Clerk of the town of Oklahoma City do hereby certify that James Murray who makes the above application to file the above application for the use and in behalf of the citizens of Oklahoma City was duly elected and installed as the Mayor (or the presiding officer) of said town and is qualified to act as such." In religion Murray's work was more durable, for he organized the M. E. Church in Oklahoma City. See also, "First Church Services in Oklahoma City After April 22, 1889," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1956), p. 118.

acres according to plat on file in the land office, for which I have agreed with the Register to give at the rate of one 25/100 dollars per acre.

Station grounds of the Santa Fe were rectangular, extending from just south of First Street almost to the southeast corner of section 33. The rectangle extended 150 feet west of the railroad. The southwestern slant was corrected by the citizens' survey south of Grand Avenue by establishing Santa Fe Street, two blocks long. The west side of the street was drawn at a right angle to the east and west section line. Hence, Santa Fe Street is about sixty feet wide at the south end and about ten feet wider at the north end.

The chief work of the citizens' survey was the establishment of California Avenue 100 feet wide, with five blocks on each side of it. The blocks are 300 feet wide and 400 feet long, and uniformly contain 32 lots to the block. They conform exactly to the pattern of the Dick plat for the area between Robinson Avenue and Hudson Avenue, north of Main Street.³⁰ North and south avenues made by the citizens' survey were 80 feet wide. There remained along the west side a strip about 70 feet wide which was named Walker Street, a highway not provided for on the Dick plat. This was a mistake in the Seminole survey because it reached beyond the half section line and caused Walker Street to be located too far west. The citizens' survey wanted east and west avenues south of Main Street to be 100 feet wide, and not 80 feet as designated on the Dick plat.

Some of the committee of fourteen aided the surveyors. Violet said: "My duty was to mark and number the stakes and most of the time I was following the surveyors putting the numbers on the stakes. They sometimes were a block and sometimes a block and a half ahead of me." The awarding committee settled numerous contests summarily on the spot. They did not administer an oath, or give any printed or written notice of their action, but recorded their decisions in a book. Violet said that about the time the awarding committee was in action it was "uniformly" the case that every fellow was on his lot looking after it. In some cases the committee seems to have been two weeks behind the surveyors.

John A. Blackburn said he came to Oklahoma City on April 20 or "before it was made." In testifying of his services

³⁰ This part of the Dick plat became permanent. The citizens' survey was in contrast to the Dick plat in regard to size of blocks and arrangement of lots along Broadway.

performed about April 25 as a member of the awarding committee he said:³¹

The way we proceeded in the award, there was a good many people following along with the committee as they proceeded to award lots. The committee found it necessary to make a pen and get inside, so as to keep together and keep the crowd away. Three pieces forming a triangle was fixed together, and that was carried by the crowd as they went along awarding lots. In coming to this lot the usual question was asked: "Who owns this lot?" And Mr. [D. E.] Murphy, a member of the committee, claimed that he owned the lot. The next question which was usually asked: "Is there anybody else claiming this lot?"

The awarding committee possessed no authority to determine the legal rights between different claimants, but they had power behind them, supported by public sentiment, to enforce their decisions. They issued certificates for virtually all the lots in the citizens' survey, extending from Reno Avenue to just north of Grand Avenue.³² Herbert S. Butler said that the certificates were recognized by the people as an almost absolute title at the time of issuance. Violet and C. T. Scott agreed that the certificates were generally recognized by the people. Violet said the certificates "were the result of the committee's examination into the facts at the time immediately after all this occurred. Were given only upon the examination of the committee and the subcommittees when they became satisfied that the claimant was the occupant of the lot."

On April 26 Dick mailed to the Guthrie land office "The Seminole Town and Improvement Company's plat of Oklahoma City, Indian Territory," and with it a copy of the minutes of

³¹ Testimony of Blackburn on February 2, 1891, before the board of townsite trustees in the case of Betts v. Townley, NA, GLO, townsite box 129; 20 L. D. 425 (1859). This concerned lots on the northwest corner of California Avenue and Robinson Street, finally awarded to C. S. Townley; BLM, *Oklahoma City Tract Book*, p. 17. See also *Oklahoma City v. Townley*, District Court of Oklahoma County, no. 203.

Assistant Commissioner Edward A. Bowers found that in the judicial processes of provisional government of Oklahoma City some assertions were "more emphatic than elegant." Such was the case of Murphy's opponent, "Rattlesnake Jack" McKee of whom Blackburn said: "The question was asked if there was anybody else claiming that lot. Some man over in the crowd said: 'Yes sir. By god I staked it, and I got the witness for it.'" Blackburn said that sometimes 500 to 800 persons gathered around the committee when it awarded lots. Frank Harrah noted that there was "a good deal of talk going on, quite noisy." H. F. Betts said that a committee was appointed "to throw men off who got on lots that were awarded to others." Harrah added: "I have known parties to have their lumber burned, and get into trouble about going on a lot after it was awarded to another."

³² Testimony of O. H. Violet in case of Herbert S. Butler and W. C. Arnold v. C. B. Bickford, Nov. 15, 1890, NA, GLO, townsite box 125. A town-lot certificate issued to H. S. Butler and signed by M. H. Woods, Secretary of the Citizens' Committee, is in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1958), p. 93.

the meeting on April 22 of "the occupants of the townsite of Oklahoma City."³³ The plat is 24 by 30 inches and is of substantial plat material. Perhaps no other document is as revealing as this plat in showing the influence of the company in laying out Oklahoma City. The survey was made by Charles Chamberlin who Dan W. Perry said was a "sooner" from Great Bend, Kansas. Chamberlin made the survey "at the instance of a private citizen, whose name he refused to disclose" at a hearing subsequently held by the register and receiver of the Guthrie land office. There is no evidence that Dick was a sooner, but he filed a plat made by a sooner.

Angelo C. Scott as chairman of the citizens' committee sent the following telegram to the Secretary of the Interior on April 26: "Please do not accept plat of Seminole Town Company or any other company for this townsite. Citizens' survey now in progress."³⁴ On the same day Strother M. Stockslager, Commissioner of the General Land Office, replied: "No right of townsite entry by private corporation can be recognized in any way under the law." The Seminole Town and Improvement Company claimed the right to issue lot certificates and to charge the lot holders for them.³⁵ Scott and other leading men in Oklahoma City opposed to the company knew that its actions were without legal basis. It was to get official confirmation of this fact that Scott sent the telegram.

On April 26 the citizens' survey reached Clarke Street, now Grand Avenue, where it met the survey of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company. If the citizens' survey were continued it would disturb the survey made by the company, including the location of Main Street and Broadway. In conference that evening the committee of fourteen decided to resume their survey the following morning. Angelo C. Scott wanted to harmonize the surveys for reasons of expediency but the other members of the committee voted unanimously against his recommendation and he resigned from the committee. On the morning of April 27 the citizens' survey was stopped by threat of force emanating from the Seminole Town and Improvement Company. Mrs. Rock wrote:

The people had already settled on this survey, and the committee soon discovered that any attempt to enforce a change in

³³ The plat was received at the Guthrie land office after 4 p.m. on April 27 and before 9 a.m. on April 29. It was filed on April 29 at 9 a.m. The land office called this an "amended plat and application" for the townsite.

³⁴ Tel. from Scott to Sec. Int., April 26, 1889, NA, GLO, 50933-1889; tel. from Stockslager to Scott, April 26, 1889, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 17, p. 306.

³⁵ Peery, *op. cit.*

such settlements would only end in riot and bloodshed. The people stood firm. A subcommittee was appointed to aid the surveyors in their work, but the people would not yield. The surveyors would run their lines and set their stakes, only to have them immediately removed by the people. The danger line had been crossed, and the different town-site companies were forced to realize the fact that the will of the unorganized mass of the people, however, expressed, must be respected. The leaders paused. There was a look on the faces of those thousands of homeseekers that was portentous of evil. The excitement was at fever heat, and many a hand was seen to grasp the ever-ready weapon. Bloodshed seemed imminent.

A general meeting "of fully four thousand" was held at 2 p.m. at which Angelo C. Scott presided. It was agreed that five men should be chosen by the north side party and five men by the south side party to comprise the citizens' adjustment committee or conference committee. Chosen by the north side were James B. Weaver, William L. Couch, Angelo C. Scott, Moses Neal, and M. M. Beaty. The south side chose John T. Voss, John Wallace, C. P. Walker, M. V. Barney, and C. T. Scott. Weaver was chosen as chairman. Wallace said: "I was on the Grand Avenue committee, and there was a Main Street committee. There was a Seminole survey and there was a citizens' survey and we got together to make a compromise between those two surveys."³⁶ James Geary, Oklahoma City banker, stated it thus: "There were two surveys, one from the north and the other from the south. They didn't join, and the citizens' committee undertook as I understood it to stop there and settle it as it stood."

The conference committee was concerned primarily with the five blocks between Main Street and Grand Avenue, east of Walker Street. On the Dick plat the streets south of Main are Clarke, Couch, Frost, Peck, Noel, and Sommers. On the plat Broadway and Main Street are 100 feet wide. Robinson, Harvey, and Hudson are 60 feet wide. All east and west streets except Main are 80 feet wide.³⁷

Oklahoma City proper was in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 33. Coming south the Santa Fe railroad intersected the northeast corner of the quarter section, and continued in a slightly southwestern direction. The east border of the Dick plat is

³⁶ See the testimony of Wallace and Geary given December 12, 1890, in the Frank McMaster case, NA, GLO, townsite box 126. Listed in the poll book were A. C. Scott, C. T. Scott, Walker, and Wallace. See also Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma, A History of the State and Its People*, vol. 2, pp. 543-551; 893-894.

³⁷ On the Dick plat the blocks on the south side of Main Street correspond with those on the north side, except that on Broadway the east and west lots in blocks 6 and 23 are on the south side of the blocks; on the north side of Main Street east and west lots in blocks 7 and 22 are on the north side of the blocks.

parallel to the railroad and is 150 feet west of it. In actual survey use was made of a north and south line 50 feet from the railroad, north of the station grounds. This added four lots, each 25 feet wide, to the tier of blocks along the east border of the plat, north of the station grounds. Main Street was at a right angle to the railroad and runs slightly to the northwest; and streets to the north were laid out parallel to Main Street.

It has been explained that the citizens' survey took the southeast corner of the quarter section as the initial point. Reno Avenue, California Avenue, and Grand Avenue were laid out at right angles to the east section line, not to the railroad. These avenues run directly east and west. The citizens' survey overlapped that of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company, cutting off the north end of blocks on Clarke Street. This overlap was about 37 feet at the station grounds and became greater as the line proceeded west.

The conference committee proceeded promptly to adjust the two surveys. Violet said that "upon the settlement the line of the Seminole was withdrawn to the alley between Grand [Avenue] and Main Street, and the citizens' survey was allowed to stand up to the alley, conforming in part with the Seminole's." A public square was designated in the center of each of the five blocks between Main Street and Grand Avenue.³⁸ A total of twenty wedge lots, running east and west, were placed in the five blocks. Angelo C. Scott said the lots were established "much as a mason throws fillers into a stone wall." The distance from Main Street to Grand Avenue is 52.13 feet farther on Walker Street than on Broadway. All the blocks in the quarter section and in the 80 acres comprising the region between Fourth Street and Seventh Street, kept permanently the numbers assigned to them on the Dick plat.

The most conspicuous landmarks commemorating the junction of the two surveys are jogs in the streets where they cross Grand Avenue, and the change in width of the streets at that place. Coming north, Walker Street runs abruptly into block 62 at the north side of Grand Avenue, the west border of the street south of the avenue being in line with the west side of block 62.

The east side of Broadway jogs about 50 feet to the west at the intersection of Grand Avenue. The cause of the jogs

³⁸ The public square in each of the five blocks contained in the aggregate 2,700 square feet, and for this land a patent was issued to Oklahoma City on January 10, 1919; NA, GLO, Guthrie no. 011935; act of May 2, 1890, 26 *Statutes*, 81; BLM, *Record of Patents*, no. 658259. In regard to the sale of the lands, see act of March 12, 1928, 45 *Statutes*, 427.

on the south side of the avenue was the establishment of Santa Fe Street, and the policy of the citizens' survey to make uniform blocks and avenues west of it. If Santa Fe Street had not been established the jog on Broadway scarcely would be noticed, but the other jogs on Grand Avenue would have been more pronounced: and there would have been no street in front of the railway depot. If the citizens' survey had not been made, the Seminole Town and Improvement Company certainly would have continued their survey as shown on the Dick plat. There would have been no occasion to make jogs on Grand Avenue, nor would the oddities have been made between that avenue and Main Street.³⁹ The Seminole Town and Improvement Company should have taken a section line as a base line, but since time was of the essence they probably thought it advantageous to operate from the railroad.

At a general mass meeting at dusk on Saturday, April 27, Weaver read the report of the conference committee. It was heartily approved and became an established fact in Oklahoma City.⁴⁰ However many persons found their claims were in the streets because they had selected lots entirely at random, or were adversely effected by the change of surveys.⁴¹ Violet observed that the conflict was "more marked" when a settler lost because of the change of surveys.

(To Continue With Part Two)
"PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT"

APPENDIX A

List from the "Poll Book" (National Archives) giving the names of electors in the Oklahoma Town Company election, Oklahoma City, April 22, 1889:

J. Adams, Martin L. Adams, W. S. Adkins, W. C. Alexander, F. E. Allen, J. P. Allison, L. J. Amos, P. R. Amos, G. R. Arnold, J. T. Babb, H. Baker, J. W. Baldock, J. W. Bales, W. B. Barker, A. A. Barnes, Andrew Barnett, J. J. Barr, John Barratt, J. H. Barry, J. L. Barry, J. W. Beard, M. N. Beatty, G. F. Benner, Jacob Binder, John A. Blackburn, W. L. Blanton, S. H. Brannen, Louis Bredeen, D. P. Bricker, D. D. Britton, John Brogan, James Brown, M. Brown, J. C. Burrows, D. M. Buttler, N. Button, B. B. Camp, E. J. Campbell, J. Camp-

³⁹ It is well said that "these 'scars of a bloodless conflict' remind us that the colonizers of Oklahoma City were aware of civic responsibilities and concerned for orderly conduct in public affairs".—Lucyl Shirk, *Oklahoma City: Capital of Soonerland*, p. 44.

⁴⁰ "Joy in Oklahoma City," *Kansas City Times*, April 29, 1889.

⁴¹ The second article of this series will explain how the provisional government of Oklahoma City dealt with town lots, and how its power in that respect was virtually terminated by the famous "statu quo" order issued by the Justice Department on January 31, 1890.

See *Appendix B* for description of the original Oklahoma City land tract and table showing its settlement process, recorded in the *Oklahoma Tract Books*.

bell, Thomas Carlisle, J. N. Carr, S. J. Carroll, S. J. Carter, W. H. Carter, A. B. Chaffee, W. W. Chenault, E. E. Clark, H. C. Clutter, R. N. Coffee, George W. Cole, J. N. Coleman, W. B. Condon, S. Crum, S. Daube, J. P. Davis, R. A. Davis, Thomas A. Dean, Charles T. Deavenport, I. G. Denney, H. F. Dewolf.

J. F. Donahoe, J. H. Donaldson, F. E. Downig, H. Driggs, W. M. Driggs, Charles Dufrence, J. D. Duncan, A. L. Dunn, S. Durall, W. P. Easton, J. D. Edwards, Daniel Egan, L. Ellison, J. T. Farrall, Sam Ferson, J. W. Flora, H. A. Floyd, Oscar Foust, A. B. Freeman, A. L. Frick, Samuel Frist, A. R. Froman, J. S. Galbrait, M. F. Gard, J. H. Garner, J. B. Garrison, J. B. Gaylord, W. A. F. Gehr, H. C. Gharst, George M. Gibbs, W. S. Gilbert, W. J. Gilbreth, G. W. Gipson, Wood Greshem, W. H. Guy, C. B. Haley, William Hamlin, S. H. Hancock, Henry Hanks, T. H. Harder, R. Hardy, D. F. Harness, H. S. Harp, Fred Harpster, Frank Harrah, J. A. Hartzell, J. N. Harvey, W. F. Haskett, Isaac Hass, J. F. Heckman, S. F. Heisler, J. C. Hendrix, A. Heran, W. L. Hesp, H. F. Higby, George Hill, J. P. Hiner, Alex Hines, George Hines, W. S. Hodges, D. Hollingsworth, Burt Holmes, C. J. Holthoefer.

John Holzapfel, J. M. Houscel, E. C. Housden, E. S. Hughes, W. L. Hulen, S. M. Huntley, N. Z. Hurd, E. Hutchison, F. C. Hyers, W. A. Iler, W. L. Ingram, P. Ismert, C. F. Johnson, John Johnson, H. C. Jolley, J. I. Jones, James Judge, D. D. Judy, I. H. Kasbeer, A. Ketcham, A. H. Kincaid, C. C. Kincaid, James B. Kincaid, Robert Kincaid, M. H. King, R. H. Knight, Jacob Knole, William Kramer, W. D. Latimer, J. G. Leeper, J. S. Lenox, E. K. Leongley, J. D. Lewis, J. E. Lewis, Aaron S. Linn, M. Locher, H. S. Loffer, Dock Long, Henry Loop, A. S. Lorah, J. W. Love, J. Lucas, J. P. Lucas, S. D. Macdonald, J. R. Mansur, James Martin, J. A. Martin, W. R. Martin, G. W. Massey, A. F. Masterman, S. D. May.

James McCartey, J. H. McCartney, J. S. McCasister, F. F. McCracken, John McGary, S. T. McGee, Sam McGowan, C. A. McGregor, F. H. McKuhan, W. E. McMhan, Richard Merrick, Charles W. Michler, H. A. Miller, J. W. W. Mitchell, M. A. Mitchell, Ed. W. Mitchler, D. J. Moore, William B. Morman, J. W. Mower, G. J. Munn, Lipman Myer, G. H. Norman, Louis L. Northrup, James Norton, J. M. Nunncler, John Ogden, C. Olinger, J. Omlier, P. F. O'Neal, J. O'Rourke, H. Overhosler [Overholser], C. E. Parker, Colonel Parker, S. S. Patton, T. J. Penick, C. H. Peters, Clay Peters, W. J. Pettee, A. Pettyjohn, E. B. Peugh, C. A. Peyton, B. M. Phillips, G. W. Pilkington, L. D. Pilkington, W. M. Pye, G. W. Quimby, E. S. Quimby, S. H. Radebaugh, Perry Radkey, David Reaser, O. P. Reed, D. E. Regan, A. Roberg, William P. Rooney, J. A. Ryan, D. G. Sampson, J. C. Sanders.

A. C. Scott, C. T. Scott, Moran Scott, J. H. Scruggs, F. P. See, W. F. Sheck, B. J. Sheridan, A. J. Silverwood, George W. Singleton, S. J. Singleton, W. D. Singleton, George F. Sisson, W. D. Slater, F. E. Smith, Howard T. Smith, S. D. Smith, H. H. Stafford, J. R. Stafleton, A. W. Stalnaker, T. J. Starr, W. F. Steadman, S. E. Steele, J. A. Stephenson, C. C. Stewart, John W. Stowley, R. S. Sullins, Robert Sutherland, Richmond Swade, J. G. Tannor, Owen Thom, A. H. Thomas, V. D. Tinkelpaugh, George Todd, Joe Tracy, E. L. Truelove, J. Truesdell, J. P. Tufts, F. H. Umholtz, J. Vanbuskirk, A. H. Vandres, F. N. Wagner.

C. P. Walker, Delos Walker, Eugene Wallace, John Wallace, S. Wallace, W. J. Wallace, J. B. Wheeler, John White, E. M. Whitney, T. W. Whittaker, H. Wiedelnske, George Wiley, J. B. Williams,

L. S. Williams, H. F. Wilson, W. H. Wilson, William Willson, J. F. Winans, H. Wingott, H. R. Winn, T. B. Winningham, George W. Wood, A. L. Woodford, J. O. Woods, M. H. Woods, B. N. Woodson, Thomas M. Wright, A. O. Yeager, H. B. Yeager, J. P. Young, M. J. Young, John S. Zinn.

APPENDIX B

	28	16th.	ST.	27
	a	b	c	
		10th.	ST.	
	d	"GAULT 80"	e	f
		7th	ST.	
		TO OKLAHOMA CITY 1/12/91		
		4th.	ST.	
WESTERN AVE.	g	h	i	
	W.L. COUCH	OKLAHOMA CITY	MILITARY RESERVATION	
		RENO	AVE.	
	j	k	l	
	M. H. COUCH	SOUTH OKLAHOMA CITY	C.A. CALHOUN	
	m	n	o	
	JOE COUCH	M. G. COUCH	MRS. HAINES	
		S. 15th	ST.	

DRAWN BY: R.W. SNOW

Land entries of Quarter Sections at
Oklahoma City

The following table shows the settlement process at Oklahoma City as recorded in the *Oklahoma Tract Books* in the Bureau of Land Management. Abbreviations are: "F. C.," final certificate; "C. E.," cash entry; "H.," homestead contest division of the General Land Office; "G.," townsite division of the same office.

- SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 28. David W. Gibbs entered April 27, 1889; cancelled by relinquishment on June 13, 1890; entered the same day by John Reed who received F. C. 1192 on Feb. 16, 1895.
- SE $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 28. Daniel J. O'Dell entered April 23, 1889; canceled by "H" on July 31, 1894; entered Aug. 14, 1894, by Elias W. Brown who received F. C. 2488 on Sept. 5, 1896.
- SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 27. Ewers White entered April 23, 1889; canceled by relinquishment on Nov. 29, 1890; entered the same day by Samuel Murphy who received F. C. 2764 on June 16, 1897.

At Oklahoma City lands entered for townsite purposes embraced 400 acres, bordered on the north by Seventh Street. The tract was a half mile wide and extended along the east side of Walker Street for more than a mile. A dozen quarter sections bordered on the townsite and eleven of them were taken as homesteads. No original entryman proved up.

- d. NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 33. Asa Jones entered April 23, 1889; canceled by "H" on Feb. 9, 1895; John W. Brusha entered Feb. 13, 1895, and received F. C. 1391 on April 17, 1895.
- e. NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 33. The north half of the quarter section entered by Samuel Crocker on April 24, 1889; canceled by "H" on Dec. 12, 1895; north half of the quarter section entered Dec. 20, 1895, by Frank M. Gault who received F. C. 2057 on Feb. 3, 1896. The tract was the "Gault eighty" and was platted for city purposes in 1898. The south half of the quarter section was entered Jan. 12, 1891, as a townsite by trustees Edgar N. Sweet, David H. Hammons, and Frank S. Fay.⁴² The trustees on Jan. 21 approved a plat of this region which extended from just south of Fourth Street to Seventh Street. The plat was drawn by Charles Chamberlin, and was copied from the plat of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company, except for a slight adjustment along Walker Street, and the extension of lots across a 100-foot strip along the east side of the sooner plat.
- f. NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 34. William J. McClure entered April 30, 1889; canceled by relinquishment on Feb. 28, 1891; entered the same day by George W. Massey who made C. E. 615 on Aug. 6, 1892.
- g. SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 33. John C. Adams entered April 23, 1889; canceled by "G" on Feb. 21, 1895; entered on March 6, 1895, by Dr. Robert W. Higgins who received F. C. 2840, Aug. 25, 1896.
- h. SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 33. Entered as the townsite of Oklahoma City on Sept. 3, 1890, by townsite trustees Edgar N. Sweet, Levi E. Cole, and David H. Hammons.
- i. SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 34. Reserved for military purposes by executive order of April 20, 1889. Relinquished by War Department, and by executive order of Sept. 28, 1892, transferred to custody of Interior Department for disposal under act of July 5, 1884, or as might otherwise be provided by law. Granted to Oklahoma City for "public free schools" by act of Aug. 8, 1894.
- j. NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 4. Meshack H. Couch entered April 25, 1889; canceled by "G" on July 24, 1893; entered Aug. 10, 1893, by Edward Orne who received F. C. 2632 on March 6, 1897.
- k. NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 4. Entered as the townsite of South Oklahoma on Dec. 2, 1891, by townsite trustees Charles J. Jones, Angelo C. Scott, and Moses Neal.
- l. NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 3. Calvin A. Calhoun entered April 23, 1889 (148 acres); canceled by relinquishment as to lot no. 10 (16 acres on eastern border) on March 18, 1890; lot no. 10 was entered the same day by Oscar H. Violet who received F. C. 186 on Dec. 29, 1893. Calhoun's homestead entry was canceled by "H" on Dec. 12, 1893, and the remaining 132 acres were entered Dec. 23, 1895, by James M. McCornack who received F. C. 2940 on April 14, 1898.
- m. SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 4. Joseph Couch entered April 25, 1889 (147 acres); canceled by relinquishment as to the 81 acres north of the North Canadian on July 13, 1891; the 81 acres were entered the same day by James B. Wheeler who made C. E. 724 on Nov. 28, 1892. Couch's homestead entry was canceled by relinquishment on Feb. 18, 1892, and the remaining 66 acres were entered the same day by Thomas C. Ladd who made C. E. 785 on March 6, 1893.

⁴² In consideration of the sum of \$5,000 Gault relinquished to the town of Oklahoma his claim to this tract; *Fuller v. Gault et al.*, 21 L. D. 176 (1895). The "Supplemental Plat" of the tract is 22 x 32 inches, and is in NA, GLO townsite box 140.

- n. SE $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 4. Meshack Q. Couch entered April 24, 1889; canceled by relinquishment on May 25, 1893; entered the same day by H. G. Kuhlman who made C. E. 1744 on Sept. 30, 1897.
- o. SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 3. Rachel Anna Haines entered April 25, 1889 (144 acres); canceled by relinquishment as to 19 acres on the north side of the river on Oct. 1, 1890; the 19 acres were entered the same day by Hiram D. Miller who made C. E. 637 on Sept. 8, 1892. The Haines homestead entry was canceled by "H" on November 14, 1894; on Dec. 24, 1894, the remaining 125 acres were entered by Belle Caldwell who made C. E. 1687 on Nov. 7, 1896.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN GEOLOGY



First Fossil found
in Oklahoma, 1852

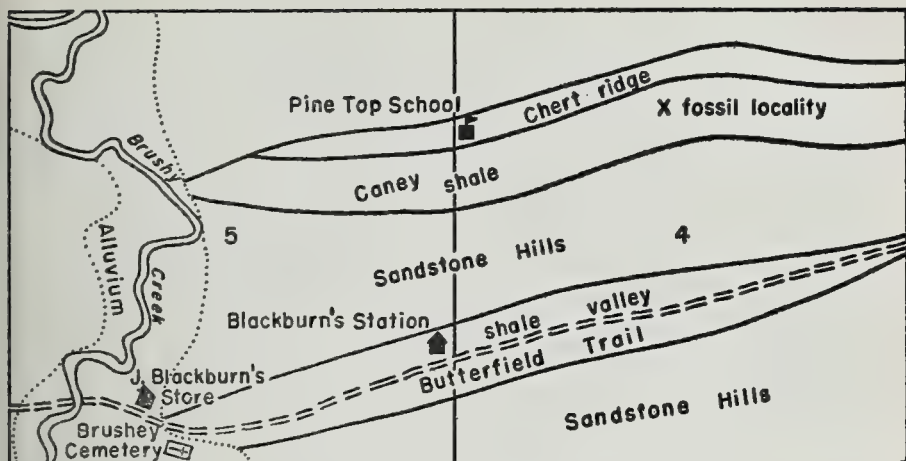
The location of the first fossil discovered in Oklahoma has been determined by the map of "Oklahoma's Butterfield Trail" which appeared in *The Chronicles* for Spring, 1959. The interesting history of this fossil, the name of which is a latinized form of "Choctaw" from that of the Indian nation where it was found in 1852, is contributed here by Dr. Carl C. Branson, Director of the Oklahoma Geological Survey, Norman:

OKLAHOMA'S FIRST FOSSIL

The first fossil described from what is now the state of Oklahoma was collected by Dr. George G. Shumard, surgeon on the Marcy Expedition of 1852. The specimen was described by his brother, B. F. Shumard, in a paper written in 1862 and printed in the *Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Science* in 1863 (Vol. I, pp. 109-110). The only locality given was, "on the farm of J. Blackburn, in the Choctaw Nation". The species was named *Goniatites choctawensis*, and it is a form now widely recognized in central United States as a valuable index to rocks of late Middle Mississippian age.

The original locality had not been relocated and the name J. Blackburn does not appear on the rolls of the Choctaw Nation. It is important to locate the species geographically and stratigraphically in order to be certain just what it is (the type specimen is lost and Shumard did not figure it). In 1958 a committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society retraced the route of the Butterfield Overland Mail and in its report (*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, [Spring, 1959] p. 17) quoted from Conkling's book "one J. G. Blackburn kept a store at Brushey."¹ The committee found the remains of the Brushey Cemetery and gave the precise location SE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 5, T. 2 N., R. 15 E). This pins the locality of the fossil down to sections 5 or 4 where Caney shale is known to occur along the old stage road and along the south side of the chert ridge near Pine Top school. The species *Goniatites choctawensis* then is to be interpreted on the basis of specimens which occur in the area of the defunct village of Brushey, Pittsburg County, and it is thus the more coarsely ornamental variety. Authors have assumed that the finely ornamented form from near Wapanucka was the typical shell.

¹ *The Butterfield Overland Mail* (Glendale, 1947).



Map showing discovery site of Oklahoma's
First Fossil (1852)

The course of the old road in the Brushey area is geologically determined, for it followed the narrow shale valley developed on Caney shale and Springer shale brought to the surface along a fault and bounded on both sides by bouldery Atoka sandstone hills. Researches in history have in this case helped geologists find out the real nature of an important fossil, and geologic conditions determined the route of early travel to lead a collector past the place where the fossil occurs.

— Carl C. Branson

SOME NOTES ON EDUCATION AMONG THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES BY THE LATE DR. A. GRANT EVANS OF INDIAN TERRITORY

The following letter from Dr. A. Grant Evans has been contributed by Dr. Frank A. Balyeat of the University of Oklahoma, received by him when he was doing research on the history of Education in Indian Territory, in 1926.

Dr. A. Grant Evans was well known in the Indian Territory as President of Henry Kendall College (Muskogee, 1898). He was a member of the convention for the proposed State of Sequoyah in 1905, and was the designer of an official seal for the proposed new state, afterward making some suggestions from this Sequoyah seal that were incorporated in the design for the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma in 1907. He served as President of the University of Oklahoma from 1908 to 1911.

In contributing a transcript of Dr. Evans' letter, Dr. Balyeat says that he was an Englishman and acquainted with the work of Bell and Lancaster, which adds a special note of interest in the letter. Further biographical notes on Dr. A. Grant Evans gives his birthplace as Madras, Southern India

(September 9, 1858). He was educated in London, and as a graduate of the British and Foreign Training School (the oldest English normal school founded by Joseph Lancaster) served for a year as teacher and principal of the public schools of Earls Barton, England, before accepting a position in the Cherokee Male Seminary near Tahlequah in 1884. He studied for the ministry and was ordained a minister by the Presbyterian Church in 1887, after which he served in pastorates in the Cherokee Nation, Kansas, Oregon and Colorado before he returned to the Indian Territory ten years later, elected President Henry Kendall College, now Tulsa University.

STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE AND JUNIOR COLLEGE

Santa Barbara, California

May 22, 1926

Mr. F. A. Balyeat
Mayfield, Calif.

My Dear Mr. Balyeat:-

I wish it were possible for me to give you a really helpful reply to your letter of the 19th inst, but such MSS. and other data I have gathered is not where I can really get at it. Educational work in the Five Civilized Tribes began with missionary work while they were still in the Southeastern States. Its inception is one of the romances of the history of Education. It was well into the last quarter of the 18th [19th] century before anything like universal opportunity for education was regarded as a subject for practical consideration. A young chaplain of the Army under the East India Co. in India received instructions to make a school for the numerous orphan children of British soldiers in India. This school was at Madras and the chaplain's name was Bell. Having no possibility of securing competent assistants he developed a well worker out system of monitors. The school became famous, was visited by many tourists and the Madras system, as it was called, was thought by many to suggest a way by which education might be brought within reach of all without ruinous expense. Early in the last century a pamphlet on this scheme fell into the hands of the son of an Old East Indian soldier. The lad's name was Joseph Lancaster. His family lived in Southwark, one of the most densely populated and least cultured sections of London, but he got his father to let him have the use of a large barn to start a school there. It succeeded wonderfully and the British and Foreign School Society organized to develop similar work throughout the country. Lancaster worked under them for awhile and then became restive under restraints the organization put upon him. He came to America and lectured extensively on the Bell and Lancaster system. Some enthusiastic New Englanders interested in work among the Indians thought they saw an opportunity for doing a big work at a small cost and the first missionaries sent to the Southeastern States and to the Union Mission, near the Salt Springs on Grand River, were commissioned to organize schools on the "Lancastrian Plan." This is of little interest pedagogically for the plan could hardly work where the problem was to get enough pupils together to keep a teacher fairly busy. It is of interest educationally as showing how the world was coming to regard universal education as practically possible. The English school system was evolved out of the bold experiment of

Joseph Lancaster and the growth of our American System and its rapid extension also owed a good deal to Bell and Lancaster.

You would do well, if you study the educational work of the missionaries, to try to get some of the records of the Union Missionary Society and the work of the Moravian Church for the early period. Miss Alice Robertson, grand daughter of Dr. S. A. Worchester who worked among the Cherokees from about 1825 to 1850, and daughter of W. S. Robertson, who, a generation later, did fine work educationally for the Creeks, would be able to give you some interesting data about this phase of the work. The Reports of the various Missionary Societies might give you some interesting facts, but it is slow work digging them out.

My own connection with educational work in Ind. Ter. began in 1884. In the summer of that year I met Robert L. Owen, then Secretary of the Cherokee Board of Education, who was taking a party of Cherokee teachers to a Chautauqua in East Tenn. I was teaching in Nashville at the time and helped entertain the visitors. Shortly afterwards Owen wrote offering me a position in the Cherokee Male Seminary and so my connection with the work began. I found the Cherokees with about 100 public schools and the Male and Female Seminaries, practically boarding high schools. After about two years work the Pres. Bd. of Home Missions asked me to take charge of their educational work in the Cherokee Nation. I was strongly of the opinion that the picking out a few bright young people and sending them to boarding schools was not satisfactory and accepted the commission with the understanding that I should try to organize neighborhood schools in districts and supplied by the Cherokee school system, putting at least two teachers in charge of each school and making them available for the children of white renters. It was quite plain that the white pressure was going to force the end of the Indian dream of keeping their own territory, and it seemed to me imperative that the children should learn to understand one another and that school privileges should help bring in a better class of white renters. We made some little progress in this line so that at the end of about ten years the urgent demand was for intermediate and high schools and the beginning of college work. Miss Robertson can tell you far better than I about the Creek and Seminole Systems. The Choctaws and Chickasaws put some of their schools into the hands of Missionary Societies — and instead of starting high schools, they paid the expenses of their young people in Eastern Academies and Colleges.

I was out of the Territory from 1890-1897 and came back to find Henry Kendall College just organizing as the outgrowth of the work done years before. Baptists and Methodists also had good institutions doing some work of college grade.

At a Teachers Association meeting held, I think, in 1898, when the Federal Govt. had taken possession of the Indian school systems and Congressmen were nominating their constituents for positions in Indian schools carried on with Indian funds, I made the suggestion that Congress should be asked to make an appropriation to increase and develop the Indian School Systems and make them available for non-Indian citizens residing in the school districts. I was asked to place the plan before Congress and spent some time at the Lake Mohawk Conference and in Washington. That, however, is a very long story and is more interesting as a political than educational study. We got the appropriation for \$300,000. Until statehood the appropriation was continued and after statehood it has been continued as a grant to the Educational Funds of Oklahoma in consideration of the fact that Indian lands can not be seized for non-payment of taxes. This

was Senator Owens' work and practically gave the Indians the assurance of full privileges in the State Educational System.

I am afraid that all this, while of some interest as a study of relations between the U. S. Govt. and the Indian wards is not of much value for a thesis on Educational Development.

I think Dr. Thoburn, of the Hist. Assn., Okla. City, will be able to steer you towards helpful data. Wishing you all success,

Yours very cordially,

(signed) A. Grant Evans

Arapaho Arrow, A FIRST IN WESTERN OKLAHOMA NEWSPAPERS

A half century after the publication of the first newspaper in Indian Territory (*Cherokee Advocate*, 1844) saw the planting of many weekly newspapers in the new towns that mushroomed over the wide, open country in western Oklahoma after the big runs for homestead claims in this region. They began suddenly and many died as swiftly yet they had a place in the life of the people in the great movement that made Oklahoma in history. The following letter from Frank Fillmore telling about his newspaper experiences in this country is in the Grant Foreman Collection in the Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, written to Carolyn Thomas Foreman when her well known volume *Oklahoma Imprints* was nearing publication:

Ozark, Ark., 5/28/34

Mrs. Grant Foreman
Muskogee, Okla.

My Dear Mrs. Foreman:

As I was born on the last day of December, 1853, and am now more than "eighty years young"- instead of your kind letter being a nuisance, it gives me the happy excuse for indulging in the garulousness incident to such age.

I was born in Cincinnati, Ohio.

I learned the printers trade in a job (commercial) printing office in that city.

Was foreman of a weekly newspaper in Georgetown, Kentucky for one year in 1879.

That was my only newspaper experience until I went to Oklahoma.

In 1891, William Seaman (a young printer) and I bought - mostly on time - *The Frisco News* - the town of Frisco was on the north side of the Canadian river, just across from the present town of Yukon. It died when Yukon was built.

You no doubt remember that the land opening the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation to settlement provided that the land be surveyed into counties, that a half section of land near the center of each county be surveyed into lots for the "County Seat," and that the Territorial Governor (Gov. Seay) should appoint a full set of county and city officers to take office the day of the opening of the country to settlement.

Two of my good friends in Frisco were selected by the governor as county commissioners of "G" county (now Custer) and they promised me the official county printing if I would move the paper to Arapaho and as our town was about dead I gladly accepted.

The date for opening the Cheyenne country was set for April 19th, 1892, and we loaded up a wagon, drawn by two large mules, with enough of our material to get out the paper, together with enough newsprint paper for several issues. I had bought a pony on which to make the "run" to the townsite to file on a lot. Two days after the opening I traded the pony for a large tent and was ready for business - but our material had not come in. So I hired a team and took the back track and found it stuck on a sand hill. We pulled it in, and about ten days later - the exact date has slipped me in the numerous happenings since then - the first issue of the *Arapaho Arrow* came off the "army press" - the first newspaper printed in Oklahoma west of the Rock Island Railroad.

What transpired the following six months constitutes the saddest period of my long life. I had been in poor health the previous year and constantly under the doctor's care, and my wife told me long afterwards that he had told her that I would be lucky if I lived a year. I kept the paper going until the middle of June, 1892, when I was taken violently ill, and lay in that hot tent for two weeks with a high fever and about half the time unconscious. Judging from what our doctor had told her, my wife was sure my time had come so she hired a man with a spring wagon, put a cot in the back end of it, put me on the cot, and started for her father's home near El Reno, with only the hope that she and our two small daughters would have their help and sympathy at my funeral. But the Divine Reaper didn't have my number then - and hasn't got it yet!

The trip proved a stimulant. When we stopped to camp the first night and I smelled the cooking I asked for something to eat - the first nourishment I had taken for five or six days - and when we reached my father-in-law's home late the next evening I got out of the wagon and walked into the house!

A couple of weeks later I went up to El Reno and called on my friend the editor of *The El Reno Herald*. During the course of our conversation he asked me if I could write a special article for his paper. I wrote the article and he seemed so well pleased with it that he offered me a fair weekly salary to edit his paper until I was able to return to Arapaho.

In about three weeks I was ready to go back to the *Arrow* when my wife was taken down with typhoid fever, and had such a severe spell of it that we were not able to leave for Arapaho until the last of November, 1892.

In the meantime I had written my partner that I would need no money from the *Arrow* and for him to save all he possibly could to apply on the debt we owed. I received no word from him.

Imagine my surprise and consternation on arriving at Arapaho, to find that he had turned the plant over to the man who held the small mortgage on it, and the latter had already issued the first edition of the *Arapaho Citizen*, successor to the *Arapaho Arrow*.

Of course I ranted and raved, cussed a little, and threatened much but got no where. The fellow had the plant, had started his paper and intended holding what he had. He did offer me a job on the paper but that was the best he would do, but that did not suit me. Meantime I found two good friends. My attorney had the justice of the peace issue a subpoena for our man to appear before him the following day at 10 a.m. When court was opened my attorney

stated that the defendant had without due process unlawfully taken possession of my property and asked the court to rule that neither the defendant nor I should enter or use the property until the court should hear and determine our rights under penalty of fine and imprisonment for contempt of court, and set the final hearing of the case about three weeks in the future. That spelled the death of the *Arapaho Citizen*.

Passing over the many following negotiations - I finally proposed that he turn over the plant to me to use until the mortgage was due (the following April 1893) in consideration for which I would dismiss the suit against him and give the plant back to him on that date without question or contest. He agreed.

'My first idea was to continue publishing the *Arapaho Arrow*, but after due consideration decided to wipe out the past and make a new start. So I went to work and on Friday, December 31st, 1892, (my 39th birthday) the first issue of the *Arapaho Bee* appeared and was mailed to the former subscribers of the *Arapaho Arrow*.

Before the time limit on the plant I was using I learned of a plant of a defunct newspaper that could be bought for a bargain and persuaded my good friend Jesse H. Lawton to join me in obtaining it, he to be business manager of the *Bee* and I to be editor, compositor and pressman and we equal partners in the venture.

Lawton was a few years younger than I, born in Paris, Ill., an ex-school teacher, and as square a shooter as ever lived. In 1901 I turned the *Bee* over to him and retired to my homestead, and have stuck to an Oklahoma farm until I moved here last October.

The *Arrow* and *Bee* were republican.

My father died when I was 16 years old leaving a widow and seven children, of whom I was the second son, so I did not finish high school, but during my first two years as printer-apprentice I attended night school in Cincinnati.

The *Argus*, Democratic, was started in 1893 by two young printers Blute & Bierwalter, from El Reno. They drifted out in less than two years - were succeeded by a lawyer whose name I have forgotten. He did not amount to much as a lawyer, editor, or citizen and soon faded from three fields. He was succeeded by Fred Snodgrass, a good fellow, good lawyer and county attorney.¹

The *Arapaho Clarion*, Republican, was founded on the ruins of the *Argus* by John B. Nicholas who came to Arapaho with a commission as postmaster in his pocket at the opening of the country. Not long after Cleveland's election, "Old Nich" gave way to a deserving Democrat but was elected sheriff of the county in 1894. When he came before the republican county convention in 1896 he was turned down by the convention and for some strange reason he blamed his defeat on the *Bee*, and so he started the *Clarion*, as he and his friends loudly proclaimed "to starve out the *Bee*." Of course a man and a newspaper with no higher aim than that could not last long!

Nicholas soon soured on his job and sold out to W. J. Hawkins, a hale fellow who appeared out of nowhere. He was a good newspaper man and a good printer and we became good friends. But he had an "itching foot" and he let the *Clarion* die and shortly after that I received a letter from him and a copy of a paper he was printing at

¹Fred A. Snodgrass arrived in Arapaho in April, 1900, from his home in Kentucky, and established the *Custer County News* which was a weekly still published in 1903.—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936), p. 269.

Tucumcari, N. M., and about a year later another from a far distant state.

That completes the newspaper history of Arapaho except that Frank Smith, a printer, started a paper there which lasted only a few months; also Ed Cowles, a real estate man did the same trick. I do not even remember the names of their papers now and they are not worth recording.

The Custer County Chronicle was founded by Shive & Dulaney at Weatherford in 1899. Dulaney dropped out and Shive moved the paper to Clinton in 1901, and after a hectic existence it passed out.

Frank Fillmore,

Ozark, Arkansas

GEARY, ITS NAME AND FOUNDING

The first post office¹ was established at Geary on October 12, 1893, with William Wilson as postmaster. The new town was in old 'C' County organized at the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation on April 19, 1892. The County was soon named "Blaine" by vote in the first county elections, in honor of U.S. Senator James G. Blaine from Maine, one-time Republican candidate for President. The town was named "Geary" in honor of Ed Guerrier, the son of a French trapper and a Cheyenne Indian woman, who lived on his allotment on the Blaine-Canadian county line. Guerrier was well educated and respected but the people of the frontier had trouble in trying to pronounce the French name and it became "Geary" as approved by the Post Office Department. These notes on the name have been contributed to *The Chronicles* by the Blaine County Historical Association along with the following brief history of Geary, written by Grace Seitter in a 1957 project of Blaine County history sponsored by the County Association:

GREETINGS TO OKLAHOMA ON HER GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

This scribe is writing from Geary, Oklahoma, a thriving little city in the southern part of Blaine County, with a population of 1604 according to the latest census.

Our little City is conveniently situated on the divide between the two Canadian rivers, which, according to the old Indian legend makes it immune to ever being hit by tornadoes.

Be that as it may, however.

Geary was founded soon after the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho country to white settlement in 1892, and when the first railroad appeared in 1898 drew a trade from 100 miles north west.

Blaine County's oldest bank is located at Geary. This bank, also one of the oldest in the State, was accepted as a National Bank in 1902,

¹George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952).

and is still in operation with assets totaling more than 1½ million dollars.

The little city has a live Chamber of Commerce; good schools, Boy Scout and Camp Fire organizations, and fine churches. An up-to-date dial telephone system is in operation which extends to all surrounding communities. The city supports a Public Library; also gives perpetual care to its cemetery which is located in a beautiful setting west of town, with a hardsurfaced roadway extending to it.

Geary is the home of Neatha H. Seger, son of John H. Seger who is known far and wide for his many years of service with Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians. His daughter Miss Genevieve Seger, is a director of the Oklahoma State Historical Society, and president of the Blaine County Historical Association.

Through the efforts of this organization, in 1956, a historical marker was erected 1½ miles north of Geary on highway 281 honoring the memory of Jesse Chisholm, pioneer trail blazer whose grave is about 5 miles north east of the city.

A number of our leading business and professional men grew up here. One of the city's first rural mail carriers lives here in retirement.

We pride ourselves that we are situated in a healthful environment, as several nonagenarians have spent their declining years amongst us, our oldest citizen having just passed his ninety-ninth milestone.

Geary bears the distinction of having been the first Flag City in the Nation.

To quote from an editorial of one of our newspapers: "Our city has built a community which has a solidarity and a certain spirit of loyalty which soon attaches the newcomer to it. Just be careful when you light in Geary or something will grab you and you will never leave."

—Grace Seitter

MEMORIAL PLAQUE HONORING DR. EMMETT STARR, CHEROKEE HISTORIAN

A memorial to the eminent Cherokee historian, Dr. Emmet Starr, planned some years ago with Mrs. Grant Foreman as one of the first contributors, was placed by the Cherokee Seminaries Student Association, on the wall of the Library of Northeastern State College in 1958, in the form of a bronze plaque commemorating the contributions made by Dr. Starr to the history of the Cherokee Nation. Dr. Starr's fine genealogical records of Cherokee mixed-blood families were basic in determining the final rolls of the Cherokee Nation when the Dawes Commission was making allotments of lands in severalty to members of the Nation. Dr. Starr was the author of a number of volumes including *Early History of the Cherokees* (Kansas City, 1916?) and his noted genealogical work *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Warden Co., Oklahoma City, 1922). The bronze plaque memorial bears the inscription: "*Emmet Starr, M.D. Librarian 1913-1916* —Author-History of The Cherokee Indians-Cherokees West."

After the death of Dr. Starr in 1930, his genealogical and history notes along with other original papers were given to the Oklahoma Historical Society for preservation. These rare papers were kept in the Society's vault until recently when removed to a steel file in the Library for special arranging and cataloging to make them readily available to researchers. Mr. R. H. Fowler (Cherokee descent) now of Claremore, who recently visited the Historical Society and is greatly impressed by this valuable Starr Collection, has stated in a letter to the Editor:

Ten years ago, in answer to a letter request, Dr. Charles Evans, Oklahoma Historical Society Secretary, gave me the privilege of inspecting the private papers of my noted kinsman, Dr. Emmet Starr.

Dr. Starr was the best versed, on Cherokee history and old family genealogical lines in the far back past that has ever lived. It was his chosen life work from his young days. No one dare dispute or go back of Dr. Starr's records for he was considered the highest recognized authority living at that time.

Some are familiar with Dr. Starr's complicated code as given in his published *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Warden). When Dr. Starr's invaluable material of manuscripts and notes were taken from the vault. . . . they had been untouched for years. His codes perplexed me. . . .

The four sets of books were accurate cross indexes of the 39 old families and had been used to verify names for the Cherokee tribal roll. There is no doubt in my mind that these books are the correct records continuing into the seventh and eighth generations for some families. His printed history ends with the sixth generation only and contains many typographical errors.

The following quote is from a letter written by Dr. Starr to a subscriber [of his 1922, Warden publication]: "I wrote the original sketches and they were incorrectly typewritten and then printed without giving me a chance to correct proof, hence this and hundreds of other mistakes."

The Editor here may add a word of comment on this statement by Dr. Starr, which will interest some readers. When Dr. Starr's *History of the Cherokee Indians* was on the press in 1922, there was a strike of printers in the Warden Company's plant, Oklahoma City. This caused trouble in the printing and final completion of the book as well as in proof reading, much to Dr. Starr's distress. He was a very sensitive man, and never forgave nor forgot this, looking on it as a blow to his work as a writer of authentic history. Nevertheless, his *History of the Cherokee Indians*, especially the section on Cherokee genealogy, has remained a great work.

(M.H.W.)

VOTING BY THE OSAGE INDIANS IN THE FIRST
OKLAHOMA ELECTIONS IN 1906-7

The Oklahoma Enabling Act titled "An Act to enable the people of Oklahoma and Indian Territory to form a constitution and State government and be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States...." was a part of the "Hamilton Statehood Bill" approved by Congress on June 14, 1906, and signed by President Theodore Roosevelt.

Section 2 of the Oklahoma Enabling Act provides:

That all male persons over the age of twenty-one years, who are citizens of the United States, or who are members of any Indian nation or tribe in said Indian Territory and Oklahoma, and who have resided within the limits of said proposed State for at least six months next preceding the election, are hereby authorized to vote for and choose delegates to form a constitutional convention for said proposed State; and all persons qualified to vote for said delegates shall be eligible to serve as delegates; and the delegates to form such convention shall be one hundred and twelve in number, fifty-five of who shall be elected by the people of the Territory of Oklahoma, and fifty-five by the people of the Indian Territory, and two shall be elected by the electors residing in the Osage Indian Reservation in the Territory of Oklahoma....

Both political parties lined up in Osage County (comprising the old Osage Indian Reservation) in the hot campaign for election of the two delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Some interesting items of this campaign are mounted in an old notebook in the historical collection of Mr. Frank F. Finney of Oklahoma City. His father, the late Thomas M. Finney, a well known early day trader on the Osage Reservation, was a candidate for election as delegate to the Constitutional Convention from this "56th District."

The first item in Mr. Finney's notebook exhibit is a bright red campaign, lapel ribbon emblazoned with the words in black letters, "Osage Reservation— We Want Statehood." Beside this, are campaign cards announcing the two candidates "Thomas M. Finney, Gray Horse, Oklahoma" and "Isaac D. Taylor, Republican Nominees for Delegates to the Constitutional Convention, Osage Indian Reservation." The next page of the notebook shows an original handbill bearing the name "Osages" in big black letters, and announcing a meeting of "Tom Finney and I. D. Taylor" with the "Citizens" of the Osage Indian Village on "Monday, Nov. 5th at 4 o'clock" in 1906, "Every Osage Citizen Should be Present."

Mounted on the third page of the notebook is a small pamphlet, "Platform— Adopted by the Republican Party— at the Constitutional Convention of Osage County, held at

Pawhuska, Sept., 18, 1906," printed by *The Daily Capital*, Pawhuska, Oklahoma. The Committee on Resolutions gave its report, stating in the introduction:

The Republicans of the Osage Indian Reservation, in convention assembled, express gratification that the progress of events has made it possible that we many participate in the future conduct of public affairs, as contemplated by the true theory of Republican government, and that henceforth we shall be accorded all the rights and privileges of other citizens of the United States.

Osages

Tom Finney and I. D. Taylor will meet and council with the Citizens at the Indian village at the camp

Monday Nov. 5th at 4 o'clock

In The Afternoon.

1906

**EVERY OSAGE CITIZEN SHOULD
BE PRESENT.**

The next item of the exhibit is a printed page showing the "Official Vote of the Reservation" tabulated from the election returns of November 6, 1906. The total vote cast was 6,003 in 28 precincts, many of these all-Indian "towns," plus 4 wards in Pawhuska. Some of the Indian towns listed are Osage Camp, Black Dog, Nelogany, Big Heart. The two Democrats were the successful candidates: T. J. Leahy, (intermarried Osage), Pawhuska, 1,526 votes, and J. S. Quarles, Fairfax, 1,527 votes. The number of votes cast for the Republican candidates shows 1,385 for I. D. Taylor,¹ and 1,356 for Finney. Two other candidates (Buck and Speers) in

Osage County received a total of 98 votes. It is reported that the total votes cast had a high percentage of Osage Indians of legal age voting. In line with provisions of the Enabling Act for legal voters, there was a good, representative vote cast by the Osage people in the adoption of the new State Constitution and the Prohibition measure, in 1907.

The legal, Indian voters of both territories took interest in the Oklahoma elections of 1906 and 1907, especially in the nations (Five Civilized Tribes) of the Indian Territory or eastern section. Persons of Indian descent served in the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention.

Last winter (1959) when the question of the repeal of the prohibition law was before the Oklahoma Legislature and was being discussed throughout the state, some speaker, or speakers in a public meeting and on TV programs made the statement that the Indians of Osage County wanted to vote on the prohibition law, as United States citizens, for they had not had the opportunity of voting in the first Oklahoma elections before and at the time of statehood when the constitution and first laws for the new state were adopted. Many who heard the statement in public meetings and TV programs were greatly surprised over this bit offered as history since all Indians living in Oklahoma are citizens of the State and have actively participated in political and professional life since Oklahoma's admission to the Union in 1907. Several persons called the Editor here in the Historical Society last winter for comments and factual information on the history of Osage voting in the first Oklahoma elections. These notes are offered in *The Chronicles* since they may be of interest to the readers of this summer number of the magazine.

(M. H. W.)

¹ As these historical notes were being written for *The Chronicles*, word was received of the death of Isaac D. Taylor on July 19, 1959. He was an attorney at Pawhuska before statehood, and had made his home in Oklahoma City in recent years.—Ed.

1959 HISTORICAL TOUR

Without any great amount of fan fare, the 1959 Oklahoma Historical Society tour got under way at 6:00 a.m. Thursday June 4. There were one hundred thirty people in the party with most of them riding in the three big modern buses that were the epitome of luxury for that type of travel. A few made the trip in cars, giving an appearance of bigness to the caravan.

Halt was called at Oklahoma Baptist University in Shawnee for breakfast. While everyone was partaking of a sumptuous morning repast and enjoying the hospitality of Shawnee folk, the heavens opened and the flood descended. In the vernacular of the Southwest it rained "cats and dogs." Eventually the rain subsided sufficiently for the tourists to again board the buses, but it caused them to forego the side trip to Sacred Heart Mission in Pottawatomie County. A stop was made, however, at the site of the Jesse Chisholm Trading Post east of Asher. Everyone disembarked and walked to the vicinity of the spring and trading post location.

Rains continued in such intensity that only a brief stop was made at the Spring Baptist Mission west of Sasakwa. When noon time came, the buses rolled on to the beautiful campus of East Central State College at Ada where a fine luncheon was served and program presented. Judge Orel Busby, attorney, was master of ceremonies.

The chief point of interest visited in the afternoon was at Emet where stands the home of the late Governor Douglas H. Johnston of the Chickasaw Nation. In going through the rooms of this house, it was easy to discern the life of luxury led by wealthy Chickasaws. Mrs. Juanita Johnston Smith and Douglas Johnston, of the Johnston family, were present and acted as hosts to the visitors.

Shortly before sun down the entourage arrived at Texoma Lodge where everyone was to spend two nights.

The dinner program for Thursday night was held in the ball room of Texoma Lodge, with groups from Durant and Madill in charge. Former Governor Raymond S. Gary was the principal speaker. Following the program, many of the tourists boarded a pleasure boat for a cruise on Lake Texoma.

Everyone was up bright and early Friday morning, ready for another day of sightseeing. Following breakfast the buses headed east with the first stop at Bokchito to view the old Choctaw jail standing in that town, the iron building having been moved here from the site of Mayhew, Choctaw Nation. After

leaving Bokchito the group turned off to the northeast on local roads from Sawyer to where old Spencer Academy once stood. All that remain now are some foundations stones, and chimney sites where buildings once stood. It was here that Uncle Wallace and Aunt Minerva, Negro slaves, who were hired out by the master to work for the missionaries, hummed and crooned the melodies that were later to be known throughout the world as the spirituals, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" and "Steal Away to Jesus." Under a giant oak tree, a group of young colored people had assembled and sang those spirituals in a manner reminiscent of the old slave days and early American Negro music. The singers were roundly applauded by the tourists. This program had been arranged by Mr. William Schooler, long time Hugo editor.

Civic leaders of Idabel sponsored the Friday luncheon, which was held in the Methodist Church of that city. Following the luncheon the tourists headed north to Broken Bow, then northeast a few miles to the largest tree in Oklahoma. This is a cypress which is forty-five feet in diameter at the base. Some "doubting Thomases" in the group took along a big tape and proceeded to measure the girth of the forest giant. They found that R. G. Miller, tour director, had not exaggerated in giving the size of the tree.

On the swing back westward to Texoma Lodge, stops were made near Swink at Oklahoma's oldest house built by the government as a Choctaw chief's residence in 1836-7: and at old wheelock Church, established in 1832. Mrs. Charlotte Chrisler, present owner of the old Choctaw Chief's house, gave the mantle piece from the living room to the Oklahoma Historical Society. She received the sincere thanks of President George H. Shirk of the Oklahoma Historical Society, along with those from other officials and officers of the Society. At the old Wheelock Church, which is still in use, the group sat in the pews and sang the "Church in the Wildwood," led by Miss Genevieve Seger, a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

After another night's rest at Lake Texoma, the buses rolled out on the last leg of the journey. The first Saturday morning stop was at the site of Fort Washita, where some of the stone walls and chimneys are still standing. This famous old fortification was located by and construction begun under Brig. General Zachary Taylor, who was later to win fame in the Army during the War with Mexico, and finally to become President of the United States. One could stand in the clearing which had once been the parade ground and imagine troops passing in review as old "Rough and Ready" sat on his horse and acknowledged the salutes from the passing units.

At the time of its founding in 1842, Fort Washita was truly an outpost on the southwestern frontier of the United States. Only a few miles to the south, across the Red River, was Mexican Territory, while not far to the west was the lands roamed by the Comanche, the Kiowa and their allies. The old well that was used by the troopers of Zachary Taylor's and Jefferson Davis' day is still in use. This is a historic site that every effort should be made to restore and rehabilitate.

To many people of Choctaw blood and other leading citizens of Oklahoma, the site where once stood the town of Boggy Depot, is sacred ground. It is here that some of the most prominent families of early days lived, and it was a center from which emanated considerable culture and trade. Many members of these families are buried in the nearby cemetery. The site is now one of peace and quiet in the dense woods of the Boggy River bottoms. Miss Wright lectured to the group on the history of Boggy Depot as she did at a number other sites visited on the Tour.

After partaking of an excellent buffet style luncheon, prepared and arranged by a citizens committee in Atoka, the tourists participated in the making of some modern history. This was done when they took part in the dedicatory ceremonies of Oklahoma City's southeastern water reservoir. One of the Oklahoma Historical Society's on-site markers "Geary's Station," was placed in the stone work at the east end of the reservoir dam. This marker indicated the location of a stop on the Butterfield stage route and the dedicatory remarks were made by President George Shirk, with Miss Muriel Wright and Mrs. John Frizzell unveiling the marker. The Geary stage stand site, indicated on the marker, will be inundated when the reservoir is filled.

It was a solemn group that viewed the few remaining undisturbed graves of the old Confederate Cemetery, one mile north of Atoka. This cemetery has been placed under the control of the Oklahoma Historical Society who, with the assistance of the Junior Chamber of Commerce at Atoka, have erected a granite marker at the site, with an inscription giving the history of "Middle Boggy Battle, 1864." Some twenty-five to thirty graves of Confederate dead are in the part of the cemetery now under the control of the Society. An on-site marker has also been placed at this cemetery and other improvements are in progress.

The last stop was at the art museum of St. Gregory's College in Shawnee. The work done by Stephen A. Gyermeck, Curator, in recent rearrangement of the Museum has been outstanding, and the tourists showed great interest in the exhibits that were on display.

Late in the afternoon on Saturday, June 6, the caravan headed for the Oklahoma Historical Society Building in Oklahoma City and trail's end.

E.L.F.

NOTE ON PUBLICATION OF *The Chronicles*

FOR SUMMER, 1959

This 1959 summer number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Vol. XXXVII, No. 2) is nearly two months late in publication. The annual contract for printing the magazine by bids through the State Board of Affairs, usually made early in July, was let and announcement made this year the week in August, under the new Central Purchasing Agency as provided by the recent law of the State Legislature. The organization of this new Agency over at the State Capitol involved a tremendous task beginning July 1st for those in charge and there were unavoidable delays since the Agency takes over purchasing for all State departments and institutions. We make this explanation to readers to *The Chronicles* because we regret the late completion of the summer number though we feel fortunate to have secured a printing contract as early as August under the circumstances this year.

—The Editor

BOOK REVIEW

Pushmataha, American Patriot. By Anna Lewis. (Exposition Press, New York, 1959. Pp. 204. Ills. \$3.75)

This is a valuable history relating to the North American Indians as it gives the life of Pushmataha, a great Choctaw chief, written by Dr. Anna Lewis, Professor Emeritus of History of the Oklahoma College for Women at Chickasha. Dr. Lewis is well known for her book *Along the Arkansas* and other works in the Oklahoma historical field. She comes from a family long prominent in the history of the Choctaws, and is now retired making her home near Clayton, in Pushmataha County, where she owns the old Tuskahoma Academy property.

Dr. Lewis' book brings to light many phases of the life and career of Pushmataha, the most famous of all Choctaw chiefs. Little is known of his ancestry. He was an orator in his native language, a statesman of high order and a soldier, rising to the rank of "Brigadier General" in the American Army during the War with England in 1812. Dr. Lewis tells of the Chief's well known friendship for the Americans, of his love for horse-racing, of his hunting expeditions across the Mississippi to the western prairies and the area of present Oklahoma that was later to become the last homeland of the Choctaws; and tells of his plans for the settlement of his people in this new domain in the west. His death occurred in Washington, in 1824, while negotiating with the United States government for this new Choctaw land, preliminary to their final removal west some years later.

In his expeditions to the western prairies beyond the Mississippi, Pushmataha encountered the Osages who were occupying what is now Northern Oklahoma. The Choctaws and the Osages were bitter enemies in those days, and sometimes became involved in bloody conflicts. Pushmataha was a friend of President Andrew Jackson, and participated in the Battle of New Orleans. These contacts and the friendship must have had considerable influence with President Jackson on what was finally guaranteed the Choctaws in the Removal Treaty in 1830. Under the terms of this Dancing Rabbit Treaty, concluded on the Pearl River in Mississippi, September 25, 1830, the Choctaws relinquished all claims to their lands in Mississippi. While Pushmataha laid the ground work for the exchange of lands in Mississippi for the country in the west (now southern Oklahoma), he did not live to witness the Removal. He was a full-blood Choctaw who was born and lived in Mississippi. He died very suddenly in Washington at the age of sixty years, and was

buried in the Congressional Cemetery there with military honors.

As Dr. Lewis points out, Pushmataha was always a friend to the white people, and he realized the folly of going to war with the Americans. He wanted his people, the Choctaws, educated and adjusted to the white man's way of living. Dr. Lewis gives an interesting account of an outstanding event in Pushmataha's life that no doubt had its influence on the outcome in the Second War with England. It was the famous debate between Tecumseh, the renowned Shawnee Chief, all of the British, and Pushmataha, friend of the Americans. Tecumseh had led the Indian tribes living north of the Ohio River into war against the Americans, and his program sponsored and aided by British agents was to bring all the southern tribes into his camp. He succeeded in winning over the Creeks, much to their detriment, but failed to win the Choctaws. In a great assembly of Choctaw warriors, Tecumseh addressed them on the issues of the war. Pushmataha listened carefully and then replied to this address, saying that the Choctaws had lived in peace with the Americans and that he saw no occasion for going to war against the white neighbors but that such a conflict might mean the ultimate ruin of his people. His speech was clear, convincing and eloquent to a high degree.

This book by Dr. Lewis on the life of Chief Pushmataha is well documented with citations to the most authentic sources of information on the Choctaws, and is a distinct contribution to the history of this once powerful tribe of North American Indians.

—William F. Semple

Tulsa, Oklahoma

The Oil Century. By J. Stanley Clark. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1958. Pp. xxii, 279. Ills. Append. Bibliog. Index. \$3.95.)

This is an interesting study commemorating the Centennial of the "Age of Petroleum" since the discovery of the first commercial oil well near Titusville, Pennsylvania in 1859. The book briefs the history of oil development and thus serves a long felt need both for the lay reader who wants to know the real story in this field as well as for the researcher who plans to delve farther in some special phase of the subject. There is a spread of fine illustrations from rare photographs that glimpse this dramatic and powerful story.

Dr. Clark, the well-known Oklahoma author, whose interests lie in industrial as well as general history, has made this volume

one of his most valuable contributions in the historical field. His text is well documented, giving the essential high points in an over-all history that touches on the great social and industrial transformations which have come from the marvels of the petroleum industry through one hundred years.

Prospecting for oil is mentioned as it extended westward from Pennsylvania through the states of the Ohio Valley to Kansas, Oklahoma (once Indian Territory), Michigan, Montana, California and Texas. Great discoveries of oil in the Mid-Continent Field in the Southwest brought problems in the industry, which are reviewed in such chapters as "Economic Waste," "Experiments in Controlled Production," and "Conservation through Co-operation." The chapter on "The Problems of Imports" mentions production in the foreign field since 1890, including that in the Baku Field on the Caspian Sea in Russia as well as those in Mexico, Venezuela, Dutch West Indies, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, bringing the reader up-to date at the close of this first century in the commercial uses of petroleum. This world-wide development has required necessary legislation and court decrees in some instances in this country yet today the voluntary-compliance plan is being watched with interest in the production of oil in the United States.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY APRIL 23, 1959

More than one hundred members and friends of the Oklahoma Historical Society attended the annual meeting of the Society on April 23, 1959, at 9:30 a.m. The meeting was held in the auditorium of the Oklahoma Historical Society building, with George H. Shirk, President, presiding.

After the meeting was called to order, President Shirk made a brief talk saying: "You will recall that at the 66th annual meeting one of the greatest men I have ever had the privilege of knowing personally presided as President of this Society. He made many great and wonderful contributions to the Oklahoma Historical Society; and his work will act as a guide and chart for me to follow. It is wonderful we may assemble here today and do homage to that great man, General William S. Key, and to six other people who have been high in the service of history and strong in the service of this Society. They have been great Oklahomans and wonderful Americans. I convene this meeting as a tribute to our past President and at this time present our principal speaker, Judge Fred A. Daugherty, who occupies a high place in the military and is at present serving as District Judge of Oklahoma County."

Following the introduction, Judge Daugherty spoke as follows: "Mr. President, Mrs. Key, Mrs. Nichols, ladies and gentlemen of the Oklahoma Historical Society, good morning. The matter of paying tribute to General Key is, I am sure you will agree, a difficult and at the same time overwhelming job. It is difficult in that I feel a great sense of inadequacy of meeting the requirements of the moment and of this occasion. General Key's achievements are legion, and are so tremendous in effect on our state that I know after I sit down I shall be disappointed in that I will have overlooked making much of so many accomplishments that are worthy of note.

"One is overwhelmed by the fact there is so very much to say about this great man. The list of his achievements and accomplishments has not been equalled in this state. General Key was so versatile in his many activities that practically all of our populace, in one way or another, has been exposed to his actions, to his activities, and to his work. To me there are four things about General Key that stand out in a manner unexcelled in any other person I have ever known. I have reference to the intense patriotism shown by General Key, his great respect and regard for women, his love for the state of Oklahoma, and his intense devotion to duty.

"When it was our country against any other country he gave no quarter. I can say that he carried in his veins the patriotism that we admired so much in our forebears who carried the burden of the Revolution of this country. He was of that stature, of that build, of that caliber, and of that fiber.

"This respect of his for women was not a shallow thing or a thing of vanity. He had a very deep sense of respect and regard for women. He was gallant and it wasn't an exhibition. He actually felt it and I know that many of us have learned lessons by watching him. He insisted upon the rights of women being given recognition and that they were entitled to the highest type of respect.

"Although he was not a native of Oklahoma, General Key had an intense love for the state of Oklahoma. He was born and reared in Alabama, but came to Oklahoma when he was a young man. He developed for Oklahoma a love that has been unexcelled by any of our

native sons. I think all of us must recognize that one of the outstanding ways he demonstrated this was his thirteen years of work as President of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He didn't limit his love for Oklahoma to just his activities in the Oklahoma Historical Society. He carried it with him day in and day out and it was a deep and abiding love for this young state. When he came to Oklahoma he not only fell in love with this state, but also with Miss Irene Davis, who was to become his wife. She was the daughter of the Chief of the Seminole Tribe and joined with him as a partner in life. He carried with him that love from that point forward. He has certainly added to the history of Oklahoma and we should recognize and honor him for this.

"Intense devotion to duty and desire for public service were demonstrated at an early stage in the life of General Key. As a young man he demonstrated an outstanding business ability. He was exceedingly successful in his efforts in the hardware and affiliated business in Wewoka. At a comparatively early age he amassed a considerable fortune and was considered an unusually successful businessman. Like so many financial leaders he could have pursued the almighty dollar and have done so with considerable success, but he wasn't that kind - he was too patriotic and loved Oklahoma too much. He so wanted to serve men that he could not resist the call of his fellow citizens and always responded to their needs.

"He, at one time, assumed the wardenship of the Penitentiary of Oklahoma, putting it on a self sustaining basis for the only time in the history of that institution. While serving in this capacity, he was elected President of the National Wardens Association. After returning to private life, patriotism again required his services and he responded. When the WPA came into being, needing the ability of a strong leader and a great administrator, he was selected to head that program in the state of Oklahoma. The record of his administration is well known and those of us present recognize that without his outstanding ability we would not have received the benefits secured in those times.

"Even more trying, I suppose, was his military career. This blends into his patriotism, his regard and respect for women, his love for Oklahoma, and the desire to be of service. He early affiliated with the National Guard of his native Alabama. After coming to Oklahoma he took up work in the National Guard of his adopted state. It can be said that he grew up with the 45th Infantry Division. He put it where it was - the top. He had the distinction of commanding it and had the difficult job of taking it into federal service. By the choice of personnel and leadership he was able to mold that group of your fellow citizens into one of the finest fighting units that ever existed. Its record is due in large measure to his work and training efforts. One of his greatest disappointments in life was that he was unable to lead the 45th into combat. That honor did not fall on his shoulders, but as many of us know the great record of the 45th Division was in a large measure accomplished because of the organizational work General Key had put into forming it into a combat group. He did it with great distinction. That he held many important military assignments during World War II in the European sector is well recorded in the pages of the history of that time.

"I know many people have gathered from this great man the desire to do better, to excell, to sacrifice, and to be of service to the community and to their fellow men. We cannot begin to measure the vast amount of good which comes from a life such as his. In no small measure is this also due to his fine wife. She gave him the comfort,

the understanding, and the love that every great man needs. They were true partners in every sense of the word. His loss is felt keenly by all, but in it we have a tremendous comfort in knowing that we have lived in the presence of a great man and that even though he is not with us today his love and effect will be with us forever. I join you in this tribute to this great man that all of us loved so much."

Following the address of Judge Daugherty, Mrs. Key and her sons, W. S., Jr., and Robert C., presented the bust of General Key to the Oklahoma Historical Society. In her presentation remarks Mrs. Key said: "It was my husband's expressed wish that this noble work of art be presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society, an organization in which he had great pride."

In accepting the bust on behalf of the Society, President Shirk replied: "On behalf of the state of Oklahoma and on behalf of the members and the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, it is with great and deep gratitude I accept this statue of our beloved General Key. It is impossible to turn anywhere in our state, to find a field of endeavor in which he did not serve, that he did not love, and that he did not make contributions with distinction. His service and contribution have touched us all."

President Shirk then presented Mrs. Gilbert A. Nichols with the remark that he had known her husband, Dr. Nichols, for a long time. He said he was most happy to have an opportunity of participating in paying tribute to Dr. Nichols, as Dr. G. A. Nichols was truly one of the greater men of Oklahoma. Mrs. Nichols then unveiled and presented to the Society a portrait of Dr. Nichols. Several members of the Nichols family were present and four great grandchildren of Dr. and Mrs. Nichols came to the stage following the presentation and were introduced.

President Shirk then observed that the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society permits the Board of Directors to confer Honorary Memberships on those who have distinguished themselves in the field of history and who have made contributions to the service of history either in the state or with the Society. He said the Board had elected five people as the first to receive this high honor from the Society. He then presented Honorary Membership to Dr. T. L. Ballenger, head of the Department of History at Northeastern State College, Tahlequah; Mrs. Logan Billingsley of Katonah, New York, who has been active in developing the Indian Hall of Fame at Anadarko; Dr. E. E. Dale, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, long time Professor at the University of Oklahoma and outstanding Oklahoma and Southwest historian; Mrs. John D. Frizzell of Oklahoma City who contributed much to making the Centennial of the Butterfield Overland Mail Route through Oklahoma highly successful; and Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, who with her late husband has done much to record the history of the Indians of early Oklahoma. Inasmuch as Mrs. Foreman could not be present for the presentation, Mrs. Rella Looney, archivist for the Society and close friend of Mrs. Foreman, accepted the Honorary Membership for Mrs. Foreman.

President Shirk remarked that there is something magic about the words "four score and ten." He said that anyone who reached that milestone is "someone pretty special". "We have with us this morning a member of our Board who has served our Society since 1920. Last March 20 was her ninetieth birthday. She is Mrs. Anna Korn." President Shirk then presented Mrs. Korn with an orchid in honor of the occasion.

Among distinguished guests introduced were Mr. Fisher Muldrow, whose father served for many years on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society; Colonel Lee Thompson who served with General Key in the Army; Judge Earl Foster; Governor Floyd Maytubby of the Chickasaw Nation; Secretary Emeritus Dr. Charles Evans; Colonel John Creehan; Colonel John H. McCasland; General Wash Kenny, and Mr. John D. Frizzell.

It was moved by Mr. Milt Phillips that the Society convened in its annual meeting approve the actions that had been taken by the Board of Directors during the past year. This motion was seconded by Judge R. A. Hefner. The motion was put and carried.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 10:25 a.m.

(Signed) George H. Shirk, President

(Signed) Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING APRIL 23, 1959

Following the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Board of Directors convened in the Directors room at 10:40 a.m. and was called to order by President George H. Shirk. The President presented a list of letters and correspondence which he requested be passed among the Board members. He stated that it was the President's policy to share all pertinent correspondence with the Board of Directors.

Roll call showed the following present: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. Joe Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Judge R. A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, and President George H. Shirk.

Requests for absence excuses were presented by the Administrative Secretary for Mr. Henry Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Kelly Brown, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Exall English, Mr. T. J. Harrison, Judge N. B. Johnson, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mrs. Willis C. Reed, and Judge Baxter Taylor. Miss Seger moved and Mr. Phillips seconded a motion that the absent members be excused. The motion was put and carried.

Mr. R. G. Miller moved to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the preceding meeting. This motion was seconded by Mr. Phillips and unanimously approved.

President Shirk distributed to the Board a report that had been compiled concerning the portraits in possession of the Society. He requested that the report be studied so that problems concerning the acceptance and hanging of portraits might later be considered.

In making his report, the Administrative Secretary stated that fifty-six annual members had joined the Society since the last meeting of the Board. He also presented a list of gifts to the various departments of the Society. Dr. Harbour moved that the Board accept the new members and the gifts. This motion was seconded by Miss Seger and adopted by the Board.

Calling attention to newspaper reports that a plan was on foot to remove Sequoyah's home from its present and original location to a site near Sallisaw, Mr. Fraker said he had been in correspondence with Mr. C. C. Victory, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Cherokees. He said that he had recently received a resolution adopted by the Cherokee Executive Committee on April 19, 1959, opposing any removal of Sequoyah's home from its present location. He said the resolution was signed by W. W. Keeler, Chief; C. C. Victory, Chairman of the Executive Committee; and Mrs. T. L. Ballenger, Secretary. Dr. Harbour observed that inasmuch as the Sequoyah home was under the control of the Oklahoma Historical Society it could not be moved without the Society's approval. Discussion among the members of the Board indicated complete agreement with the resolution that had been drawn by the Executive Committee of the Cherokees. The chair directed that the resolution be made a part of these minutes. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, it has been called to the attention of this Executive Committee of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma that a movement has

been started in certain quarters to have the Sequoyah Memorial and home moved from its original and present location to the City of Sallisaw; and

WHEREAS, Sequoyah is recognized as not only one of the greatest men of the Cherokee race, but also one of the great personages among men; and

WHEREAS, his accomplishments as inventor of the Cherokee alphabet are known throughout the civilized world, and;

WHEREAS, he came with other Cherokees along the Trail of Tears and built his home where it still stands on its original location, the lands of which have been deeded to the State of Oklahoma for the use of the Oklahoma Historical Society; and

WHEREAS, we feel that it would be an act of desecration to remove Sequoyah's home from the very ground on which he built it; now

THEREFORE, be it resolved that we, the Executive Committee of the Cherokee Nation (or Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma) do hereby on the 19th day of April 1959 voice our unalterable opposition to any removal of Sequoyah's home from its present location; and be it

Further resolved that we urge upon the State of Oklahoma, and the Oklahoma Historical Society, that the Home of Sequoyah, with its surrounding grounds be developed to where it may become a National Shrine where all may come and pay homage to this great Cherokee whose genius is recognized by all men of all Nations.

Signed: W. W. Keeler, Chief

C. C. Victory, Chairman
of Executive Committee

Mrs. T. L. Ballenger (Mildred)
Secretary

Mr. Fred Cordell of Holdenville was presented to the Board by President Shirk. Mr. Cordell spoke briefly in support of the request of Mrs. Susie Peters that the John Swain statue be returned to her.

In his remarks, Mr. Cordell stated that Mrs. Peters was his aunt and that it was his understanding the Swain statue came to the Oklahoma Historical Society some thirty years ago and that recently Mrs. Peters requested return of the statue to her so that it might be placed in the Indian City at Anadarko. He said that John Swain was the husband of Mrs. Peters at the time of his death.

President Shirk thanked Mr. Cordell for his remarks and stated that the question of returning the statue to Mrs. Peters had been placed on the table at the last Board meeting so that further study might be given to the matter. He said that Mr. Mountcastle had accepted the responsibility of making a detailed study of the question.

Dr. Harbour remarked that the statue had been in possession of the Oklahoma Historical Society for approximately thirty years and that years ago the Society had sent letters to all persons who had loaned objects to the Historical Society requesting that such objects be removed from the facilities within five years, or that such items would become the property of the Society. She said the five year period had lapsed several years ago and that no items are now in the possession of the Historical Society except those belonging to the Society.

President Shirk then pointed out that the question was on the table by action taken at the last Board meeting. It was then moved by Mr. Mountcastle and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the question be removed from the table. Motion was put and carried.

In his report, Mr. Mountcastle said that in 1942 a letter, as referred to by Dr. Harbour, had been sent to Mrs. Peters, and that she had made no request for the return of the statue until recently. He said that the Society cannot make an exception in this case. "If we do," he continued, "our Constitution has gone out of the window. The correspondence is very clear that we have never made an exception." It was further pointed out by Mr. Mountcastle that if Mrs. Peters' request were granted a precedent would be set whereby many objects now in the possession of the Society could be removed. He then moved that Mrs. Peters' request be denied and that the statue of John Swain, now the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society, remain in the possession of the Society. Motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried unanimously when put.

It was stated by President Shirk that Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, was absent and that she had requested him to submit her report. This report showed that receipts for the fiscal year to March had been \$7,138.00. That in the same period approximately \$9,000.00 had been expended, which would seem to indicate that \$2,000.00 more had been spent than had been received. It was stated, however, that \$4,220.00 worth of brochures are now on hand which indicates that the Society's assets have in reality increased \$2,000.00. Fund 18, which was formerly known as the private fund but is now on deposit with the State Treasurer, was shown as having a balance of \$1,100.00. President Shirk pointed out that when the Society sells any printing or like item originally paid for from appropriated funds, the proceeds go into a revolving fund known as Fund 200.

The report of the Legislative Committee was made by Judge Clift. He stated that representatives of the Society had appeared before both House and Senate Appropriation Committees, as well as before the Governor. He requested Mr. Fraker to elaborate further on the progress that was being made relative to appropriations for the Society. Speaking in general terms, Mr. Fraker said that the House had made some additions to the original budget recommendations and that further increases had been made by the Senate. He reported that the general appropriation bill for the Historical Society was at the present time in conference committee as was also the airconditioning bill. President Shirk then enumerated each step that had been taken in the progress of HB 547, which is the general appropriation bill of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Plans for the annual tour were outlined by Mr. Miller. He expressed the thought that this year's tour would be one of the most interesting ever sponsored by the Society. He said that local groups were showing great interest in the tour. An example of this he said was the action being taken by the Pottawatomie County Historical Society which is issuing a twenty-page brochure for the occasion of the Oklahoma Historical Society tour through that county. Mr. Miller suggested that letters be written to other local groups in places through which the tour would pass, telling them of the action of the Pottawatomie County Society. He called attention to the fact that the tourists would stay at Texoma Lodge both nights. He said a historical program will be provided at the dinner hour of the first night, but on the second night tourists would be free after the dinner hour to do as they please.

A discussion was held relative to portraits and the portrait galley. Mr. Mountcastle reminded the Board that at a previous meeting he had made a motion which was adopted providing a person must have been deceased five years before his portrait could be placed in the gallery of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Mountcastle further said that at the time of his making this motion

it was thought that such action would become a part of the by-laws, but that it was later determined to consider the adopted motion as a regular Board of Directors action.

It was remarked by Dr. Johnson that some portraits might more properly be hung in other rooms than in the portrait gallery. Mr. Curtis expressed the opinion that a screening committee should be appointed to set up a criteria as to whose portrait and what types would be accepted by the Society. Judge Vaught moved that all portraits that are presently in the building be deemed as being there through proper authorization although such does not intend to mean that such portraits must remain where they are now displayed, but only that they are properly in the Historical Building. The motion having been seconded by Dr. Harbour was put and carried. Mr. Phillips remarked that the motion just adopted in no way affects the present method of screening and that the proposal voiced by Mr. Curtis should be given consideration. Mr. Curtis then moved that the President appoint a committee of five to make a study of criteria that should be used in determining whose portraits and the type of portraits that would be accepted by the Society. This motion was seconded by Judge Cliff and unanimously adopted. It was suggested by Judge Vaught that the President be a member of such committee.

A deed of conveyance from the Boggy Depot and Wilson Grove Cemetery Association to the State of Oklahoma for the use and purpose of the Oklahoma Historical Society covering real estate in Atoka County, Oklahoma, described:

"That portion of the Northeast Quarter ($NE\frac{1}{4}$) of the Southwest Quarter ($SW\frac{1}{4}$) of Section One (1), Township Three (3) South, Range Nine (9) East, described: Beginning at the Northwest corner of the Southeast Quarter ($SE\frac{1}{4}$) of the said Northeast Quarter ($NE\frac{1}{4}$) of the said Southwest Quarter ($SW\frac{1}{4}$); thence North $8^{\circ} 45'$ West 161 feet 4 inches; thence North $81^{\circ} 15'$ East 270 feet; thence North $8^{\circ} 45'$ West 108 feet 8 inches; thence South $81^{\circ} 15'$ West 540 feet; thence South $8^{\circ} 45'$ East 540 feet; thence North $81^{\circ} 15'$ East 270 feet; thence North $8^{\circ} 45'$ West 270 feet to the point of beginning, containing 4 acres, more or less, and

Beginning at the center of the said Northeast Quarter ($NE\frac{1}{4}$) of the said Southwest Quarter ($SW\frac{1}{4}$); thence East 375 links; thence South 400 links; thence West 375 links; thence North 400 links to the point of beginning, containing 1.5 acres, more or less"

and a Warranty Deed from the Wright family to the Oklahoma Historical Society covering real estate in Atoka County, Oklahoma, described:

"Beginning at an iron post at the NW Corner of the $SE\frac{1}{4}$ $NE\frac{1}{4}$ $SW\frac{1}{4}$ and running thence North 161 feet and 4 inches; thence East 270 feet; thence South 161 feet and 4 inches, and thence West 270 feet to the point of beginning, all in Section 1, Township 3 South, Range 9 East"

were laid before the Board of Directors by the President. He stated that these deeds conveyed to the Society the historic cemetery and interment ground at Boggy Depot, and that the plot second above described contained the mortal remains of Chief Allen Wright and other members of this outstanding family.

Mr. Curtis moved acceptance of the estate and premises described in the conveyances, subject only to the limitations contained therein. Motion was seconded by Judge Cliff and upon a question, the same was carried unanimously.

It was moved by Dr. Harbour that the cemetery be closed to further burials or interments except as provided in the conveyances, and that Mr. E. E. Fahrny be designated as informal custodian on behalf of the Society without remuneration. The motion was seconded by Judge Clift and unanimously adopted.

Mr. Phillips stated he was presenting a matter that had been called to his attention by Mr. Mountcastle, who found it necessary to leave the meeting. This was an article in the Indian Consistory news which was written by Dr. Charles Evans as a tribute to General W. S. Key. He said that Mr. Mountcastle, with whom he concurred, had suggested that this tribute to General Key be published in *The Chronicles*. The President assured Mr. Phillips that the suggestion would be followed.

It was remarked by Dr. Johnson that he had been favorably impressed with the county history articles that were being written by Francis Thetford for the Sunday edition of the Daily Oklahoman. He moved that the Society take official cognizance of these historical articles written by Mr. Thetford and that he and the publisher be commended. Miss Seger seconded this motion and it was then adopted.

Dr. Johnson reported that he was still working on the Will Rogers home marking project and that he hoped to have Will Rogers, Jr., as his guest some time during the summer.

At 12:10 p.m. the meeting adjourned after which lunch was served

(Signed) George H. Shirk, President

(Signed) Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

New Members for the Quarter January 29, 1959 to April 23, 1959

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Coleman, Carl	Ada, Oklahoma
Morgan, Oscar Okley	Anadarko, Oklahoma
Willis, J. R.	Apache, Oklahoma
Capshaw, Everett F.	Ardmore, Oklahoma
Thompson, John M.	" "
Shotwell, Mrs. Sue	Cheyenne, Oklahoma
Spears, Miss Fay	Chickasha, Oklahoma
McKinney, Lea A.	Choctaw, Oklahoma
Bland, Mary A.	Cushing, Oklahoma
• Wilmarth, Jessie Aird	" "
Maples, Laura	Davidson, Oklahoma
Abernethy, Mr. B. L.	Duncan, Oklahoma
Robinson, O. F.	" "
Walker, Lynn	" "
Williamson, Ben	" "
Maehr, Iva	Guthrie, Oklahoma
Zelley, Ridgeway	" "
Sparks, Charles H.	Lawton, Oklahoma
Gossett, B. G.	Muskogee, Oklahoma
McKinney, Chester C.	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Smith, Mrs. Edna Earl	Norman, Oklahoma
Balyeat, Dr. Ray M.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Carson, Opal Rexroat	" "
Ellis, Elsie B.	" "
Frates, C. I. & Company	" "
Hemry, Jerome E.	" "
McCain, Mrs. Mary T.	" "
Shaw, Miss Opal C.	" "
Skinner, Cliff	" "
Stephens, Roger L.	" "
Wildman, J. Ross	" "
Musgrove, Homer N.	Quapaw, Oklahoma
Hays, C. R.	Ringwood, Oklahoma
Liles, Sim L.	Sapulpa, Oklahoma
Young, Glenn A.	Sapulpa, Oklahoma
Jones, Newlin	Sayre, Oklahoma
Miller, James B.	Shawnee, Oklahoma
Baird, Claud	Stillwater, Oklahoma
Pickering, R. L.	" "
Davis, Robert A.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Hanna, Wilma Mae	" "
Hill, Eleanor	" "
Miller, Mrs. Wendell Z.	" "
Netherton, Ruby	" "
Brown, Ruth B.	Wewoka, Oklahoma
Fountain, William Thomas	Wilburton, Oklahoma
Archambault, Johnny Lou	Richmond, California
Hester, Leroy V.	Denver, Colorado
Vogel, Virgil J.	Chicago, Illinois
Jones, Dr. Thomas E.	Richmond, Indiana
Lakoe, Richard V.	Leavenworth, Kansas
Schloss, Frances B.	Brookline, Massachusetts
Powell, Clarence A.	Detroit, Michigan
Bessmer, Louise C.	Independence, Missouri
Brown, Ruth	Kansas City, Missouri
Moore, Mrs. J. B.	Tyler, Texas

GIFTS PRESENTED:

LIBRARY

The Statesman's International Year Book, 1958

National Trust Properties, 1959

"A Journal of One Hundred Years Ago in the Region of Tulsa",
James H. Garner (Reprint from *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume
XI, Number 2)

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

List of Headstone Inscription from the Asbury Cemetery

Donor: Mrs. Woodrow W. King, Eufaula

The Paullin Family of Southern New Jersey, Elmer Garfield Van Name

Donor: Elmer Garfield Van Name, Haddonfield, New Jersey

The Autobiography of Robert Watchorn

Donor: The Robert Watchorn Charities Ltd., Oklahoma City

"Golden Anniversary of St. Paul's Lutheran Church at Enid, Oklahoma"

Donor: Paul Hayer, Enid

44 Programs of the Oklahoma State Symphony Society and Oklahoma
Symphony Orchestra "The First Christian Church, 1943-1944"

Donor: Milliam R. Meador, Ponca City

Pictorial History of Our War with Spain for Cuba's Freedom, 1898

Donor: Mrs. Bessie W. Barno, Birmingham, Alabama

Ohoyahoma Club Guest Book, Membership Roster and Constitution

Donor: Ohoyahoma Club, Oklahoma City

This Is Colorado - Denver Post

Donor: Denver Post, Denver, Colorado

Pre-Cornell and Early Cornell

New York Historical Source Studies

Donor: Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York

"The Wynonan"

Donor: Roy Broadus, Wynona

"History of Wynona, Oklahoma"

Donor: Mrs. Robert Y. Empie, Oklahoma City

5 Rolls Microfilm 1820 Census Population Schedules of Georgia

Donor: Mrs. M. B. Biggerstaff, Oklahoma City

Post Commanders of Fort Sill 1868-1940, O. Willard Holloway

Donor: O. Willard Holloway, U.S. Army and Missile Center,
Fort Sill

One Who Was Strong, Mrs. A. F. Wasson

Donor: Mrs. Leonard H. Crowder, Seminole

The Diary of an Unknown Soldier, Edited by Elsa Vaught

Donor: Mrs. W. W. Vaught, Fayetteville, Arkansas

The McIntosh Family Tree, William Thomas Scott

Donor: William Thomas Scott, Muskogee

"Journal of the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Convention of the Diocese
of Oklahoma of the Protestant Episcopal Church"

Donor: The Reverend B. Franklin Williams, Pawhuska

James Stephen Hogg, Robert C. Cotner

Donor: University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas

MUSEUM

Pictures:

Photo of Geronimo

Donor: R. B. Hays

Hanging at Ada, Oklahoma, April 14, 1904

Donor: Mrs. Susie Peters, Anadarko

Oklahoma City Post Office, 1910; Overholser Opera House, 1910; Indian Scene, Travois, Tepee; Fairgrounds, Oklahoma City, 1924; Group at Wainwright, Oklahoma, December 27 1910; 101 Ranch; Round-Up 101 Ranch; Otoe Indians; Hunting Party Indian Territory; Carnegie Library, Shawnee; Cotton Compress, Shawnee.

Donor: Mrs. Jewell Mitchell

Ohoyohoma Club of 1953

Donor: Ohoyohoma Club

Cheyenne and Arapho Chiefs

Donor: Col. George Shirk

Kiowa Baby on Cradle Board; Horse Pulling Travois; Ise O, Kiowa; Toya, last survivor of the wagon train fight on the Peace River; Henry Tsoodle, Kiowa; Margaret Lone Wolf, granddaughter of Chief Lone Wolf; Dogs pulling Travois; White Parker inside his tepee; Indian Village and Council; White Parker and Chief Hunting Horse; Henry Bruce; Alice Ahtopety, Kiowa; Kiowa Bill and Wife; Kiowa Children; Indian Girls ready for the parade; Sod House, Kiowa County; Indian Village and Ceremony; Indian Council and Trial.

Donor: G. W. Long

Framed picture of post office in Oklahoma City in 1889.

Donor: Mrs. Bernice Beigler Hughes, Oklahoma City

Mr. and Mrs. John Swain; John Swain and Deputy Cook; Group of Peace Officers

Donor: Mrs. Susie Peters

Group picture, shows Robt L. Owen speaking

Donor: Bessie Truitt

Exhibits:

Car Tags, 55, dated from 1913 to 1958

Donor: Col. George Shirk

Stamps - 50 Oklahoma Commemorative U.S. Stamps

Donor: Sen. Mike Monroney

Bugle, used in Spanish American War

Donor: Mrs. Thomas H. Meagher

Charter - Anti-Horse Thief Association of Indian Territory

Donor: Mrs. Ethel Rush

Envelopes, 11 hotel covers

Donor: Mrs. E. B. McDowell

Mastoden Tooth

Donor: John Casady

Cannon Shell, War Between the States

Donor: James W. Green

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL ROOM

Two pictures, framed. One, a copy of a famous mural in Battle Abbey, Richmond. "General Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson viewing his "Foot Cavalry". Three small pictures made from war photographs of Generals Jackson, Zollicoffer and Albert Sidney Johnston.

Donor: Children of the Confederacy of Oklahoma Division.

UNION MEMORIAL ROOM

Photograph of Old Soldiers Encampment held in Columbus, Ohio,
September, 1919.

Donor: Mr. Claude Hensley

Framed charter of the Sons of Union Veterans of Civil War, issued
December 12, 1930.

Donor: Mr. Harlan T. Deupree

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Autumn, 1959

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Cover: This shows a reproduction of the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma, in colors. The five-pointed central star represents the 46th State in the Federal Union, Oklahoma, surrounded by a field of 45 stars representing previous states of the Union, arranged between the rays of the star. The design in the center of the large star is that of Oklahoma Territory; and in each of the five rays appear the designs of the old seals of the Five Civilized Tribes. Reading clockwise these seals are: (upper) Chickasaw, Choctaw, Seminole, Creek, Cherokee.

OKLAHOMA CITY JUNIOR SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, 1950-1959

*By Aileen Stroud Libke**

History is war and tragedy, stupendous effort and sustained sacrifice, sod houses and struggle with raw nature, development of a stable economy and emergence of an urban skyline. Yet history is more than epochal events. For man does not live by bread alone, and next to his faith in God is his response to the influence of good music. Nevertheless, the spiritual and the ideal and the cultural do customarily lag behind the material maturity of a commonwealth.

Oklahoma, however, did not wait to put down the rifle and the hoe before picking up the fiddle and the bow. Older than statehood are our two big school bands at Oklahoma State University and the University of Oklahoma. Both celebrated their 50th anniversaries in 1955. And in 1955 the Bacone Indian boys' chorus at Muskogee celebrated their diamond jubilee!¹

Oklahoma received its first national publicity on musical activity only a dozen years after statehood, when Frederic Libke, Oklahoma Baptist University (Shawnee) fine arts dean, "... introduced music festival week and brought in soloists (from the east) for choral performances in which town and gown joined voices. The *Chicago Music News* reported all this, giving Oklahoma music its first nationwide publicity."²

The early years did give prime concern to erecting a State upon the prairie. Today, however, with stability a fact instead of a goal, Oklahoma has definitely entered into a phase of cultural development, supporting among other endeavors, civic opera in Tulsa and symphony orchestras in Tulsa and in Oklahoma City.

Another Oklahoma cultural expression of more significance in some respects, especially to the future of the State, though less pretentious, less sophisticated than opera or major symphony is the Oklahoma City Junior Symphony Orchestra. Or-

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¹ *Norman Transcript*, February 25, 1955.

² Aline Jean Treanor, music editor, *The Sunday Oklahoman*, February 1, 1959.

ganized in the fall of 1950, initial enrollment was 13, by mid-year it had jumped to 50. In July 1959, Oklahoma City's Junior Symphony had a membership of 75 youngsters, plus a junior training orchestra of less advanced children of 30 members. With its root properly in the capital city, the organization draws its membership from towns as far as fifty miles away. At times members have come from Ada, Bethany, Chandler, Chickasha, Choctaw, Edmond, El Reno, Guthrie, Lindsay, Midwest City, Moore, Mulhall, Norman, Putnam City and Yukon. In addition, to carry the name of Oklahoma abroad in the literal sense, there have been two exchange students from Germany, who played in the orchestra while attending school in Oklahoma City. In its nine years, the Junior Symphony has played concerts in Oklahoma City, Ada, Chickasha, Edmond, Guthrie, Lindsay, Midwest City, Muskogee, and Shawnee.

Two earlier editions of a junior symphony orchestra were started in Oklahoma City, but both faded away after short duration. In the mid-thirties, probably including 1933 to 1935, a youth orchestra which merited the respect of Oklahoma City professional musicians flourished under Conductor Hebestreit. Later, under WPA sponsorship, with Clyde Roller, who now directs the Amarillo Symphony Orchestra, as conductor, another junior symphony graced the Oklahoma City sounding board for a period including the year 1939.

By 1950, however, neither schools nor city had a string program for its youth, though brass, winds, and percussion found expression in fine school bands. Even for these groups, orchestra music should have a place.

The beginning³ of Oklahoma City's permanent Junior Symphony Orchestra was described by the press in this fashion a year after its founding:⁴

Floyd Rice, young dance band leader, was training a highschool jazz combo, when the members asked if it were not possible to develop a larger group. Rice approached the junior chamber of commerce with the idea, and after careful examination, the Jaycees included the orchestra project in their Youth Activities program Six months later the orchestra made its debut before a forum of its sponsors at a chamber luncheon at the YWCA.

That same day, more than 500 season tickets were bought by excited city folk who recognized good music when they heard it

A non-profit, sponsoring group was incorporated under the name, Oklahoma City Junior Symphony Society, Inc., with

³Floyd Rice credits Tracy Silvester with initiating the effort.

⁴Sunday *Oklahoman* November 18, 1951.

membership composed of those donating \$5.00 to \$100.00 for support of the orchestra.⁵

The first Board of Directors functioned for six months. In that short period the Junior Symphony Society was incorporated. The Board had organized itself for action, drew up and adopted a constitution and adopted procedures for supervising the orchestra's activities, including concert dates and sponsored refreshments for orchestra members. Dr. Louis May, Eric Parham, and Tracy Silvester were employed to conduct the orchestra, and physical facilities for rehearsals and concerts were set up. The Board also determined policies, organized, rehearsed, and presented the orchestra in two public concerts. It paid out \$647.25 and kept orderly Minutes of its official acts. With all these achievements, the Board ended its first term with a cash balance on hand of \$1,455.65.

One entry in the Minutes is quotable: "... in view of the paucity of players for some instruments, and because the possibilities of orchestra are not yet determinable, no standards for membership in the orchestra [will] be fixed at this time." The second year's Board took office in April, 1951, and the only piece of business recorded by the Minutes of that meeting was: "Motion carried that we buy two tympani." Thus lightly touched upon was one of the major crises of the young junior orchestra.

The organization of a children's symphony orchestra seemed to non-musical Board members merely a matter of rounding up kids who played orchestral instruments, which of course was true with violinists, trumpeters, French hornists. But where was a boy with a set of tympani to play and transport to rehearsal and concerts? The comfortable bank balance was not enough to cover \$900 in conductor's salaries, other running expenses, plus the purchase of an expensive set of drums. Yet, what is an orchestra without tympani? Spirited discussions arose. Finally there was nothing to do but set up a drive for funds to buy drums. It was not easy but the money was raised. A set of tympani costing \$400 wholesale was purchased, and this set is still used and in good condition.

Three times the orchestra has bought national publicity of the finest sort to the State. The first occasion was when, under date of June 9, 1951, *Collier's* magazine carried a large page-wide color spread picturing the Oklahoma City Junior Symphony Orchestra. A year later the State was again spotlighted when the "Jaycees" entered a scrapbook on the Junior

⁵ A Board of Directors (1959) handles administration and policy, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce sponsors the orchestra as a Youth Activity project.

Symphony Orchestra in their national competition and won "First Place in Youth Activities," and "First Place in Fine Arts."

The third time the Junior Orchestra brought cultural recognition to the State was in May and June of 1958. On May 29, in Will Rogers Park amphitheater the juniors played their first "concert for pay."⁶ Free to the public, the young musicians played under contract for scale prices from the Music Performance Trust Fund of the recording industries and the American Symphony Orchestra League. Receipts were applied on expenses of orchestra members and chaperon attending the American Symphony Orchestra League Workshop in Nashville, Tennessee, on June 11 and 12.

Unfortunately, more harassing problems than edifying publicity items are apt to attend large organizational effort. The Junior Symphony had a diversity of problems, large and small, with which to contend, some of which almost swamped the project. Finances, for example, continued an annual struggle. The junior orchestra's budget was modest, the largest single item being the conductor's remuneration of \$1000.00 a year. There were other items, such as auditorium rental for concerts and chair rental when the children were to play on TV. If there were printed programs, these must be paid for if not contributed. Music for 75 players added up fast. When one year failed in the membership drive, and some years did fail, then the volunteer workers of the following year had to scabble to clear the deficit as well as to raise their own budget.

Volunteer workers were another problem. A certain dullness of routine attached to most civic obligations proves discouraging, as does the dullness of work, for some newcomers to unpaid Board directorships.

There has been no lack of variety to the difficulties which beset the Junior Orchestra. For instance, in the orchestra's fourth season, the President⁷ described his own administration as "one hassle after another." He named the "hassle over a rehearsal place, some wanting to get out of a church or teacher's studio to a 'neutral' place"; and the "hassle over seating in the orchestra." There was a practically unanimous ambition among the youngsters to snare the honor of orchestra section principal who sits in the "first" chair. This was no minor crisis! Also, in this same president's year the "hassle over conductors" accelerated.

⁶ Sunday *Oklahoman* February 22, 1959.

⁷ John Ingram.

The organization's first year was topheavy with conductors, with three to direct one junior orchestra. The number was reduced to two the following year: Eric Parham as main conductor, Tracy Silvester as assistant. With the passing of time, dissatisfaction with orchestra repertoire developed. When organized, the orchestra was not capable of playing advanced music, nor had the members ever done any playing except as individuals. "Playing together," even on the level of their own average advancement was an impossibility. Orchestral personnel for several years included adults to help carry the young players along. Mr. Parham's aim seems to have been to produce an ensemble, via as painless a route as possible. This meant light music on the grade school level. By the fourth year, parents were feeling that the juniors were ready to approach closer to a repertoire of the simpler classics, and the conductor was re-elected by the slim margin of one vote. Two years later a change in conductors took place. Everett Gates, a string man, was employed at \$1000.00 per year.

Not all problems were charged with emotion. One of the gravest seemed to rouse no feeling, one way or the other: the need for music racks. There were not enough racks the first year. By the second year the situation was desperate. Floyd Rice, according to the Minutes, was "appointed as 'attic' committee of one, to work with Miss Edith Johnson of the *Oklahoman* on publicity to get the public to look in their attics for music racks and to contribute same, if found, to the orchestra." Either Oklahoma City attics contained none, or attic-owners just did not care, because, year after year, the Minutes recorded the "desperate need" for music racks. In fact, this problem was never solved until two or three years ago Oklahoma City's big symphony finally let the juniors use their rehearsal room in Municipal Auditorium for their weekly practicing.

Integration was the problem eight years ago, which came nearest to wrecking the junior symphony. It started to rear its dark head in the Board meeting of October, 1951. when someone innocently suggested that "a party of some kind be given for the members of the orchestra." A committee was appointed to set it up. Three months later, at the January (1951) meeting, a Board member asked why no report had been heard on the party. The Minutes tactfully state that "the committee had gone over the question very carefully and that it was not deemed feasible at the present time to have a mixed social event. . . . "

In 1950, three years prior to the racial integration decision handed down by the United States Supreme Court, without

fanfare, public announcement, or arguments pro or con, as far as anyone can now recall, the junior orchestra in the process of organizing had casually integrated. They simply took any junior who could play and wished to do so. From the start there were two young Negro boys who could, and did wish to play. It is claimed⁸ that the Oklahoma City Junior Symphony Orchestra was the first non-segregated organization in the city.⁹ "It was not planned that way," early Board members insist. "It just happened." Apparently it did "just happen," without even attracting notice, because when plans for the party were started, a Board member's home was offered for the affair. When the color situation was discovered later, the offer was withdrawn.

A second incident confirms the general unawareness of the integration factor. The Junior Symphony was invited to attend a concert by the senior orchestra, and a section of sixty seats on the main floor, down front center, was reserved for them. The juniors arrived and were at the door ready to enter when the two Negro boys were discovered in the group. On learning that the colored boys would not be permitted to sit in their reserved section, despite the fact that many of the young white players were of southern background, rather than permit public humiliation of two of their group, the entire junior orchestra went to the high balcony. The empty section of sixty seats remained a mute but dramatic witness to group loyalty throughout the evening.

As time went on, it happened, also apparently by chance, that no Negro young people applied for membership in the orchestra, leaving the situation not necessarily non-integrated, but actually all-white. Then, in the spring of 1956, a young Negro applied for orchestra membership. To some parents whose children had joined during the all-white interim, this application of a Negro was a "new" thing, rather than the re-appearance of a formerly routine situation, and whether new, or resurrected, to many it was anathema.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce on the national level favored integration, and the opinion has been expressed that one reason the Scrapbook won the national Jaycees award in Youth Activities was because of the integration factor.¹⁰ The fine spread in *Collier's* magazine (1951) shows a Negro boy at the drums, and another in the woodwind section. Everette Gates, conductor, took a strong stand, stating his position as that of a musician auditioning applicants for a musical organization.

⁸ Floyd Rice.

⁹ Other than the Urban League.

¹⁰ John Ingram.

If any standard, color or otherwise, except musical ability, were to be set up, he would resign. The schism became "news," and publicity was carried in Oklahoma City papers.

An open air concert was given in Lincoln Park by the Junior Symphony in conjunction with the Air Force Choir. Following the concert, Mr. Thad Farmer, president of the Junior Symphony Orchestra Society, made a speech to clarify the position of the Junior Chamber of Commerce on the integration policy for the junior orchestra. The situation climaxed in the resignation of some Board members, and in the withdrawal of their children from the orchestra by a number of the parents.

Although a number of "key" players were lost, the cliché again proved true that "no one is indispensable." Recruits filled the chairs. Resurgence came in the fall. In the spring of 1957, the orchestra was presented in concert at the state convention of the Oklahoma Federation of Music Clubs in Muskogee.

The ninth season of the junior orchestra—1958-59—has been a year of stabilization. Under the presidency of Ray Scales, systematic procedure was tightened, and the Board has followed accepted business practices.¹¹

Irrespective of objectives, declared or debated, an organization of the size and type of the Junior Symphony Orchestra, looking to and dependent upon the public for financial and administrative support, makes an impact on the community that is not rightly measurable.¹² Oklahoma City, in supporting a

¹¹ Presidents of Oklahoma City Junior Symphony Orchestra Society, Inc:

1950-1951	Dean Terrill
1951-1952	Dean Terrill; Jack Griffin
1952-1953	Jack Griffin
1953-1954	John Ingram
1954-1955	Mrs. Retta Beekman Taylor
1955-1956	Pendleton Woods
1956-1957	Thad C. Farmer
1957-1958	Emmit B. Hedrick
1958-1959	Ray Scales

¹² Conductors of Oklahoma City Junior Symphony Orchestra:

1950-1951	Dr. Louis May - Eric Parham - Tracy Silvester
1951-1952	Eric Parham - Tracy Silvester
1952-1953	Eric Parham - Tracy Silvester
1953-1954	Eric Parham
1954-1955	Eric Parham
1955-1956	Eric Parham - Everett Gates
1956-1957	Everett Gates
1957-1958	Everett Gates
1958-1959	Larry Fisher

junior symphony orchestra, has shown itself quite a different type of town from another metropolis of 350,000 population supporting no such idealistic outlet for its younger citizens. Oklahoma, the State, has proven itself, too, a different type of State from those having no junior symphony orchestra in any of their cities.

There is an appeal to the heart to see seventy-five teenagers and pre-teens, bowing and blowing in fondly imagined unison, that compensates the critical ear for any teasing imperfections. That Oklahoma City youngsters have kept on bowing and blowing for nine years while storms of policy swirled about them, organizational, racial, financial, cultural, now to stand sturdily upon the threshold of their tenth season, is a matter of pride to the City and State, and to those men and women who have, as working members of the Board of Directors, served the orchestra's need.

LYNN RIGGS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

*By Charles Aughtry**

One likes to think of Lynn Riggs's days at the University of Oklahoma as among his most happy and most satisfying. During his three years there, he occupied a position of esteem and received the recognition which artists especially seem to crave. The whole world lay before him, as it does in such years. Riggs the young poet, teacher, editor, and playwright appeared likely to leave his name in the volumes of American literature.

In September, 1920 R (for "Rollie") Lynn Riggs came down from Claremore to enroll at the University of Oklahoma.¹ He had just turned twenty-one, and as a result of natural endowments plus the experience of having traveled on his own to New York and Los Angeles, he was an unusually sophisticated freshman. He enrolled in the College of Fine Arts that fall but changed to Arts and Sciences the following January where he majored in English with minors in French and English philosophy. At the University Riggs spent three full years plus the summer of 1921 and withdrew during the fall of his senior year (1923).

While Riggs was at O. U., the English department numbered among its members several men who became well-known to thousands of graduates as well as a few who were to achieve national and international fame. Riggs studied under Sanford Salyer (whose course in versification he praised in the student magazine), Theodore Hampton Brewer, Andrew Robert Ramey, and Sardis Roy Hadsell—to name some of the senior members of the department. He also took two courses from Randall Stewart, later renowned as a Hawthorne scholar. At the same time Walter Campbell, the western writer, and Ben Botkin, the folklorist, were young members of the English department. It is not surprising that Riggs's budding talent was nourished in this atmosphere.

*Charles Aughtry holds a Ph.D. degree from Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, where he wrote his thesis on the life and works of Lynn Riggs noted poet and playwright from Oklahoma. Dr. Aughtry is a graduate of the University of Oklahoma, and now teaches at Wheaton College, Norton Massachusetts.—Ed.

¹The files in the office of the Registrar and the President of the University as well as the files of various University publications are the sources of most of the facts in this article.



LYNN RIGGS

Riggs had to overcome parental disapproval to attend college. He mortgaged his Indian land allotment of ninety acres to pay part of his expenses, and worked for some time as a dish washer. In spite of the lack of encouragement from his father (his mother was dead) and the necessity to consider finances, Riggs distinguished himself academically at the University. He made all A's and B's, except for a C in physical education. He began his days at O. U. living in the basement of the Pi Kappa Alpha house where he washed dishes for his room and board. However, soon after Joseph Benton's mother met Riggs, he moved into the Benton home where he lived during the rest of his time at the University.² Sometime during 1921 Riggs pledged Pi Kappa Alpha. That same year he collaborated with Joseph Benton on "Honeymoon," a song still included in the fraternity's national song book. During his first year, Riggs joined a social fraternity, the men's glee club, an honorary dramatic fraternity, and the honorary freshman society but did not join any of the several literary societies. He also appeared in his only dramatic role at the University, as Francisco in *The Tempest*.

After attending summer school in 1921, Riggs returned in the fall as a Student Assistant in English. At this time the University first began hearing of Lynn Riggs. The *University of Oklahoma Magazine* first listed Riggs as an editorial assistant in the November, 1921 issue. During the fall Riggs also began writing for the *Oklahoma Whirlwind* and the *Oklahoma Daily*. In December, R. Lynn Riggs became editor of the "Poems of the Month" page of the *Magazine*. The young editor's opening statement of policy was extraordinary. It is an exceptionally mature pronouncement of critical standards to come from a student editor, and is bold in its sincere encouragement of originality in verse. Riggs writes:³

On this page will appear every month the best original poems submitted to the editor. Jingles and infantile efforts will not be considered; neither will mountainous or untyped manuscripts. Free verse, striking variations on old themes or meters, new imagery,—in short, anything that is modern and vigorous and individual,—will take precedence over preachments in verse, childish imitations, or facile eulogies of the obvious and trite. The editor hopes to uncover some creditable Oklahoma verse, to give first publication to coming poets, and to establish a more rigid standard of poetic criticism at this University.

This declaration bespeaks Rigg's high standards for literary art throughout his career.

² Joseph Benton, "Some Personal Remembrances about Lynn Riggs," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1956), p. 297.

³ Lynn Riggs, *University of Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 3 (December, 1921), p. 17.

During the Christmas vacation of 1921-1922 Riggs remained in Norman and wrote his first play, a one-act farce entitled "Cuckoo." The drama department soon heard of it and the January 21, 1922 *Oklahoma Daily* first reported its coming production. Several times during the spring the newspaper announced its performance, but there were delays for one reason or another.

The spring semester of 1922 was a busy one for Riggs. In addition to studying and teaching one section of freshman English, Riggs wrote a good deal. Vachel Lindsay had visited the O. U. campus to speak during the first semester, and the cover of the *University of Oklahoma Magazine* for February, 1922 carried a poem, "To Vachel Lindsay"—apparently Riggs's first poem in a University publication. This same issue reported that Riggs had recently had his first acceptance of any importance; it was the publication of two poems, "Song" and "I Was A King," in Mencken and Nathan's *Smart Set*. Joseph Benton recalls being with Riggs when he opened the letter containing his first payment—\$18.

On March 30, Riggs appeared before the Poetry Club to read the poetry of John P. McClure, at that time probably the outstanding literary graduate of the University. Riggs later acknowledged McClure's influence on his own poetry, and at this time he had already grown to know McClure personally. On May 4 Riggs also read O'Neill's recent Pulitzer Prize play, *Beyond the Horizon*, to the Drama League. By this time he had become one of the most influential students among those on the campus who were interested in the arts. In the final issue of that year's *Magazine* Riggs wrote, "The growing interest in this [poetry] page is a very gratifying thing . . . it becomes constantly more difficult to make selections for the month."

May 18, 1922—this date marks the first production of a play by Lynn Riggs. The farce, "Cuckoo," was sandwiched between two pantomimes on the final dramatic bill of the year. It is a situation comedy in which two geology students seeking shelter on a field trip in the Arbuckle Mountains try to defeat the schemes of Maw Hillbank as she connives to grab one of them for her fast-aging hillbilly daughter, 17-year-old Josie. The comedy is of the broadest: caricature, slapstick pummeling, and obvious wit. The student paper thought it the best local-talent production of the year, and concluded its review, "'Cuckoo' went over Big." The play was so successful that it was received with equal approval during a summer session performance on July 11.

On June 9, the summer edition of the student newspaper, the *Sooner Student*, reported "Sooner Minstrels Ready for

Tonight." The article described the group of O. U. teachers and students who were about to spend ten weeks on a Chautauqua circuit as the Southern Minstrels. The group was directed and led by Joseph Benton, then an instructor in music and by that time one of Riggs's best friends. Riggs, Benton, Elmer Fraker, and Laile Neal made up the solo quartet. That summer of touring the north central part of the United States made a lasting impression on Riggs; probably the most important result was Riggs's association with a maternal figure billed as "Mother Lake" who gave good advice to young ladies—and apparently to Riggs. He memorialized her in a television play written shortly before his death in 1954, "Someone to Remember."

Riggs returned to Norman in the fall as a Teaching Fellow in English. During the first semester he was enrolled in only one course, apparently busy with his work as a teacher and editor. At this time first dropping the initial 'R' from his name, Riggs again appeared as poetry editor of the *University of Oklahoma Magazine* with a declaration of editorial policy similar to his earlier one. He contributed no poems to his poetry page until March, 1923—when the work of several months appeared as the entire poetry section of the magazine. Ben Botkin wrote a laudatory introduction to the eight poems entitled "The Gift of Singing" in which he praised Riggs for his critical eye as well as his lyric voice. In this same issue Riggs as poetry editor of the magazine debated the question, "Should Students Write Criticisms of Fine Arts Productions?" with Mike Monroney as editor of the *Oklahoma Daily*. Monroney said "Yes," but Riggs said "No." Riggs argued that a critic should be specially qualified and trained, as students are not likely to be. He was very strong in stating that "it borders somewhat on a crime" to permit inept criticism in print by the ignorant and inexperienced.

In March, the *Oklahoma Whirlwind* announced in the "Pins Going Out" column, "Lynn Riggs-Aleene Yost." This romance lasted till the fall when, as Joseph Benton says, "The son of a beer baron from Wisconsin [with] a well-padded wallet set siege to Lynn's love-castle, and soon won out over Lynn."⁴ From all evidence it appears that this romance was a serious one for Riggs and its impact on him lasting. His loss in love was the blot on his experience at the University.

During the summer of 1923, Riggs accepted an appointment as an Assistant in English to teach two sections of freshmen; he also took an extension course in constitutional law. He

⁴ Benton, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

returned to the campus in the fall, no longer as poetry editor on the *University of Oklahoma Magazine* but only as a staff contributor. The first number of the magazine carried a finely expressive poem by Riggs, infused with his current mood and entitled "Beauty Has Gone." The concluding stanza reads,⁵

I am lost in straight walls of the thoughts of men
Beauty could not inhabit if she willed.
O, who will lead me till my cries are stilled?
O, who will bring me to the plains again?

On this plaintive note, one might say, Riggs bade farewell. Shortly after this poem was published, his health failed and he withdrew from the University. Joseph Benton writes, "Lynn had a nervous breakdown, withdrew from the University before the first semester of 1923-24 was over, and went to New Mexico, with a deeply-rooted case of pulmonary tuberculosis"⁶ After leaving the University, Riggs contributed a few poems and a short story to the *Magazine*. His last poem appeared in the Winter, 1928 issue.

While he was at the University, Riggs was gaining experience and momentum for the career as a dramatist which was to follow upon the recovery of his health. In addition to his University publications, Riggs had poems in *The Reviewer* and *Smart Set* in 1922, and *Palms* and *Poetry* in 1923. He was learning to exercise his exceptionally fine ear for lyricism, the lyricism which pervaded the language of his folk plays. In his days at O. U. Riggs worked hard and was rewarded appropriately. Despite the emotional distress which prompted his departure, Lynn Riggs must have known joy and satisfaction at O. U.—as his frequent sojourns on college campuses throughout his life suggest.

⁵ Riggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (Fall, 1923), p. 2.

⁶ Benton, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

LEE F. HARKINS, CHOCTAW

By Muriel H. Wright

It is more than a passing note in writing on the life of Lee F. Harkins that the place of honor on the walls of his home was given a portrait of the great Choctaw, Chief Pushmataha. The story of this renowned chieftain and the portrait, too, were both an inspiration and a symbol for Lee Harkins' deep interest as a collector of many rare imprints, pamphlets and manuscripts relating to the history of the Five Civilized Tribes, particularly that of the Choctaws.

Lee Harkins was a writer, editor and publisher at different times though he continued as a printer by trade, a member of the Newspaper Printing Corporation, in the composing room of *The Tulsa Tribune* for many years. This regular work limited his time and resources, a circumstance that reveals the character of the man whose labor of love went far afield in research and bringing together a fine collection of American Indian materials. Lee Harkins wrote in the *Antiquarian Bookman* for January 13, 1951, saying in part: "I was thrilled recently, in the rare book department of the New York Public Library, as I fondled a copy of Roman's *History of East and West Florida*. Therein I could see my people, as depicted some 175 years ago, on the pages as they played their dramatic part of life. And when my water well turns into an oil well, I'll have this item in my Choctaw library." Sometime later in 1954, Lee was thrilled to see a well producing oil on his Indian allotment but the royalty checks were too small to have Roman's *History of East and West Florida* among his books.

He wrote "The Story of Pushmataha" in 1938 that appeared as series in the *Neshoba Democrat* of Philadelphia, Mississippi. Other articles on Pushmataha and some noted American Indians appeared in the *American Indian* with Harkins as the editor and publisher. The *American Indian* magazine was his great venture, the first issue appearing in 1926 and the last, in 1931. He was always proud of the files of his *American Indian* though it took him several years to make up the deficit of the expense for its publication. The first issue of the magazine carries an editorial saying that it is "devoted to presentation of every day Indian news and the preservation of Indian lore." And its aim given is to become "a true reservoir of Indian life and history based on authentic articles from Indian and white writers." Yet Lee F. Harkins is remembered as an outstanding collector of historical materials, for he saved much that would have been lost to Oklahoma in his day, in a field where few, if any, others were his equal in devotion and interest. The following excerpts are from a review of Harkins' work as

a collector and editor, in the *Sooner State Press*, Norman, for May 5, 1951.¹

He has one of the most valuable collections on the Five Civilized Tribes, including an 1836 edition of the Choctaw First Reader in the Choctaw tongue, and an 1850 Park Hill reprint of the Bible in Cherokee. . . . He likes to help people with research on Indians, and he believes too few people know of the American Indians' impressive background. Harkins studied journalism at the University of Oklahoma two years and edited the Indian edition of the *Whirlwind* magazine in February, 1923. He published the *American Indian* magazine in Tulsa from 1926 to 1931, and its files are kept in leading libraries.

Lee Harkins was a descendant of Choctaw chiefs, and looked the part of a chieftain himself, for he was a man of fine physique, tall and well proportioned. He was friendly and genial, and found time in his busy life to appear before clubs and churches to tell about his ancestors and other noted Indians in history. He was a descendant of the LeFlore family (Choctaw-French), of which the notable chief, Greenwood LeFlore was a member. A few weeks after signing the Treaty at Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830, providing for the removal of the Choctaws from Mississippi, Chief LeFlore appointed his nephew, George W. Harkins(1st)—Lee Harkins' great-great uncle—to explore and select locations for the settlement of the Choctaws in their new country west. When George W. Harkins returned from this expedition in the winter of 1831, he found that he had been appointed district chief of the Second District (the Red River or Oklafalaya District) in the new country to represent his uncle, Chief LeFlore who remained in Mississippi. Colonel Harkins was a well educated man for his time, and wrote a "Farewell Letter" in behalf of the Choctaws to the people of Mississippi as he was leaving his old country in 1832, to make his home in the west. This letter is a part of a story on the Choctaw removal, published in one of the early issues of Lee Harkins' *American Indian* magazine. In 1850, George W. Harkins was elected and served as chief of the Second District then called "Apukshenubbee District," Choctaw Nation.

One of Lee Harkins' great-great grandfathers was Colonel David Folsom, a noted chief in Mississippi, who had served as interpreter and aide to Chief Pushmataha in Washington in 1824. Another of Lee's great-grandfathers, was Benjamin F. Smallwood who was elected and served as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1888-1890. Lee's parents were Will M. Harkins and Amy Harkins. His mother before her marriage was Amy James of Chickasaw descent through her maternal line, of the well known Burney family in the Chickasaw Nation.

¹ *The Tulsa World* for Sunday, March 9, 1958, has a feature article, "A Great Choctaw" by Orpha B. Russell, telling of Lee Harkins and his collections.

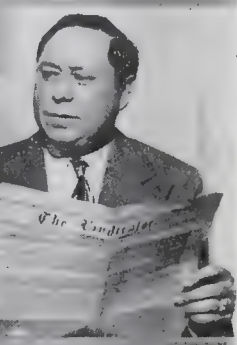


HOVERING TRIBAL RELICS
 Lee F. Harkins, Tulsa, is seen here with his Indian History Collections. He is seeking to document the story of Indian Tribesmen.

News Pioneers, Too

By [illegible]
 The news pioneers of the early 20th century were men of vision and courage. They were the first to bring the news of the world to the people of Tulsa. They were the first to bring the news of the world to the people of Tulsa. They were the first to bring the news of the world to the people of Tulsa.

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Lee F. Harkins, Tulsa, is seen here with his Indian History Collections. He is seeking to document the story of Indian Tribesmen.



Tulsa Proud of Exploits Of His Choctaw Ancestors
 Lee F. Harkins, Tulsa, is seen here with his Indian History Collections. He is seeking to document the story of Indian Tribesmen.

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Lee never married, and always affectionately referred to his "little mother" whom he took care of to the end of her life.

Lee Fitzhugh Harkins was born at Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation, on February 22, 1898. He graduated from high school at Tishomingo, and served in the armed forces in World War I. He attended the University of Oklahoma for two years where he studied journalism before he began work on a Coalgate newspaper. He also worked on a newspaper at Sulphur and played baseball on the Sulphur team. He was a printer for a time in Oklahoma City, and then moved to Tulsa where he died on May 6, 1957, mourned by many friends. At the time of his death, he was a member of Tulsa Chapter 52 of Royal Arch Masons, Pilgrim Lodge No. 522 A.F. & A.M., Albert Pike Consistory Club and Scottish Rite Mason. He was an advisory director of the National Indian Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians at Anadarko, and charter member of the Five Civilized Tribes Museum at Muskogee. He was a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Oklahoma Philatelic Society and Typographical Union (No. 403).

The Harkins' collection of imprints, manuscripts and pictures are now in the Indian Archives, the Library and the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the accessions having been from the Lee F. Harkins' Estate through special provisions made by the Board of Directors of the Society. The books out of a total of 1,430 titles include such volumes as Daniel Coxe's *A Description of the English Province of Carolina, by the Spaniards Called Florida and by the French, La Louisiana*, with maps of "Carolana and the River Meschacebe," 1741; volumes of the old laws and out-of-print histories of the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Chickasaws and the Choctaws; dictionaries and "lexicons" of the Choctaws; and genealogies of the Folsom Family in America. The pamphlets numbering 972 items which archivists and historians judged the finest part of the Harkins' collection, include such titles as *Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac*, Natchez, 1813; *A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School, in Lebanon, in Connecticut; from the Year 1768 to the Incorporation of it with Dartmouth College, and Removal and Settlement of it in Hanover, in the Province of New Hampshire, 1771* by Eleazor Wheelock, D.D., President of Dartmouth College, published 1774; *The Vindicator*, newspaper printed at Boggy Depot, early 1870's. The rare books, the pamphlets (which include an uncounted number of manuscript materials and old letters) and the pictures (152) including the portrait of Chief Pushmataha in the Oklahoma Historical Society are a memorial to one who loved his native Oklahoma and the history of the American Indian people, Lee F. Harkins, Choctaw.

OKLAHOMA UNIVERSITY AT GUTHRIE

By Frank A. Balyeat

Guthrie, in 1891, was the largest town in Oklahoma Territory and its capital. Centrally located in the area opened for settlement and in that which was likely to be opened soon, Guthrie leaders were deeply concerned about additional attractions that would enable it to hold and increase its relative advantages.

A college would help. In December, 1890, Territorial legislation had located three public colleges at Edmond, Norman, and Stillwater. They got under way very slowly. Securing land, appointing and organizing of regents, voting bonds for buildings, advertising for bids and letting of contracts, and delayed construction once it had begun,—these were among the conditions that plagued the administration of the three public institutions. When they did enroll and teach, it was in rented quarters and with no college students. Most were at the high school level with some “unclassified,” meaning not yet ready for high school work. Why should not Guthrie profit from these delays?

The arrival of William Albert Buxton, M. A., was what Guthrie leaders needed to trigger their dream into action. This teacher-preacher was well educated in New England colleges and had done graduate study in the University of Heidelberg, Germany. He was not a practical man, was even a dreamer, but his dreaming proved contagious in Guthrie. Among those favorably impressed by his proposal to establish a university at Guthrie, with himself as its president, was his brother, Dr. L. Haynes Buxton, M. D., then a leading practitioner there.¹

Dr. Buxton invested his savings of \$10,000 in establishing the university, thus giving his brother the needed financial start.

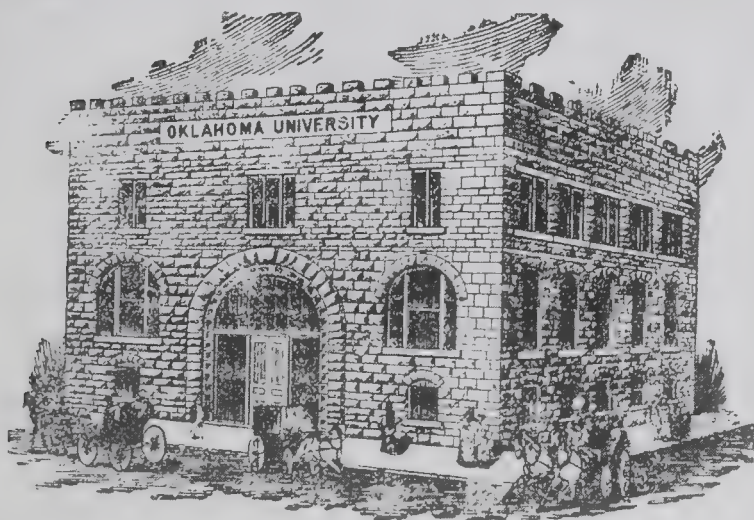
In September, 1891, W. A. Buxton purchased four lots at the intersection of Broad and Harrison, for \$540.² On these lots he proposed to erect the university building, facing north. This prospect and backing sufficed to interest the Guthrie Board of Trade in cooperating with him in raising money and in planning the building. No record has been found of any university directors, trustees, or regents. It is probable that

¹ Dr. Buxton was appointed Territorial Superintendent of Public Health and later practiced in Oklahoma City. His daughter, Mrs. Gertrude Buxton Fleming, provided helpful information about this stage of Oklahoma University development.

² Official Records in the Logan County Court House.

AN EDUCATION IS EVERYTHING.

COMMON BRANCHES, COLLEGE STUDIES, BUSINESS TRAINING,
NORMAL WORK AND PROFESSIONAL COURSES AT GUTHRIE.



DEPARTMENTS—Business College, Normal School, Common English Academy, Medical College, College of Pharmacy, Dental College, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Graduate School, Conservatory of Music, College of Law, Kindergarten.

The Academic year begins September 12 and continues nine months, with summer normal session extra. Tuition, \$4 to \$8.75 per quarter. Board, \$1.50 to \$3.00. Address,

PRESIDENT, W. A. BUNTON, A. M.

Advertisement of "Oklahoma University" at Guthrie, showing a sketch of the building which appeared in *Business and Resident Directory of Guthrie and Logan County, Oklahoma*, September 1, 1892, p. 65

the University Committee of the Board of Trade acted in this capacity as "Professor" Buxton, as he was generally called, developed plans.

He informed the Board of Trade that a \$2,000 "bonus" would be needed to get started. This was raised by a public auction of merchandise solicited by Guthrie business firms from their wholesale dealers. Governor Seay formally opened the auction, which raised the requested sum, and a little more.³

Early in the spring of 1892, plans were drawn for a building, the contract was awarded, and construction soon began on a square, three-story, red sandstone university building. Work progressed steadily and rapidly, enabling President Buxton to advertise the opening of Oklahoma University in its own building on September 12, 1892. The appearance of the building appeared in an advertisement in the Guthrie papers and in the 1892 Guthrie Directory. The advertisement is used as an illustration here in this article, for the print serves as further documentary proof of the Oklahoma University at Guthrie.

The reader can get an idea of the unusual scope of offering that this new school promised. The wording above and below the picture states or implies the following: kindergarten, primary, intermediate, and high school courses; liberal arts and sciences, with degrees and graduate study; business courses as well as a Conservatory of Music; a Normal School for those preparing to teach; and additional professional programs in law, pharmacy, dentistry, and medicine. Tuition and board were at reasonable rates. Local newspapers carried this advertisement through much of the first semester of 1892-93. Fred L. Wenner reported:⁴

The school opened in the fall with a fair attendance but, just as things were getting well under way, United States Marshals out of Topeka, Kansas, court arrested Buxton on a Federal warrant, charging him with using the mails to defraud. It is really a mystery how the action was brought in the Topeka court instead of the U. S. Court here, but the charge being made by a publishing house which had a branch office in Topeka was probably the reason. They alleged that Buxton had solicited donations of books for the University fraudulently, but as the letters were written on the stationery of the "Oklahoma University" and no claim made of any connection with the University of Oklahoma, the case was dismissed by the Federal judge, who really scored the Marshal's office and the book company for their action. Arrest of Buxton, a minister and a college president, was just too much for the new institution to stand, however, and the new college soon closed.

³ Letters from the late Fred L. Wenner to F. A. Balyeat, dated June 9 and November 9, 1949. Wenner was a newspaper man in Guthrie from April 22, 1889 to June, 1907. For several years he was private secretary to three Territorial Governors and later served in Territorial government departments. His extensive research about Oklahoma University and his letters and interviews greatly helped the writer of this study.

⁴ *Ibid.*

The case was more drawn out and more damaging than Wenner's brief statement conveys. Though transferred to the court at Guthrie, the case dragged on there. At times the bond required of Buxton, while under indictment, was more than he could provide and he spent a good many days in jail, some of them hot summer days. "The appearance of Professor Buxton showed that prison life this hot weather was telling on him."⁵

Really, the president of the institution had little time or opportunity to attend to the needs of the school during the second semester of that first year, if it was in operation then. Mr. Wenner sought, through the press, information from or about those who attended the first semester at Oklahoma University and received very meager information. One wrote: "I started to school in Guthrie in the fall of 1892, but funds were not sufficient to finish the year, so Miss Bosworth had a private school for the remainder of the year."⁶ There is some evidence found that Miss Bosworth was on Mr. Buxton's faculty and continued to teach through that year in the University building. The control of the school had slipped from President Buxton and, sometime in 1893 after charges had been cleared, he moved "out west," where he spent his remaining years, broken financially, as well as in health and in spirit. He had meant well but his project had failed.

The question remains as to what subjects were taught and how many were enrolled at Oklahoma University in the fall of 1892. Memories of the few available old-timers agree that the attendance was disappointing and the school lasted only one semester. Since it was not a public or church school, it filed no formal reports. However, the Territorial Superintendent of Instruction, as of December 1, 1892, gave some data about the school. Superintendent J. H. Parker included in Table 12 (page 23) one line of information about each of seven "High Grade Schools in Oklahoma Territory for the Year Ending June 30, 1892." His statement is obviously in error, for some of these schools were not in existence in June 1892. For the three public institutions he lists the following figures on staff members and enrollment: University, Norman, 4 and 89; Agriculture College, Stillwater, 7 and 76; and the Normal, Edmond, 3 and 80.⁷ Actually, the University of Oklahoma began its first term in September, 1892, with a staff of four, and a total enrollment of 57 for the semester.⁸

⁵ Guthrie *Leader*, June 25, 1893.

⁶ Letter from Mrs. Adele Kessler Barwick to Fred L. Wenner, Nov. 12, 1949.

⁷ *First Biennial Report* of Territorial Superintendent of Instruction, Dec. 1, 1892.

⁸ Roy Gittinger, *The University of Oklahoma*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. 12.

The four private and church schools included in Parker's table show these enrollments: Oklahoma College, Norman, South Methodist, 76; Kingfisher Academy, Kingfisher, Congregational, 78; Oklahoma College and Business Institute, Frisco, 130; and Oklahoma University, Guthrie, W. A. Buxton, 150 enrolled and 16 employed. Like the University of Oklahoma, Guthrie's Oklahoma University began classwork in September 1892. It may be that Supt. Parker had unofficial information about each school enrollment as of the date of his report, which would be for the first semester of that year and these are incorrect. It does provide some clue as to the enrollment at Guthrie, even though misleading.

It is almost certain that none of the Oklahoma University students was doing college work. Miss Etta Hikes, who came to Guthrie in the fall of 1893 to teach the newly organized public school work there, wrote:⁹

I remember the Oklahoma University building on the corner of Harrison and Broad, but I think that it did not continue as a university after I came to Guthrie. There were several young people in (Guthrie) high school in my first year there who had been students in the university the year before, among them Adele Kessler. I think the university did only high school work, as these people were high school sophomores. They told me that Miss Sarah Bosworth was one of the teachers there in 1892-93.

The present writer is convinced that Buxton's school ran just one semester and without his direction much of that time, and that it enrolled only those of high school rank, or lower. It is probable that no college work was ever taught in that building.

During the summer of 1893 it was very obvious that Mr. Buxton could not continue his school. The building was available and was then a liability to the Guthrie Board of Trade and possibly to Dr. L. H. Buxton, unless he had already removed himself from that connection, with his heavy financial loss. So it was wise for the Board of Trade committee to have the building occupied by a school and thus try for the realization of Guthrie's dream of soon becoming the cultural center of the new territory.

Joel F. Smith, A. B., S. T. B., a Methodist pastor in Guthrie, agreed to direct the school for another try in the fall of 1893, arranging with the Board of Trade to use the "Buxton University Building." Whether Smith did this on his own or was associated with his denomination in this venture, had not been determined by this writer. Superintendent J. G. Mallory, of the Guthrie Public Schools, had already announced that he had leased two rooms of the University Build-

⁹ Letter from Etta Hikes to Fred L. Wenner, Oct. 21, 1949.

ing for intermediate classes, the twenty-one public school teachers then scattered to about a dozen different buildings.¹⁰ Also, Miss Sarah Bosworth had leased part of the building for a private school, which she did not begin. Thus, with President Smith's arrangement to occupy space there, it would appear that the building was well utilized, especially considering the items in Miss Bosworth's advertisement that pupils could room in the building."¹¹

Miss Bosworth's advertisement appeared daily in the Guthrie papers from early in September, in which she offered to teach school courses to "young men and young ladies," especially preparing them for "college and teaching." President Smith began advertising his school in the Guthrie papers Sept. 13, 1893 and in a few days included in this information, "Miss Bosworth has accepted a position in the University." Her advertisement was then discontinued.

The advertisement of President Joel F. Smith was headed with a picture of the University Building, as Buxton had run it a year previously. Above the picture was "Oklahoma" and beneath it, "University, Guthrie, O. T. It announced that school will open Sept. 27, 1893. . . . Competent Professors and Teachers Will be Employed and Thorough Work Will Be Done in All Departments." He included "Instruction in Primary, Intermediate, and College Courses; Departments in Music and Art; Complete Business College. Rates, Reasonable. Faculty of Six Teachers."

After October 10, 1893 and through most the following January, the advertisement that was running daily in Guthrie newspapers was smaller (one column wide), without picture, and headed "Ok. University, Guthrie, Ok." The fact that this ran continuously through the semester but was discontinued late in January would suggest that courses were taught through the first semester but did not continue after that. Also, a news item about Methodist Church consideration of a church school, mentioned the Reverend Joel E. Smith as a Stillwater pastor.¹² Apparently President Smith was no longer connected with a school at Guthrie. By that time the public schools were caring for resident pupils in high school, and with no tuition charge.

During the spring of 1894 news stories and advertisements showed several occupants of the University Building. Dr. L. H. Buxton's professional card appeared in a news paper for May 31, 1893, and gave his residence as "University Building, Harrison Avenue." Undoubtedly he had not lived there in September, 1893, when it was so crowded with school activi-

¹⁰ Guthrie *State Capital*, Sept. 20, 1893.

¹¹ Guthrie *State Capital*, Sept. 9, 1893.

¹² Guthrie *State Capital*, January 9, 1894.

ties. A February 11, 1894 issue carried the advertisement of "Guthrie Business College." It was then occupying Rooms 2 and 3. Another tenant was Mrs. E. G. Hogan, who announced that she would begin a "Kindergarten School in University Building."

Sometime in the spring of 1894 the Guthrie Board of Trade disposed of the building for \$1,000, according to news items that appeared in the *Leader*. In 1895 the Territorial Legislature held their sessions in the building. Later, the county bought it for a court house, occupying it until the erection of the present structure in 1907."¹³ The building was then razed to make room for the present Logan County Court House which stands on the exact site of the ill fated "Buxton University Building," the dream home of Oklahoma University.

¹³ Fred L. Wenner, *op cit*.

RANCHING IN THE
CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW NATIONS*By J. B. Wright*¹

As the youngest son of Governor Allen Wright who always had cattle ranching interests, I well recall when the western part of the Choctaw Nation and bordering parts of the Chickasaw Nation were mostly prairie with free, open range and grass growing belly deep to a horse. In this region bounded on the east by the "Katy" Railroad, on the west by the Santa Fe Railroad, on the north by the Canadian River and on the south by the Washita River, there were a number of Choctaw and of Chickasaw settlements mostly in the timber. There were very few white people. Tishomingo and Stonewall were the only towns of any size off the railroads, and they were small. There were ranches scattered all through this area, mostly owned by Indian citizens by blood, or by intermarried citizens. The cattle and horses generally grazed miles away from the ranch houses, on the open range.

When Allen Wright returned to the Choctaw Nation in 1855, after graduating from his college and his theological seminary courses in New York, he was the outstanding scholar among the Choctaws and the only Indian at this time in the Indian Territory who held a M.A. degree, all of which soon brought him responsibilities as a leader in his Nation. His life's work was that of minister of the Gospel and he was highly honored by the Presbyterian Church. He was a writer and translator and served at different times to elected positions of trust in the Choctaw Nation, including that of Principal Chief (1866-1870) for which he was always addressed as "Governor." Throughout his busy lifetime, he maintained ranching interests near his home, his first stock of cattle ranging in the vicinity of his first location at Mount Pleasant about fourteen miles east of Caddo, in present Bryan County. When he was transferred in 1859 to new preaching assignments farther west and built his permanent residence at Boggy Depot, in Atoka County, his cattle and horses ranged in the creek bottoms and the prairies near there, especially during the period of the Civil War.

¹ This contribution on "Early Day Ranching," by Mr. J. B. Wright of McAlester, has been adapted from the original manuscript and published here in the *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* by permission of the Five Civilized Tribes Museum of Museum, at Muskogee. The original manuscript on the subject by J. B. Wright, now the property of the Museum at Muskogee, won a place in an "Old Timers' Story Writing Contest" sponsored by the Old Settlers' Association in its annual meeting at the Oklahoma Free State Fair at Muskogee, in 1957. Mr. Wright now lives in retirement at the age of eighty-three years, after many years serving as head of the office in U. S. Indian Affairs, at McAlester.—Ed.

After the War in 1868, he went into partnership with a white man by the name of Greenup, and established a ranch with a stock of cattle at Cherokee Springs, north of Coalgate in present Coal County. At the time, with many demands in his office as Principal Chief and problems to solve growing out of the alignment of the Choctaws with the Confederate States during the recent War, Governor Wright trusted his partner to take care of the cattle at Cherokee Springs. A year later, when he went to see about the ranch, he found Greenup had absconded taking with him the cattle, and had disposed of them in Kansas.

Father's next venture in the cattle ranching business nearer home was when I was a lad, the youngest of the ten children. He established a ranch at Button Spring, the present site of Wapanuka in Johnston County, about eight miles from Boggy Depot. This time he had no partner but he employed A. A. Taylor to take charge of the livestock. Taylor was a Tennessean who had a fairly good education. He also was familiar with the use of common drugs, and treated the sick in his community, for which he became well known as "Doc" Taylor. He married Miss Elizabeth Lloyd, a daughter of the Reverend W. J. B. Lloyd, a Presbyterian missionary among the Choctaws. The ranch interests at Button Spring were successful, and Father owned quite a herd of livestock within a few years. He was progressive, and had improved all of his stock—cattle, horses and hogs.

Governor Allen Wright had a sister Kate who died soon after the Civil War period, leaving two young sons whom he took into his home, and reared and educated them with his own family of children. The name of his sister's full blood Choctaw husband, the father of these two boys, was "Imanolubbe," from the Choctaw *imanoli* meaning "to tell" or "to proclaim." Father adopted this English translation, and gave his two nephews the surname "Telle." Robinson Telle, the older brother, attended college in Tennessee but died before he finished his education. Alinton Telle, the younger—best known as "Lint"—was only eight years old and could not speak English when he came to live with his Uncle Allen Wright at Boggy Depot. Yet he was only twenty years old when he graduated from college in Tennessee. He then studied in the Law School at Albany, New York, and was admitted to the bar in New York State. He returned to the Indian Territory to practice law at Atoka in the Choctaw Nation, where he served in different official positions through the years but his main interest was ranching.²

Alinton Telle established his ranch on Lake Prairie, six miles northeast of Button Spring and at the eastern fringe of

² See *Addenda* at the end of this article for biographical notes on Alinton Telle, and his son the late Russell Telle.—Ed.

the region now called "Hereford Heaven." One of the first Hereford bulls in this area was shipped from Missouri and bought by Telle. Governor Wright gave over his livestock to Alinton to handle on shares and the cattle and horses were moved from Button Spring to Lake Prairie. Father died in 1885, and the following year his livestock interest was divided among his heirs, and I was the youngest. Lint was appointed my guardian and I became much interested in the ranch. He had always shown more interest in me than my brothers, and so Lint and I were always pals.

Telle's Ranch on Lake Prairie was well watered by Clear Boggy and Delaware creeks which bordered both sides of this region, and the bottom lands alongside furnished protection and grazing making it unnecessary to feed the stock in the winter months. These were timbered streams of fine blue water near wide sweeping prairies and prairie hills. It was a beautiful country, especially in the spring when one could look across the undulating landscape uninterrupted by houses, fences or other signs of civilization. Cattle in those days strayed from ranch area to ranch area, sometimes many miles away from the home ranch. This necessitated spring roundups which covered many miles and consumed a good part of a month to complete.

The year after Father died, my mother moved the family to Atoka so that my sister and I might attend school. I was small for my age and had been sickly. The doctor advised Mother not to keep me too closely confined to school. Being a normal boy of twelve to fourteen years that sounded good to me. So I went to Telle's Ranch whenever it suited me and it was convenient. Thus, I learned a smattering of the "3 R's" during the time that I was riding the range.

Our ranch seemed isolated to me, and we batched most of the time. Alinton Telle was not married for several years, and when he did marry, he built his home in Atoka, twenty miles distant. When he first established the ranch, he hired a white man, Walter Van Hoosier, as foreman to look after the livestock, and he himself worked on a salary to carry on the ranch business. There were times when he would ride many miles after work hours to visit the ranch and confer with Walter Van. The ranch house consisted of a double log house with a breezeway and a side room. In the room where Walter slept, there was a porthole through which he could poke the barrel of his rifle and get a bead on any trespasser. When the cowboys left the place where they batched, they never locked up the house so that anyone happening along could find food and lodging if the owner was absent.

In those days, there were wild horses in this country as well as deer, wild turkeys, prairie chickens, panthers, wild



(Photo about 1897)

TELLE'S RANCH

Alinton Telle (center), first horseman to left

cats, wolves (both loafer and black) and coyotes as well as smaller game. Black wolves were more ferocious than loafer wolves. One time when we were working the range about five miles north of the ranch, we jumped a herd of wild horses. I was riding a pretty good horse and was enjoying the race. While running at full speed, Lint rode up beside me and told me to go to the ranch house. He no doubt thought I might follow the horses into Boggy Bottom for they were headed in that direction. Boggy Bottom was more or less a jungle and could be dangerous for a boy. Lint undertook to tell me to follow a trail that I did not know. We were out on the prairie and near the end of a prairie ridge which I knew and so I followed the ridge. After the race was over and the cowboys started for home they began looking for the way that I had gone. After searching more than an hour, they came to the ranch house, and found me lying in a hammock taking life easy. They were disgusted. They did not say too much but the next day when we were on the range they roped a calf and tied the rope to my saddle horn and told me to hold the calf until they returned. When they came back about a couple of hours later, they turned the calf loose. No doubt they felt that they had gotten even with me and I was restored into their good graces. Alinton Telle was a genial, forgiving soul, long-suffering and patient, for few men would have put up with a boy as he did.

Every spring along about the first of April, ranchmen usually met in Atoka and planned for the spring roundup to begin about the middle of April. Telle always went on these roundups and as he was one of the leading ranch owners he was consistently chosen "Captain" of the outfit because he knew the country well and handled the men successfully. The ranch owners would each send from one to three cowboys from his vicinity to bring his cattle home. Each cowboy usually had from five to eight horses so he could change horses every day. Sometimes they would change horses twice a day, depending on the work. It was necessary to change horses daily for there was no feed other than grass, and the grass being young and tender did not furnish the animals much strength.

A chuck wagon was outfitted with food and tin dishes and cooking utensils, and it also carried the bedrolls for the cowboys. The food consisted of flour, bacon "sowbelly," beans, coffee, sugar and molasses. It did not require many cook vessels, which consisted of a Dutch oven in which to cook baking powder biscuit, a skillet in which to cook the meat and gravy, a pot in which to cook beans, a coffee pot and two water buckets. Of course there was an axe, and maybe a few other necessary articles. The wagon was covered with bows and a wagon sheet and pulled by a team. The driver was the cook.

A cowboy's bedroll consisted of a pair or two of blankets rolled in a wagon sheet. The wagon sheet was to protect him and the bedding against inclement and wet weather. It did not always do this for I remember once when it rained so hard that all the bedding got wet and we had to spend a day drying it out. We made our beds on the ground and if it rained we covered our heads with our slickers (yellow raincoats). The few clothes we removed when going to bed, we put with our boots under our heads. Sometimes I was wet or damp a day or two at a time and only dry while in bed.

Lint generally carried a small satchel in which he carried a few toilet articles and a change of clothing. Others among the cowboys might have a clean pair of socks, a clean shirt or possibly a change of underwear enclosed in their bedroll. We could wash socks or a shirt in the creeks if necessary, or perhaps bathe, although at that time of year the water was too cold to go swimming. We did not give these matters too much attention while we were away from home for as much as three weeks at a stretch. Sometimes hail would strike us and the weather would turn cold.

The roundup outfit would usually start west of Atoka and Lehigh and moved up toward Stonewall, a small village. Then up to and around to where Ada now stands. Then it was the Figure '2' Ranch owned by Mr. Thomas. We then moved over around to Mr. Roff's ranch where Roff now stands. We moved down south in and around where Sulphur now stands and where the Diamond 'Z' Ranch was located. Then on down towards Mill Creek, Tishomingo, Emet and in toward home. As we came near the different ranches the cowboys would cut out their cattle and drive them home. Night herding was common practice.

Nearly all of the cowboys wore six-shooters. A boy of my age was not encouraged to wear a gun and I never found it necessary to have one. Only once did I see a near gun battle. Our boys were generally peaceable but could rise to the occasion if necessary.

Rodeo feats today were practice in those days. We had some fine riders and ropers then and well-trained, intelligent horses. It was a pleasure to watch a well-trained cutting horse at work. The rider would go into a large herd and spot the animal he wanted to cut out. He showed the horse the animal. The horse would follow the animal, trying to head it toward the outside of the circle of the herd. If the animal lagged the horse would bite it on the tail bone. When near the outer edge of the herd, the horse would give the animal a shove outside and then the race began and lasted until it was in another herd.



ALINTON TELLE

I have been present when it was necessary to brand grown cattle. In those days all range cattle had horns and it was not safe to go into a lot on foot. The cowboy would pick out the animal to be branded, run his horse alongside the herd, throw his rope over the shoulder of the animal, catch it by its forefeet, then wait for it to reach the end of the rope. The horse would now sit back on his haunches, the animal would tumble, the rider would dismount and run to tie it. If the animal was not stunned and tried to get up, the horse kept the rope taut and dragged the animal if necessary.

In branding calves we would catch one by the head and flank, lift it with one knee and throw it to the ground. A good many years ago, and when I was in my sixties, I thought I would try this stunt again. I threw the calf but was knocked down on my back in a wet cow lot. I then decided that this stunt was for a younger man or at least for someone who had kept in practice as I had not done such a trick in forty years.

Capturing and riding wild horses in the early days was an interesting event. This was usually done in the spring before the wild horses gained too much strength. The cowboys would build a lot fenced in with brush and poles six or seven feet high, in the timber near the place where the horses would run. Wings of brush were built on one side of the lot as a chute. Then a couple of cowboys would ride to where the horses ranged and start them on the run. Sometimes the wild horses would make a run as much as ten miles, then circle and go back to near the starting point. Some of the boys would choose stands near where it was figured the horses would pass and after a run of four or five miles another team of cowboys would relieve them. The wild horses were driven into the trap and herded into the lot. When a wild horse was roped he would not give in but would pull against the rope until he was choked down. Some of these horses made fine cow horses for they had stamina or, as the cowboy would say, they had "bottom."

In a few years all this wild, free life was changed. Many people came to the "B.I.T."—Beautiful Indian Territory—and settled here. Allotment of Indian lands was in progress, and wire fences were strung along the surveyed lines in the once open country. When I returned from college in 1902 it seemed to me that cattle ranching on a big scale was doomed but today ranching has returned under different conditions, and is a leading industry.

ADDENDA

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON

ALINTON TELLE AND HIS SON, ALINTON RUSSELL TELLE

Alinton Telle was born on September 30, 1858, at Lukfahta, Choctaw Nation, in what is now McCurtain County, Oklahoma. When he went to live with his uncle, Allen Wright, he attended the neighborhood school taught by Miss Clara Eddy at Boggy Depot. He took his college preparatory work at Kemper Military Academy in Missouri, and graduated from Southwestern Presbyterian University at Clarksville, Tennessee, in 1879. He completed the study of law in Albany, New York, and was admitted to the Bar in the State of New York, in 1881. He settled at Atoka, Indian Territory where he practiced law and began his interests in cattle ranching. In 1891, he married Mrs. Emma Russell Leary, and they were the parents of a son, Alinton Russell Telle and a daughter, Nanima Telle (born, 1898 and died 1900).

Alinton Telle was appointed National Secretary of the Choctaw Nation in 1886, and was elected to the same office the next year, serving the four year term until 1889. Mr. Telle was an excellent writer in English, and was considered the best interpreter and translator serving in the United States Courts of the Indian Territory. From 1897 to 1900, he was a member of the Choctaw Commission in the work of the U.S. Dawes Commission when making the final Choctaw Rolls for allotment of lands in severalty. He resumed the practice of law in Atoka in 1900, in partnership with J. H. Chambers.

Alinton Telle was active in civic affairs in the development of the recently incorporated City of Atoka, serving as a member of the first City Council, and was also a member of the Masonic Lodge. He was a builder and owner of the first two-story brick building in Atoka, and was a contributor in the erection of churches here as well as to the club building of the Pioneer Women's Club, of which Mrs. Telle was a charter member. He served with his fine bass voice as a choir leader in the Methodist Church, of which he was a member. He died at his home in Atoka, March 8, 1903.

His son, best known as Russell Telle (born February 12, 1893), always made Atoka his home, and never married. At his death on January 17, 1858, he was known by a wide circle of friends as a member of the Masonic Lodge, Indian Consistory at McAlester, Kiwanis Club and the Methodist Church. He was a member of the Bryan County and the Oklahoma Bar Associations. He served as former assistant Atoka County Attorney, and court reporter for many years under three different judges of his home, district court in Oklahoma.

FARM LIFE IN LOGAN COUNTY IN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

*By Ina Lee Robinson**

It was in April, 1891, that my mother with three small children left her native home in Leavenworth County Kansas and came to Oklahoma to join father.¹ He had come two months before and bought a claim twelve miles southwest of Guthrie. It is needless to say that mother rather reluctantly left her relatives and friends to enter a new life in a strange and new land. She had heard many stories about centipedes and tarantulas, and tales about Indians in Oklahoma.

From Leavenworth it was an all-day ride to Guthrie with changes to be made at Holiday and Newton. Soon after Mother left Holiday she met some men on the train who were also going to Guthrie. They were surveyors on their way to the Sac and Fox country. Mother always felt very grateful to these

* Miss Ina Lee Robinson of Oklahoma City is now retired after teaching in the Oklahoma City public schools for nearly thirty-four years. She has here contributed the story of her childhood days on the family farm in Oklahoma Territory through the interests of the Pioneer Teacher Committee of Delta Kappa Gamma Society (women teachers' professional group), with Mrs. Lavina Dennis, Chairman of the Committee. Miss Robinson came as a small child from her native state of Kansas, with her parents who settled on a claim in Logan County. She attended the district school of her community, graduated from Logan County High School in 1907, and was a teacher in the Logan County schools before she came to Oklahoma City in 1920. She holds a B. S. degree from the University of Oklahoma and the M. A. degree from Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City. She is a member of the First Christian Church of Oklahoma City, Delta Kappa Gamma, American Association of University Women and a number of other professional organizations.—Ed.

¹ My parents were Pizzarro Robinson and Elizabeth Deger Robinson. Father was born in 1855 near Frankfort, Kentucky of Scotch-Irish parentage. He was the second of three children born to Uriah and Nancy Robinson. His father fought in the Mexican War. He read Spanish history and called his two sons, Alonzo and Pizzarro. (Father received the name of the "nefarious conqueror of Peru.") Both parents died before he was nine years old and he lived with an uncle for several years. While still in his teens he came with his brother and sister to Kansas where they lived on a farm. The years 1879 and 1880, my father spent near Leadville, Colorado prospecting for gold.

Mother was born in Leavenworth, Kansas of German parents. Her mother was born in Baden, Baden, and came to America when she was fifteen. Her father was born in Switzerland and came to Ohio at the age of thirteen. Her parents were married in Ohio, and then lived in Wisconsin before coming to Kansas. Mother spent her girlhood on a farm, attended county school and then normal school in Leavenworth. She and father were married in 1884. For five years after their marriage they lived in Lansing, Kansas where Father was a guard at the Kansas State Prison.

men who kindly assisted her in changing trains at Newton and stayed with her until Father met her at the Guthrie station about midnight. At nine o'clock the next morning we started for the country in a farm wagon drawn by two big iron-grey horses. The wind was blowing a true Oklahoma gale. Mother got down in the wagon with us children to keep us "from blowing out," she said. My brother's hat blew off and went tumbling across the prairie and was lost. The road was narrow and usually kept to the section line, but wound along at the edge of streams which had to be forded.

We arrived at about the middle of the afternoon at our claim in Logan County, three miles south of the Cimarron River. Father bought it from two men. Mr. Dupree had taken it in the run of 1889. Mr. Hagar had filed a contest against his right and had won in the first suit. Mr. Dupree had appealed the case. In this interval father appeared, and agreed to pay them \$250 apiece. They went with him to the land office in Kingfisher where he filed on the land and paid them the amount agreed upon.²

We took up our abode at the Hagar place, in a house built of sod. There were two rooms, only one of which had a floor. Both rooms had a thin coat of plastering on the walls. The roof was of natural boards laid over the rafters and then covered with earth. Since Mother did not like to look up inside the house at the comb of the roof, a kind of attic was made by putting pieces of lumber across underneath at the ledges, and covering the planks with screen doors and pieces of carpet. Other buildings were a sod barn and a sod chicken coop.

The next morning after the arrival of the family a neighbor came and helped father build a cave. This was a storehouse for the fruit mother had brought with her, and also became a place of refuge from storms. A pack rat soon took up residence in this cave, and every morning mother found her pile of potatoes upon the ledge underneath the roof.

It was on the following day that mother received her first introduction to her neighbor. She saw a woman coming up the path barefoot, carrying a spade in her hand. When she came to the door she told mother who she was, saying that she lived across the creek and wanted to borrow the wirestretcher. The next visitor was a French woman who came with her children. She said that they were very poor, and that her little girl had had no shoes all winter. She became one of mother's chief advisers on ways and means of the new life, and remained a

² After five years, Father went to the land office again taking two neighbors with him to prove that he had lived on the claim continuously. He received a title to the land signed by President William McKinley. This farm is still in the possession of the Robinson heirs.

neighbor all the years we lived on this farm. The next caller was the school teacher, Mrs. Helton, who stopped to get some milk for her cat. Mother particularly liked her appearance, and they became good friends. On the second Sunday in Oklahoma, our family took dinner in the Helton home. They lived in a one-room frame house,—a box house. Mrs. Helton was a good housekeeper and had a very cozy little home. There was a carpet on one part of the floor and another carpet formed a partition between the living room and kitchen. There was wild hog meat for dinner that day. Mr. Helton had been hunting in the country of the Sac and Fox Reservation.

There was no fruit in the vicinity of our place except a few wild grapes and plums. When mother wanted especially to please one of her neighbors, she gave her a glass of jelly or a jar of fruit which she had brought with her from Kansas. We soon found that pork and beef were luxuries. My folks had brought meat from Kansas, and this was soon known in the neighborhood. Mother's first visitor came again a few weeks later with a pan of "greens" to trade for some bacon to cook with her own "greens."

After about a week we drove over five miles to visit some former Kansas' friends and to get some little chickens which they had hatched for us. The shortest way to their place was a road leading diagonally across the prairie. When we returned that night about nine o'clock we got lost off the trail. It was very dark and Father did not know which way to go home, so he let the horses find the way. When they found the trail, they started off in a trot. Some familiar houses were seen and our anxiety was over.

When Father came to Oklahoma he brought with him besides the household goods, two horses, five head of cattle, a plow and a cultivator. The first crop consisted of corn, which proved to be fairly good. Cotton was planted but the folks didn't know how to care for it. When it was picked once they thought the harvest was over, the cotton was ploughed up, and the ground planted in wheat. An attempt was made to beautify the yard without much success. One bunch of nasturtiums was growing and blooming fine when a storm in the night carried it away, and the plant was no place to be found the next morning.

In the early fall a building site was chosen in the southwest corner of the quarter section, and work on our new home began. After an interval of planting the fall wheat, the building continued. It was finished and ready to move into, about Thanksgiving. The house was a one and one-half story frame building, painted yellow with red trimmings, and had the honor of being the only painted house in the community for a

long time. The two rooms below were plastered and finished, and the upstairs was one big room. For several years our chief way of losing a thing upstairs was dropping it behind the plastering. When the house was completed, we held a big dance in celebration.

That winter my brother started to school for the first time. The sod school house was located just a mile from our house. School began in January and continued for three months. By this time our family felt very well established in our new home.

During the years which followed we passed a very happy life. Our farm had two creeks which ran together near the center of our pasture. We children had much fun running through these woods. One of our first duties was going after the cows. Sport, the big Sheperd dog, was quite a friend and an aid to us. We often had to search the pasture over before we found the cows. In the fall we gathered walnuts, wild grapes and plums. One of our favorite play houses was just below the barn and by a grapevine swing. We had much fun during summer wading in the creek. We always climbed to the top of the slanting, corn crib roof to get dry.

There were plenty of hardships, many dry years and consequently failures in farm crops. My best recollection of these years is the discussion of the drought at every meal time. When we had no vegetables at all I thought from what I heard that Leavenworth County, Kansas, was a paradise, or at least the "garden spot of the world." We had two springs in our pasture and one summer they became almost dry. Father took our herd of cattle over across the river to pasture and water. He had, however, only been gone a few weeks when a good rain fell, and he returned.

We had no fruit for a long time. Grandmother used to send us dried peaches and apples, and two winters we were sent seven barrels of apples by Uncle John who had an apple orchard in Kansas. We felt rich then. We raised watermelons on the sod of the new land, and watermelon rind preserves were good in the winter. Several families often went to the Cimarron River to gather sand plums. This was always an enjoyable event with a picnic connected with it.

When I started to school, a new frame building had just been completed in the spring, and the term of school was held during April, May and June. The length of the terms of school lengthened as the years went by. We were taught reading, spelling, writing and arithmetic, from McGuffey's readers and spellers and Ray's arithmetic. The teachers, I always thought, were ideal. The visits of the County Superintendent stood out as the red-letter days of the term. This distinguished



Farm home of P. Robinson in Logan County. Photograph taken about 1898. The farm is still owned by the Robinson heirs, 1959.

person often spent the night at our house, and we had a double chance of knowing her. The first one I can remember was a woman, and it then became the height of my ambition to become a County Superintendent. We enjoyed our school life, and tried hard during school hours to keep ahead of everyone else in arithmetic and get the most headmarks in the spelling class. At recess we were all good ball players, girls as well as boys. We attended school regularly, and were absent only on account of sickness. We used to hear some talk about a Township High School, but when we children passed the "Eighth Grade County Examination" we entered the Logan County High School in Guthrie.

Social life was not lacking in this country. At the completion of every new house a dance was given. Later after frame school houses were built, they became the center of community life. Literary Society was held every other Friday night. This was the time when the talent of the neighborhood was displayed and old time topics were debated. The spelling school had its time, too, when it was quite an honor to stand up the longest. The last day of school was a celebration. Our mothers came with lunch baskets about noon, and after a picnic dinner we gave our program. I might add that there was always a feeling of disappointment if the teacher did not give us a "treat" at the close of the program. Fourth of July and Christmas were the happy times of the year. We always attended a Fourth of July celebration at some picnic grove. Christmas time we had a Christmas tree at the school house. Santa Claus came to our house every year, although at times it did seem that his pack must have been almost empty when he got there. This was made easier as Grandmother never failed to send us a box of gifts at this time of the year.

Quite early we had a church organization at our school house. Although the church services were held here only a short time. Sunday School was held intermittently during our entire life on the farm. The baptizing pool was in our creek where we saw many people baptized. The first or second Sunday in June was always Children's Day. We attended at least two of these services every year. Sometimes we went to Downs which was eight miles away.

For some years our mail came to Guthrie. When a neighbor went to town he usually brought the mail for all the families in the neighborhood. Later the Post Office of "Cedar" was established at one of the farm houses, one-half mile distant from our place. A carrier brought the mail from Guthrie every day. He went by our house. We children used to watch for him and then go to the Post Office to see if we would get

a letter from Grandmother. If per chance we got a notice that there was a registered letter at the Post Office or found on opening the letter that it had the edges well folded over we knew it contained money. Sometimes it was sent for mother's new hat, and sometimes for the children. The mail carrier was always a very accommodating man, and many times he brought us ice cream from Guthrie so we would have ice cream on a birthday. We all felt that we owed our rural free delivery to Congressman, Dennis T. Flynn. First the rural mail came from Guthrie, then from Cashion, which was eight miles away, and later from Navina, five miles away.

This country improved rapidly as the years went by. In 1907 we got the rural telephone. Our farm was improved in about the same way as those around us. The upstairs of our house was finished and an addition of four rooms added, making eight rooms in our house. The shed stable was replaced by a big red barn with a cupola on top, and a windmill kept a tank full of fresh water for the stock. The old spring wagon gave way to a buggy. Next came a surrey "with the fringe on top" to which we drove a fine team of black horses.

Better roads had now been built, the bridges of logs and earth had been changed into steel bridges or stone culverts. We lived a little over four miles from a railroad station, and we could call a doctor from there by telephone. Pioneer life was passing away.

During this time Oklahoma had developed from a territory to a prosperous state. On November 16, 1907, we attended the ceremony at Guthrie, uniting Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory into one new State, and we heard Governor Haskell take the oath of office as the first State Governor.

In the spring of 1908 we left our farm to the care of a tenant and moved to Guthrie to live. Still remembering many happy days spent on that farm, I feel that I had a very happy childhood in "Old Oklahoma."

SUMMER NORMALS IN INDIAN TERRITORY AFTER 1898

By Joe C. Jackson*

CHEROKEE NORMALS

By the Curtis Act of 1898, the government at Washington appointed John D. Benedict of Illinois as Federal Superintendent of Schools for the Five Civilized Tribes along with a supervisor for each of the four large Indian Nations.¹ After opening his office in Muskogee and making his preliminary surveys, the Superintendent recommended to the tribes that some type of summer normal school program be instituted to raise the level of teacher preparation in the area.

The Cherokees responded immediately to the suggestion for they had long realized that better teachers were necessary for better schools. In fact, the practice of holding summer institutes was well established in the Cherokee Nation long before Benedict called upon the Federal Supervisor, Benjamin S. Coppock, to start such a program in 1900.²

Thus, the Cherokee Board of Education was entirely in accord with the idea of the general superintendent. As a consequence, it met with the supervisor in May, 1900, and planned the first Federally supervised summer normal for teachers held in the Cherokee Nation. Among other things it was decided that Indian and white teachers should convene at the Female Seminary and that Negro teachers should convene at the Colored High School. The normals were to be entirely self-supporting, a three-dollar tuition fee being charged for the term of four weeks.³

The normal sessions were to begin June 4, 1900 at 8:30 a.m. and were to continue each day until four o'clock. Evening programs of entertainment were to be provided and teachers were expected to attend all sessions. Instructors for the in-

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¹Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1948), pp. 288-289. For purposes of educational supervision, the Seminole Schools were combined with the Creeks.

²*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, (Washington, 1902), p. 260. Hereinafter referred to as *Annual Report*.

³*Minutes of the Cherokee Board of Education*, May 29, 1900, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Women teachers were to be provided board, lodging, and laundry at the Female Seminary for seven dollars for the term while like arrangements were made for the white men and Negro teachers at the Male Seminary and Colored High School, respectively. Tuition and board were payable in advance.

stitutes were to be hired by the Board and paid from tuition, all of which was to be used for that purpose.⁴

It was further provided that the books to be used were to be taken from the primary schools and that preference in making appointments was to be given those teachers who attended the institute, certificates of scholarship being given those who made grades of seventy or more. All teachers were to be rated as A, B, or C, based on examinations at the end of the term, with those receiving passing marks being eligible for appointment in the primary schools.⁵

To facilitate matters the Normal became the regular certifying agency for all Cherokee teachers, with two general classes of certificates being issued upon examination at the end of the term. Class A certificates, valid for two years, were issued those teachers who made an average grade of ninety with no grade below seventy-five in the following subjects: spelling, penmanship, reading, arithmetic, algebra, grammar, United States History, theory and practice, primary work, physiology, and civil government. For class B certificates, the authorities omitted algebra, physiology and civil government from the examination and required an average grade of eighty with no grade below sixty-five, such certificates being good for one year only. Then in addition, special class C certificates were issued teachers who could speak both English and Cherokee in order that the full blood schools could be properly staffed.⁶

The first normal under Federal supervision in the Nation was very successful with 140 white and Indian teachers and 22 Negro teachers in attendance. Supervisor Coppock was not only the director of the Institute, but was one of the principal lecturers—a capacity filled by the Supervisor each year until statehood.⁷ He was assisted by L. M. Logan of the

⁴ *Ibid.* Rules for conducting the normals were to be made by the Board, and read the first day before the general assembly, and "thence posted in a conspicuous place."

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Report of the United States Indian Inspector for Indian Territory* (Washington, 1902), p. 76. Hereinafter referred to as *Indian Inspector*. Teachers for the Seminaries and Orphans' Academy came from the Class A group while day school teachers were assigned from the class B group. A number of the school boards for the independent districts required their teachers to attend the Cherokee normals and hold Cherokee teaching certificates.

⁷ In 1906, the auditor of the Interior Department took exception to the cash account of D. Frank Redd, who had replaced Coppock as supervisor. It seems as though he submitted a request for forty dollars per diem allowance and did not submit a traveling expense voucher to cover the same. A difference of twenty days was found—a discrepancy that Redd was called upon to explain. In answer, the supervisor stated that he had occupied the twenty days conducting a summer normal in which he did

Male Seminary, Etta Rider of the Female Seminary, W. C. Shelton of the national board of education, and a Mr. Berry. A regular schedule was set up. The teachers were organized into classes and the time was spent in drilling on the common branches demonstrating effective teaching, and in studying psychology.⁸

In 1901, the Supervisor reported that the "normal opened auspiciously and that its work is entirely satisfactory."⁹ However, in a subsequent letter he complained that many of their best teachers were not in attendance, a situation making good work difficult, experienced teachers being needed to help train the inexperienced.¹⁰

Nevertheless, reports indicate the Institute was unusually successful from the standpoint of instruction, student participation, and the general overall pattern. Of those examined for certificates, forty received between eighty and ninety, while twenty-three received grades between seventy and eighty. Among these groups were twelve full bloods (Cherokee) who passed the examination for grade B certificates and twelve others who were admitted to the eligible list by special action of the Normal.¹¹

In commenting upon the Institute Coppock observed: "I am gratified with its outcome. Several young pupils were used to exemplify methods in teaching. . . . papers were prepared and discussions held. . . . We are using the normal grade and the applicant's record as a teacher in determining who will get the select appointments."¹²

In 1903, it was reported that Professor Gilliland materially aided the teachers in properly understanding theory and practice and that the final examinations were unusually satis-

part of the teaching. Thus, he was out of his office, but no traveling expenses were incurred. He further explained that he taught five classes daily and thus saved the expense of one normal instructor, a sum of about one hundred and twenty-five dollars. -Cherokee Documents, 3104, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

⁸ *Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 94. Twenty small children were brought in from nearby schools and used as a demonstration class in theory and practice of teaching.

⁹ Benjamin S. Coppock to John D. Benedict, June 15, 1901, in Dawes Commission Files, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Hereinafter referred to as Dawes File.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Coppock to Benedict, July 27, 1901.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Coppock to Benedict, July 6, 1901. It was customary to grant certificates to a limited number of full bloods each year even though they did not do too well on the normal examinations.

¹² *House Document*, No. 5, 57th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 320.

factory¹³ Of the 148 who were examined, 140 were granted permits, with teachers having high school training seeking class A certificates while others sought class B certificates.¹⁴

By 1904, more than 253 teachers were licensed as a result of the Normal, thus enabling the board and the supervisor to open every school in the Nation that fall with a competent teacher in charge, more than two-thirds of whom were Cherokee citizens.¹⁵ The next year, the custom of giving uniform examinations in all the normals was inaugurated. In explaining the new approach, Benedict writes:¹⁶

When the five Nations controlled their own schools, they had their own standards of qualifications. No uniformity or correlation existed between any two Nations. . . . We have been trying to get them on the same footing as far as examinations and certificates are concerned. . . . Our recent examinations were uniform and certificates now obtained by teachers in one Nation are good throughout the Territory.¹⁷

The supervisors generally praised this move, claiming it eliminated a vast number of incompetent teachers and that it raised the general *esprit de corps* of the profession throughout the Territory.¹⁸

By 1906, a common course of study for the normals had been worked out, the railroads had agreed to permit teachers to ride, round trip, for rates of one and one-third, and the teachers were told by the supervisors that they "ceased to be teachers when they ceased to be students."¹⁹ The best teachers, they were told, will be at the Normal and preference will be given them when it comes time to make appointments. Thus,

¹³ *Indian Inspector*, 1903, p. 85. Some of the better teachers attended summer school at the University of Chicago and six of them attended the National Educational Association meeting in Boston. It was also reported that a large number of teachers subscribed for professional journals and otherwise showed interest in professional growth.

In many cases the first names of those who helped conduct the normals were not given.

¹⁴ *House Document*, No. 5, 57th Cong., 2d Sess., p.261.

¹⁵ *Indian Inspector*, 1904, pp. 91-92 Although it was not concerned with education, the supervisor had charge of the Insane Asylum and included it in his annual reports.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1905, p. 47. In this year also, Benedict made an agreement with the Oklahoma Territorial Board of Education and adopted a uniform course of study for the two Territories. The course was practically the same as that adopted in Kansas, Nebraska, and Illinois.

¹⁷ Falwell to Benedict, Aug. 1, 1905, in *Dawes File*.

¹⁸ See *Appendix A* for a listing of the summer normals in the Cherokee Nation, 1900-1907, from *Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 90; 1901, p. 102; 1902, p. 97; 1903, p. 85; 1904, p. 91; 1905, p. 57; 1906, p. 60; 1907, p. 36. Only the faculties for the White and Indian normals are included. Each year two or three Negro instructors met with their group at the Colored High School. Each normal was directed by the Federal Supervisor.

¹⁹ Redd to Benedict, June 3, 1906, in *Dawes File*.

within a day or two after the institutes had convened in Tahlequah, Redd and his associates had collected \$1,040 of paid registration fees from more than 300 teachers and "more were coming in each day."²⁰ In speaking of this Normal, the Supervisor wrote: "The normal is a recognized feature of school work. . . . At the close of one just held, the number of licensed teachers in the Nation reached three hundred sixty-two. . . . In order that I might become better acquainted with the teachers. . . . I conducted the normal in person, hearing five classes daily."²¹

When statehood came, the Supervisor called upon the counties to join with the Federal government in conducting joint normals for the teachers in the area. Some county superintendents responded. However, most of them chose to conduct their own institutes. Consequently, normals under Federal supervision, after a year or two, ceased to exist as the new State rapidly took over the field of education.

CREEK NORMALS

One of the general charges that Benedict leveled at all of the Creek schools was that of poor instruction. To eliminate this evil and to set up adequate teacher standards and methods of certification, he called upon the supervisors to institute programs of summer normals.²²

In some sections of Indian Territory, the idea of summer training for teachers was a new endeavor. However, such was not the case in the Creek Nation. Here the Indians, since 1894, had been holding what they called teachers' institutes, in which the teachers of the Nation would come together during the summer for a week or two and study their mutual problems. Ordinarily certain leaders from their own number were chosen and charged with the responsibility of directing the discussion.²³

Realizing that the idea of summer normals was thus not new among the Creeks, Benedict determined to build on that which was already established. Accordingly, he called on the

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Redd to Benedict, June 8, 1906.

²¹ *Indian Inspector*, 1906, p. 60. W. S. Hamilton, principal of the Talala public schools applied to Benedict for a position as teacher in the summer normal of 1907. He stated he was a graduate of the Valpariso, Indiana Normal School and that he had attended the Territorial Normal School at Edmond, Oklahoma Territory. He listed his teaching experience and filed letters of application. Hamilton to Benedict March 7 1907 in Dawes File.

²² *Indian Inspector* 1900, p 79.

²³ Frank A. Balyeat, "Education in Indian Territory", (Unpublished manuscript Ph.D dissertation, Dept. of Education, Stanford University, 1927), p. 185. Such institutes were held annually among the Creeks when Benedict came to Muskogee in 1899. Attendance, however, was on a voluntary basis.

Federal Supervisor, Calvin Ballard, to broaden the base of the tribal institutes, secure competent facilities and make them the agency for the certification of teachers in the Nation.²⁴

Accordingly, the first Creek Normal under Federal supervision was held at Eufaula High School in June of 1900. Calvin Ballard, the Creek supervisor, was in charge and reported a "very successful meeting with sixty white and Indian teachers in attendance."²⁵

The next year, 1901, the white and Indian teachers again met at Eufaula while the Negro teachers met at Muskogee. Miss Alice Robertson, who had replaced Calvin Ballard, as supervisor, was in charge of the normals and reported seventy-five "white teachers" and forty-five Negro teachers in attendance. She highly praised the programs of the institutes and intimated that as soon as more teachers learned of the good work being done that far more would attend. She went on to state that of the teachers at Eufaula, twenty-two were natives of Indian Territory while the remainder were natives of no less than thirteen states, a situation with which the supervisor was highly pleased.²⁶

At the end of each normal, examinations were given for the purpose of granting teaching certificates. By 1900, it was the policy of the supervisor to grant places only to those teachers who had attended the summer institutes and had been properly certified. As to this policy, Miss Robertson reported: "The requirement that teachers attend summer normals and take examinations for certificates, is extremely distasteful to a large number of teachers. Generally, we have tried to appoint to the best places those who make the highest grades, but some teachers have been appointed by the Creek superin-

²⁴ *Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 79. Since normals were not held in the Seminole Nation, Seminole teachers were encouraged to attend the Creek normals.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1900, p. 86. After conferring with the tribal school officials, it was decided that the institutes should be held each year during the month of June for four weeks and that each teacher attending should pay a fee of twelve dollars. The twelve dollars was to cover board, room, and tuition, with the surplus going to pay the normal instructors and purchase the necessary supplies.

²⁶ *House Document*, No. 5, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 310. One of the most important needs of those attending the institutes was for an adequate knowledge of the academic subjects. Thus, the first normals were given over exclusively to this type of training. Review of such subjects as arithmetic, grammar, composition, geography, history, reading, and spelling constituted the daily program. Methods and principles of teaching were not stressed until deficiencies in the academic subjects had been cared for. Along with the meetings of white and Indian Teachers, the Negro Teachers would meet at the Colored Orphans' Home. Ordinarily, about twenty would be present.

tendent without taking examinations. I feel my position should be clarified."²⁷

However, in spite of political interference, the supervisor continued her policy of anti-favoritism. It soon was broadly realized that high grades in the normals, other things being equal, meant desirable teaching posts in the neighborhood schools and that faithful service in those schools constituted an "open door" to places in the boarding schools—facts that greatly stimulated the *esprit de corps* of the Creek teachers.²⁸

By 1902, the Creek normals had hit their stride. However, fewer teachers put in their appearance than the year before. This fact was explained by the supervisor as indicating the institutes were maintaining high standards and thus weeding out the incompetent. The records indicate that fewer Creek citizens were passing the examinations and that many who held high places in the boarding schools were unable to obtain even third grade certificates—a fact accepted by most of the Creeks as indicating the need for the normal and better trained teachers.²⁹

In the 1902 Normal, primary methods were taught for the first time. A liberal money gift from Mrs. William Thaw of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,³⁰ enabled the directors of the institute to receive the services of Mr. and Mrs. Carter, who gave "inspiring lectures on method" and demonstrated procedure by using a class made up of full blood children.³¹ This innovation, coupled with the fact textbooks in pedagogy had been secured from the American Book Company, gave new life to the normal and lifted it to a higher plane.³²

²⁷ Grant Foreman, ed., *Copies of Documents Pertaining to Indian Affairs*, 36426-A, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

²⁸ *Annual Report*, 1902, p. 260. However, in spite of the leadership of Benedict and the Creek supervisor, preferment was still given to those teachers who had strong political ties. In fact rumors continued for some time that teachers had to refund part of their salaries in order to obtain and hold certain choice teaching posts in the Nation.

²⁹ *House Document*, No. 5, 57th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 253. One of the members of the Creek Council, whose daughter, educated in the national schools, utterly failed on the examination, stated that such teachers as his daughter had should be in the penitentiary.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Bill from the American Book Co., May 23, 1902, in Dawes File. The bill was for sixty copies of White, *The Art of Teaching*, to be used in the normal at Eufaula and fifty copies to be used at the colored normal. This normal was also unusual in a number of other respects. Attention, for the first time, was given to the teaching of reading and a series of evening entertainments were given to relieve the pressure of the institute. Benedict and supervisor Beck of the Chickasaws came and aided with the instruction.

³² See *Appendix B* for a listing of the summer normals in the Creek Nation 1900-1907, from Indian Inspector, 1900, p. 70; 1901, p. 102; 1902.

In 1903, the Supervisor reported that the customary summer normals had been held at Eufaula and Muskogee and that they had been well attended. According to the report, better work was done than in former years. Lectures on pedagogical subjects were combined with instruction in the academic areas. As to the general results of the normal, Miss Robertson stated:³³

Large numbers passed the examination The Creek superintendent was there and aided with the work. Benedict put in his appearance. All appointments made on the records of the normal. the desirable positions going to those with the highest grades. Pressure on the supervisor to secure good appointments has ceased. Now everybody knows that opportunity and advancement comes on merit.

Further detail pertaining to the Creek normals would add little to this study. However, it is well to note that by 1907 composition and music had been added to the requirements for certification and that a number of teachers were attending the summer sessions of the University of Oklahoma and the Teachers' College at Pittsburg, Kansas.³⁴

One of the provisions of the Curtis Act of 1898 provided that all Indian governments were to cease on March 4, 1906. Benedict informed supervisor Falwell that no part of the government appropriations would be available after that date and that unless Congress took appropriate actions, all the Creek schools would be forced to close.³⁵

CHOCTAW NORMALS

In evaluating the success of the Federal program, the Choctaw normals must not be overlooked. For it was through these institutes, as was the case in the other Nations, that the teaching force in the area was virtually made over—an undertaking that, even the Choctaws admitted, was necessary.

p. 97; 1903, p. 74; 1904, p. 89; 1905, p. 54; 1906, p. 54; 1907, p. 35; although some items in this table are missing it is as complete as available material will permit. Each normal was directed by the Federal Supervisor.

³³ *Alice Robertson Collection*, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma, Letter 1133. Hereinafter referred to as *Robertson Collection*. By 1905, uniform examinations were being given throughout Indian Territory. As a result of such examinations, certificates were granted by the supervisors and general superintendent that were good in the schools of all the Nations. Such raised requirements and eliminated a vast number of incompetent teachers.

³⁴ Falwell to Benedict, June 30, 1907, in Dawes File. The total amount collected for both normals, white and Negro, was \$1,174.20. The cost of both normals was \$1,142.40, leaving on hand a balance of thirty-one dollars and eighty cents. The instructors in the normal were paid as follows: G. W. Horton, \$125; J. W. Mitchell, \$125; C. W. Briles, \$125; C. L. Garber, \$125; Walter Van Allen, \$125; and Walter Falwell, \$125. The instructors at the colored normal were paid \$100 each.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Benedict to Falwell. Aug. 3, 1906. Obviously, it was supposed that by 1906, the Creek Nation would be served by either a territorial or state system of schools.

Since Congress refused Benedict's plea for aid in conducting such institutes, it was decided that a small tuition fee would be necessary and that the facilities of the academies would have to be available in order to meet the housing and boarding problem. Consequently the first Choctaw normal was conducted at Tuskahoma Institute in June, 1900, with a fee of twelve dollars being charged for the four weeks school. This small amount took care of board, lodging and other necessary expenses including the salaries of the normal school instructors.³⁶

E. T. McArthur, the Federal Supervisor of the Choctaw schools, was in charge of the Normal with Benjamin S. Coppock and John D. Benedict aiding with the instruction. About 100 teachers attended and spent four weeks "reviewing textbooks and preparing to take examinations for certificates." Very little attention was given, at this first normal, to methods and procedure. However, Benedict and Coppock did stress good classroom procedure and urged all teachers to keep accurate records and devote some time each day to the "house-keeping phases of teaching."³⁷

In 1901, the Normal was held at Jones Academy with an attendance of seventy-three on the first day, "fifteen new ones the second day and 100 by the end of the week."³⁸ After the institute had been in session six days, Calvin Ballard reported: "Our enrollment has reached 105 and the interest is good and is growing. So far we have discussed "The First Day at School," "Whispering in School" and "Duties of the Teacher at Recess" More are enrolling every day."³⁹

Before the Institute ended, 155 teachers from the Choctaw Nation were in attendance and studying under three "experienced normal instructors." As was true the year before, a great deal of the time was spent drilling on arithmetic, grammar, spelling, music, geography, algebra, and other academic subjects to insure success on the examinations at the end of the term. Ballard described the Institute as being very successful and stated that it would "compare favorably with the best of the normals in the States."⁴⁰

Most of the teachers were eager to attend the institutes without compulsion for they offered real opportunity for advancement. Those who took all the tests and made the high-

³⁶ *Indian Inspectors*, 1900, p. 79.

³⁷ Benedict to the Secretary of the Interior, Aug. 19, 1910, in Dawes File.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Ballard to Benedict, June 18, 1901. Ballard had replaced McArthur, having been transferred from the Creek Nation.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Ballard to Benedict, June 21, 1901.

⁴⁰ *House Document*, No. 5, 57th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 324.

est scores were given first grade certificates while those who made lower grades were given second and third grade permits or failed. Consequently, since the better jobs were granted to those holding the highest credentials, the superior teachers appreciated the "screening process" that the normal brought about. The unfit were rapidly eliminated and political preferment as a route to success was all but a thing of the past.

In expressing appreciation for the normal program, a full blood Choctaw teacher said: "The normal is the greatest thing ever started in Indian Territory. . . . We must establish it more firmly and help educate the Choctaws. . . . We must teach the boys to work and the girls to be good mothers. At the normal we learn how to teach."⁴¹

To supplement the work of the normals, Ballard instituted the policy of Friday afternoon and Saturday conferences throughout the Choctaw Nation. An announcement would be made and the teachers in a particular area would assemble at a certain school and observe the instructional procedure that afternoon. Ordinarily a school program would be held Friday night and Saturday morning would be spent discussing the observations of the previous day. The following excerpts from Ballard's report for 1902, are illustrative:

We hope that we have an interesting meeting Friday and Saturday at Poteau. . . . We would like to have you [Benedict] read your paper on "Reading"⁴²

. . . . had about twenty teachers. . . . at Poteau A very good meeting but they were disappointed that you [Benedict] were unable to be there. Our next meeting is at Stigler. . . .⁴³

. . . . our meeting at Stigler was a rousing success Twelve teachers were present. . . . Two hundred people attended the night meeting. . . . Our next meeting is at Caddo. We shall expect you [Benedict] with your speech.⁴⁴

By 1902, the Choctaw normal program was well under way. This year, for the first time, attention was given to pedagogy and to subjects other than the common branches. Five regu-

⁴¹ Robert Lee, Speech before the Choctaw normal at Jones Academy, June 1901, in *Indian Inspector*, 1901, p. 84. A lengthy resolution was passed by the teachers at the institute in 1901, expressing thanks to Ballard and Benedict for making the training program possible; to the three instructors; and to the officials at Jones Academy for being such splendid hosts.

⁴² Ballard to Benedict, March 3, 1902, in Dawes File.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Ballard to Benedict, March 10, 1902.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Ballard to Benedict, March 25, 1902. It should be noted that the meetings were ordinarily held at public schools in the towns. Apparently Ballard felt the teachers under his supervision would profit from the work being done in these independent schools. Eight such meetings were held during the year, 1902.

lar instructors were on the staff along with Professor Joseph Carter and Mrs. Carter who gave special lectures on agriculture, manual training, domestic science and nature study.⁴⁵

A demonstration class of primary orphan boys was brought from Armstrong Academy and used to illustrate the techniques of primary work. One of the instructors, J. G. Masters, said of the Institute: "I believe we have a representative body of teachers. . . . The work done in the normal equals that done in the institutes of my native State of Kansas. In many ways I have found the teachers better prepared with more academic training."⁴⁶

By 1905, as previously indicated, uniform examinations were being given in the normals of all four Nations, thus making it possible to grant certificates that were good in all combination and Indian schools in the Territory.⁴⁷ Benedict by 1906, had prepared a uniform outline for normal instruction to be used in each of the Nations and publishing companies were furnishing the necessary supplies for the institutes in order to be permitted to display textbooks and instructional materials—all of which "tended to raise the general efficiency and place the program on a little higher plane."⁴⁸

CHICKASAW NORMALS

Since the idea of summer normals was foreign to the Chickasaws, Benedict's suggestion in 1899 that teacher training institutes be established did not meet with a favorable reception⁴⁹ After investigating the problem John M. Simpson, the Federal Supervisor, reported in 1901: "I do not believe the Chickasaw schools would participate in a summer normal. They constitute a very headstrong bunch and have their own

⁴⁵ See *Appendix C* for a listing of the summer normals in the Choctaw Nation, 1900-1907, from *Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 90 1901, p. 106; 1902, p. 110; 1903, p. 96; 1904, p. 93; 1905, p. 63; 1906, p. 72; 1907, p. 38. Each normal was directed by the Federal Supervisor.

⁴⁶ *House Document*, No. 5, 57th Cong. 2d Sess., p. 274. Other instructors expressed themselves as being highly pleased with the superior scholarship exhibited.

⁴⁷ Falwell to Benedict, Aug. 1, 1905, in *Dawes File*. The Federal authorities had nothing to do with granting certificates to teach in the city schools. However, many superintendents recognized the worth of the institutes, required their teachers to attend them and be examined by Ballard and Benedict for certificates.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, Ballard to Benedict, April 26, 1906.

⁴⁹ It was suggested that teachers be brought together for a month's study, during the month of June, at some central boarding school in each Nation. Board and tuition was to be furnished at actual cost, with each teacher contributing a small fee to pay the normal instructors. Generally, about twelve dollars from each teacher covered the entire expense.

ideas about things. However, if we are able to hold one, I suggest it be held in Wynnewood or Purcell."⁵⁰

After an unusual amount of quarreling and attempting to fix the blame, Simpson announced that he would not attempt to hold a normal and that he was retiring from "this branch of the Indian Service."⁵¹ It seemed no normal would be held in the Chickasaw Nation in 1901. However, such did not prove to be the case, for Mr. E. B. Hinshaw of Bloomfield Academy invited the Chickasaw teachers to Tishomingo for several days of study and discussion in June of that year. The enterprise proved eminently successful and formed the basis of future normals in the Nation.⁵²

In order that the Government could license teachers in the Nation in 1901, since no official normal had been held and since supervisor Simpson had resigned, Benedict directed Calvin Ballard, the Choctaw supervisor, to proceed to Harley Institute, give examinations and take care of the problem.

Ballard, in cooperation with the Chickasaw school officials, circulated the necessary announcements, made the questions and proceeded to give the tests July 25-26, 1901. Nineteen teachers were granted second grade certificates.⁵³

The next year, 1902, a regular government sponsored normal was held at Tishomingo with the new Chickasaw supervisor, George Beck, in charge. He reported that there were eighty teachers in attendance and that the work was very good. He did state, however, that no attention was given to theory and practice. The program of study largely constituted the

⁵⁰ Simpson to Benedict, Jan. 28, 1901, Feb. 12, 1901, in *Dawes File*.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, Simpson to Benedict, May 30, 1901, on April 27, 1901. Simpson had written to Benedict and said it would be impossible to hold the normal in Tishomingo as there were no hotel accommodations and Harley Institute was too far from town. Later he suggested that Sulphur would be the best place to hold the institute and suggested June 24, as he best date.

⁵² S. J. Carr, "Bloomfield Academy and Its Founder," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. II (December 1924), p. 378. This normal was not under the auspices of the Federal government. It was purely a Chickasaw affair with Chickasaw teachers' licenses being granted.

⁵³ Ballard to Benedict, Aug. 2, 1901, in *Dawes File*. From 1901 until the tribal government was dissolved, there were two types of teaching certificates in force in the Chickasaw Nation; namely, the ones issued by the Chickasaw government and the ones issued by the Federal government. This dual system of certificates created a novel situation for before asphalt and coal royalty funds could be spent in support of a school the teacher had to be licensed by the Federal government, while before board money would be paid to the parents by the Chickasaw government, the teacher was required to hold a tribal certificate. Of course, a few teachers held both certificates, but generally this was not true. Many thinking Chickasaws forfeited their board money in order that they might send their children to a school where the teacher held a Federal license.

skimming of textbooks as a review of the subject matter of the common school branches.⁵⁴

In 1903, Beck reported:

"A normal was held at Tishomingo with seventy-five teachers in attendance. At the present time another normal is in progress at Ardmore in which the teachers of the white schools have united with those of the Chickasaws. Reports seem to indicate they are doing good work."⁵⁵

As this report indicates, the situation, as far as normals was concerned, was never unified under the authority of the Chickasaw supervisor. It was not uncommon for unauthorized normals to be held in certain parts of the Nation by teachers who did not care to attend the regular normal. For instance, in 1905, the regular normal was held at Wynnewood, but Beck reported it was necessary for him to go to Comanche to "examine and issue certificates to about twenty teachers" who saw fit to hold a study session of their own.⁵⁶ Likewise, in 1906, the supervisor was forced to go to Chickasha and give examinations after the regular normal was held at Ardmore that year.⁵⁷

By 1906, more attention in the normals was being given to pedagogy than had generally been the custom. On this particular year the Institute met at Ardmore with Superintendent Evans of that city aiding the Chickasaw supervisor in administration. One hundred seventy-five teachers were in attendance. The faculty consisted of William Gay, Superintendent of schools at South McAlester, W. W. Reynolds, Superintendent of schools at Comanche, and Mrs. Ella Stout Reed of Ardmore⁵⁸

On the eve of statehood in 1907, the Chickasaw normal was held at Sulphur with J. R. Hendrix, Superintendent elect of Bloomfield, aiding the supervisor, Frederick Umholtz, in

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Beck to Benedict, July 22, 1902. With the exception of 1904, a regular government sponsored Chickasaw normal was held each year after 1902 through 1907.

⁵⁵ *Indian Inspector*, 1903, p. 106. Public schools in the incorporated towns, since they were supervised by no outside authorities, also held their own examinations and issued their own certificates, such certificates being good only in the town of issue.

⁵⁶ Beck to Benedict, July 26, 1905, in *Dawes File*. Also in 1905, the first normal for Negroes was held. It met at Ardmore with twenty-five in attendance.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Beck to Benedict, May 17, 1906. In fact, the teachers along the Rock Island were generally rather independent minded. Not only did they ordinarily refuse to cooperate in the general normals of the Nation, they also had their own teachers' association, refusing, for a time, to join with the regular association of the Nation.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Beck to Benedict, April 16, 1906. Chautauqua was held during the last week of the Normal, over the protest of Beck who claimed it interfered with the giving of examinations and the granting of certificates.

directing the affair.⁵⁹ Mr. F. C. Kent, Superintendent of the Sulphur Public Schools and Mr. John Howard Payne, superintendent of the Tecumseh Public Schools, along with others, constituted the faculty. This was, by far, the most successful and elaborate of the normals held in the Chickasaw Nation.⁶⁰

In connection with the institute there was maintained a model training school with Miss Lorena Hindes, of the Territorial Normal School at Edmond, in charge. "All teachers were required to make written observations" as a necessary part of their examinations for certificates. About 170 teachers were in attendance.⁶¹

SUMMER NORMALS AFTER STATEHOOD

The Federal Superintendent and his supervisor stayed on the job and continued to supervise the Indian day schools, the academies and the Federal aid payments during the first three years of statehood. Since the Federal program continued through 1908, the supervisors planned to hold their summer normals as usual. However, they soon found themselves in conflict with many of the county superintendents who also planned to hold normals, or training institutes, in order to certify teachers for the county schools. In order to alleviate the problem, Benedict suggested the supervisors and county superintendents hold joint normals and that the certificates issued be good in the national as well as the county schools.⁶²

Originally, the response to Benedict's suggestion was good. Umholtz wrote: "We are going to hold a combined Chickasaw normal at Ardmore this year. I am confident the eleven county superintendents in the Chickasaw Nation will be fair and reasonable. . . . All certificates granted by the normal will be recognized by the Federal Authorities."⁶³

The other supervisors were likewise enthused. Ballard stated that he had taken up the question with the county superintendents in the Choctaw Nation and that they were all fav-

⁵⁹ Supervisor Beck had resigned during the year.

⁶⁰ See *Appendix D* for a listing of the summer normals in the Chickasaw Nation, 1900-1907, from *Indian Inspector*, 1901, p. 84; 1902, p. 80; 1903, p. 106; 1905, p. 70; 1906, p. 73; 1907, p. 41; Except for the first one which was directed by E. B. Hinshaw, all the Normals were under the direction of the Federal supervisor.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 41. After statehood, attempts were made to hold Combined county and Chickasaw normals in the area that once was the Chickasaw Nation. Although these measures, were in a way, successful, the effort soon gave way to county normals and county examinations under direction of the county superintendents.

⁶² Benedict to the Supervisors, March 14, 1908, in *Dawes File*.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Umholtz to Benedict, April 16, 1908. In a subsequent letter to Benedict, the Chickasaw supervisor stated that their normal was the most successful of the series. However, rainy weather kept the attendance low. Umholtz to Benedict, June 12, 1908.

orably disposed.⁶⁴ D. Frank Redd reported that he had invited all the county superintendents in the "Old Cherokee Nation" to join with him in conducting a normal for "all teachers in the area."⁶⁵ Falwell of the Creeks and Seminoles made a similar report.

Attempts at joint normals, however, did not prove to be successful. Many of the county superintendents refused to cooperate and held their own institutes—a situation that led to confusion and apprehension among the rank and file of the teachers. As to this situation, excerpts from the following letters are illustrative:

The teachers are confused over the county examining boards. Will certificates issued by such boards be recognized by both the county superintendents and you [Benedict]?⁶⁶

The county superintendents are causing a lot of trouble A number of our teachers want to take their examinations. [It means missing school to do so]. If they attend they will lose their salaries. . . .⁶⁷

I don't see how we can [cooperate] with Nowata County. The county superintendent has sent us no information, not even a report of the teachers examinations at the close of the normals there. Accordingly we have issued no government certificates to teach in Nowata County. . . .⁶⁸

In spite of this lack of cooperation and in spite of the confusion caused by rival normals, the supervisors continued with their programs in 1908. Walter Falwell reported that three normals were held in the Creek Nation area during the year. The superintendents of Wagoner, Muskogee, and McIntosh counties joined the Creek supervisor in conducting a joint normal at Eufaula, the supervisor aided the superintendents of Okfuskee and Okmulgee counties in conducting a normal at Weleetka, while a colored normal was held in Muskogee.⁶⁹

In a like manner, both joint normals and county normals were held in the other nations in 1908. Ballard reported that the combined normals were not successful for "most county superintendents choose to hold their own institutes."⁷⁰ For example, J. T. Davis, the first superintendent of Ottawa County, held a four weeks normal at Miami, beginning June 15, 1908.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Ballard to Benedict, Feb. 28. He further stated that they would probably have 400 teachers in attendance and that two normals, one at Jones Academy and one at Durant, would be necessary.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Redd to Hester, Feb. 24, 1908.

⁶⁶ A L. Coppedge to Benedict, June 1, 1908, in *Dawes File*. In compliance with agreement, Benedict appointed one member of each county examining board.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Ballard to Benedict, June 24, 1908.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Redd to Benedict, Oct. 31, 1908.

⁶⁹ Ballard to Benedict, June 24, 1908, in *Dawes File*.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Ballard to Benedict, Aug. 7, 1908, in *Dawes File*.

He was assisted by T. T. Montgomery, Superintendent at Afton. The teachers were "drilled in the common branches and instructed in free hand drawing and music." At the end of the course tests were given and certificates issued to those making passing grades.⁷¹

Because of the insistence of the superintendents on holding their own normals, the Federal authorities made no attempt to hold training programs in 1909. The Creek supervisor reported, that: "Normals are being held in all counties of the Creek Nation area and our certificate requirements are the same as those for the state of Oklahoma. . . . We accept the grades of the teachers made at the various county normals. . . . This lessens our work but it means we have also lost contact with our teachers."⁷²

In 1909, the Second Legislature founded three normal schools for eastern Oklahoma. These schools were East Central, at Ada, Southeastern, at Durant, and Northeastern, at Tahlequah.⁷³

With their program of teacher training, these schools met a vital educational need in eastern Oklahoma. They readily supplemented the work of the county normals and by 1914 had virtually replace them.⁷⁴

In every case the tendency was for the summer schools to be larger than the regular terms. This fact indicates the teachers in the area were eager to improve themselves and that adequate

⁷¹ See *Appendix E* for a listing of the teachers' institutes in Ottawa county, 1908-1914, from assortment of letters, notes and reports, 1908-1914, in *ibid.* The same pattern was repeated in practically all the counties of eastern Oklahoma (*ibid.*, Report of the Ottawa County Normal for 1908). Davis called upon Benedict to appoint one member of the examining board for the institute. In this manner the certificates issued were valid in the national as well as the county schools (*ibid.*, Davis to Benedict, June 8, 1908). Certificates granted were 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class. A total of forty was issued.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Falwell to Benedict, June 30, 1909. Occasionally, two or more counties would combine their facilities and conduct consolidated normal.

The Supervisors ordinarily aided in these enterprises. -Report of Commission to Five Civilized Tribes, 1909, p. 82.

⁷³ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 323. A simple statement of fact doesn't tell the story of locating these institutions. Needless to say, much political maneuvering went on behind the scenes. For instance, A. S. Wiley, the Cherokee school representative, wrote to Benedict in 1908 and stated that many of the citizens desired that he go to Guthrie in behalf of locating one of the normal schools in Tahlequah. A. S. Wiley to Benedict, March 18, 1908, in Daves File.

⁷⁴ In each of these institutions a model, or training, school was conducted. In fact, during the early days of the normal schools, most of their students were on the secondary level. College and professional training of the junior college variety was offered. Some interesting facts on the early enrollment and growth of the Oklahoma Normals are given in *Appendix F*.

facilities to meet the need for professional training, heretofore, had not been available. In fact, W. C. Canterbury, President of Southeastern, reported in 1914:⁷⁵

Educationally, southeastern Oklahoma is virgin territory. Of the 1,750 teachers in the Southeastern normal School district, less than 25 per cent have academic education equal to that offered by the four year high schools and even fewer have any special training for their work. The growing sentiment that teaching is a profession. . . . and the demands being made by many school boards are creating demands upon Southeastern that we will soon be unable to supply.

As soon as the normal schools were in operation, county superintendents, as well as city superintendents, began insisting that teachers with little academic and professional training attend the summer schools. Within a year or two certain county superintendents began merging their institutes with the summer normal school programs. For instance in 1913, Adair, Cherokee, Craig, Delaware, Haskell, and Mayes Counties all held their normals in Tahlequah in connection with the regular summer school.⁷⁶

That such programs had advantages over the isolated county normals is without question. At the normal schools, the regular faculty could be utilized, supplemented by the better superintendents and public school teachers in the region. However, it was exceedingly difficult to get some teachers to attend. As a consequence, it was some years before all county normals were entirely dispensed with.⁷⁷

Thus, the summer normals, or teacher's institutes as they were sometimes called, served a valuable function in that they helped bridge the gap between the Indian system of education and that of the new State of Oklahoma. The rapid educational progress made in Eastern Oklahoma following the launching of the new State, attests the good work of the summer normals. Without them, the State normal schools at Durant, Ada, and Tahlequah would not of had as firm a foundation on which to build.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59. Needless to say, the same problems existed in the other two normal school districts.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-171. The same thing happened at Durant and Ada, with a number of the counties in the west central part of Eastern Oklahoma holding their institutes at the Central Normal School at Edmond.

⁷⁷ C. E. Fair to Joe C. Jackson, Aug. 3, 1949. Facts seem to indicate that most county institutes had been abolished by 1915 and that the certification of teachers, in the main, was being transferred to the normal schools and the State Board of Education.

APPENDIX A

SUMMER NORMALS IN THE CHEROKEE NATION, 1900-1907

Year and Place	Attendance		Faculty
	White	Colored	
1900 Tahlequah	140	22	L. M. Logan, Mrs. Logan, Etta Rider, M. R. Berry, B. J. Coppock, W. C. Shelton
1901 Tahlequah	154	18	.....
1902 Tahlequah	167	23	Professor Joseph Carter, Mrs. Carter, and others.
1903 Tahlequah	184	26	Professor Gilliland and five instructors
1904 Tahlequah	225	30	.....
1905 Tahlequah	341	25	.....
1906 Tahlequah	324	36	Frank Redd and six instructors
1907 Tahlequah	.....	....	Frank Redd and six instructors

APPENDIX B

SUMMER NORMALS IN THE CREEK NATION
1900-1907

Year and Place	Attendance		Faculty
	White	Colored	
1900			
Eufaula	60	....	.....
Colored Orphans' Home	....	20	.....
1901			
Eufaula	75	....	.....
Muskogee	....	45	.....
1902			
Eufaula	51	....	.....
Muskogee	....	41	.....
1903			
Eufaula	55	....	.....
Muskogee	....	40	.....
1904			
Eufaula	52	....	Professor Gilliland
1905			
Eufaula	130	....	D. Frank Redd, G. W. Horton, J. G. Mitchell Bruce McKinley Maud Gunn, Joseph Carter
1906			
Bacone	200	.....	G. W. Horton, J. G.
Muskogee	.....	122	Mitchell, C. W. Briles, C. L. Garber C. B. Bryant, E. J. Hawkins
1907			
Checotah	197	.....	G. W. Horton, J. G.
Muskogee	.....	137	Mitchell, C. W. Briles, Walter Van Allen, C. B. Bryant, G. W. Carry

APPENDIX C**SUMMER NORMALS IN THE CHOCTAW NATION, 1900-1907**

Year and Place	Attendance		Faculty
	White	Colored	
1900 Tuskahoma	100	.....	J. D. Benedict, Benjamin Coppock
1901 Jones Academy	155	.....	Mr. Beck, Mr. Bayne, Mr. Puntenny
1902 Jones Academy	165	.....	Professor Joesph Carter, Mrs. Carter, J. G. Masters
1903 Jones Academy	148	.....	Five Teachers
1904 Jones Academy	185	.....	Five Teachers
1905 Jones Academy	200	.....	Four Regular Teachers and one Lecturer
1906 Jones Academy	220	.....	"An Able Corps"
1907 Jones Academy	270	.....	Joseph Carter, William Gay, A. E. Riling, Amanda Eld
South McAlester	.....	55	Three Teachers

APPENDIX D

SUMMER NORMALS IN THE CHICKASAW NATION, 1900-1907

Year and Place	Attendance		Faculty
	White	Colored	
1901 Tishomingo	30	....	.....
1902 Tishomingo	80	....	.....
1903 Tishomingo	75	....	.....
1904 Wynnewood	150	....	.....
1905 Comanche	50	....	.....
Ardmore	....	25	.....
1906 Ardmore	175	....	Charles Evans, William Gay, A. W. Reynolds, Ella Stout Reed
1907 Sulphur	170	....	J. R. Hendrix, F. C. Kent, John Howard Payne, Miss Lorena Hinds of Central State Normal gave dem- onstrations in model teach- ing.
Wynnewood	.....	36	.....

APPENDIX E**TEACHERS' INSTITUTES IN OTTAWA COUNTY, 1908-1914**

Year and Place	Enrollment	Director	Assistants
1908 Miami	41	J. T. Davis	T. T. Montgomery W. H. Kilgore
1909 Wyandotte	51	T. T. Montgomery	W. H. Kilgore M. R. Wright
1910 Afton	50	M. R. Floyd	W. M. Stewart C. W. Prier W. G. Masterson
1911 Fairland	47	M. R. Floyd	W. G. Masterson C. W. Prier Hazel Mason
1912 Miami	52	M. R. Floyd	W. H. Kilgore C. W. Prier Frances Carey
1913 Miami	75	M. R. Floyd	W. H. Kilgore Frances D. Carey
1914 Miami	73	M. R. Floyd	Ada Kennedy J. O. Crooks Mrs. J. W. Dyche

APPENDIX F

The following tabulated facts show the early enrollment and growth of Oklahoma State Normals (Superintendent's Biennial Report, 1914, pp. 57-63):

East Central, 1911-1914

Regular terms	1911	210
Summer term	1911	302
Total for year	1911	512
Regular terms	1912	344
Summer term	1912	406
Total for year	1912	750
Regular terms	1913	319
Summer term	1913	656
Total for year	1913	795
Regular terms	1914	362
Summer term	1914	706
Total for year	1914	1,068

Southeastern, 1911-1913

Regular terms	1911	223
Summer term	1911	297
Total for year	1911	520
Regular terms	1912	318
Summer term	1912	223
Total for year	1912	541
Regular terms	1913	230
Summer term	1913	394
Total for year	1913	624

Northeastern, 1911-1913

Regular terms	1911	259
Summer term	1911	201
Total for year	1911	460
Regular terms	1912	245
Summer term	1912	713
Total for year	1912	958
Regular terms	1913	300
Summer term	1913	843
Total for year	1913	1,143

OKLAHOMA CITY, FROM PUBLIC LAND TO PRIVATE PROPERTY

By Berlin B. Chapman

PART TWO: THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Attention is turned to the role of the provisional government in administration of town lots in Oklahoma City, and to events that resulted in the "statu quo" order issued by the Justice Department on January 31, 1890.¹ Kangaroo regulations prior to the establishment of provisional government in Oklahoma City are evidenced by the following statement in the *Kansas City Times* on May 1, 1889:²

Within the past few days, or rather, nights, "lot jumpers" have been getting in their work. Under cover of darkness they go around tearing up stakes that mark off lots and supplementing them with others bearing their own names. They have obtained possession of many choice lots in this manner and disposed of them again for a neat little sum. A vigilance committee has been quietly organized among bona fide residents of the north part of the city to protect their own and others' property, and night prowlers will hereafter be closely watched and summarily dealt with.

It was necessary for the Seminole Town and Improvement Company to gain control of the civil government in order to "secure the rewards of its enterprise." It called "a mass convention of all citizens of the city" to meet on April 27 at 6:30 p.m. at the corner of Main Street and Broadway. At the convention "Articles of Confederation" were adopted providing for a temporary government.³ William L. Couch was nominated as temporary mayor, and an election was called for May 1 for the establishment of a provisional government. Named as judges of the election for the ward north of Clarke Street were J. W. Gibbs, George S. Chase, and Moses Neal; and for the ward south

¹ The first article of this series appeared in *The Chronicles* for summer 1959 (Vol. XXXVII). It reviewed events of the first week of the settlement of Oklahoma City, including surveys made by the Seminole Town and Improvement Company, and by the citizens' movement.

² See also N. F. Gates, "How Oklahoma City Started a Graveyard," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. 12 (April, 1911), p. 8. For an account of social conditions including lot jumping, "Gamblers Row," and the role of troops, see Robe Carl White, "Experiences at the Opening of Oklahoma, 1889," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), pp. 56-69.

³ "The Articles of Confederation" are in Bunky, *The First Eight Months of Oklahoma City*, p. 15. The request for "the meeting in mass convention of all citizens of the city," is dated April 26, 1889, and is in *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., ix (2686), no. 72, p. 28. The proclamation by Couch is not dated. It called a general election on May 1, 1889, and is in *ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

of Clarke Street were Oscar H. Violet, John A. Blackburn, and James Murray.

The Seminole Town and Improvement Company by means of an efficient political organization acquired control of the government. Bunky recorded that hundreds of people did not vote because they did not wish to leave their work. The officers were Couch, mayor; Blackburn, recorder; Frank C. Quinton treasurer; Violet, police judge; Ledru Guthrie, city attorney; Charles Chamberlin, city engineer. The city council was composed of Sidney Clarke, E. G. Hudson, J. Ed. Jones, C. T. Scott, John Wallace, and W. C. Wells.⁴

In the opinion of Angelo C. Scott the Seminole Town and Improvement Company was "the evil genius of the founding of Oklahoma City," and to it he attributed "the failure of our attempt at self-government, when success would have been easily possible." It has been explained that in the citizens' survey south of Grand Avenue an awarding committee acted as a board of arbitration in assigning lots. It is difficult to determine how effective the assignments proved to be under the provisional government. Herbert S. Butler said that Blackburn was instructed in all instances to issue certificates in accordance with the citizens' certificates. The Seminole Town and Improvement Company had laid out Main Street and the region north of it. Continued rivalry between the north and south portions of the town caused adherents of the town company to be known as "Seminoles," and the southern "kickers" welcomed the name of "Kickapoos."⁵

On May 4 Mayor Couch approved Ordinance No. 1 which prohibited any person from entering upon, or occupying or improving any city lot upon which any person was residing, or upon which there was any evidence of any one else claiming the same.⁶ Any person violating the ordinance should be subject to a fine not to exceed \$100 and costs of suit, and should be sentenced to work upon the city streets until said fine and costs were fully paid. It was also unlawful for any person "to squat upon any street or alley." It is said that the prime purpose of the ordinance was to serve the interests of the

⁴ "Extract copy from the records of Oklahoma City," *ibid.*, p. 30. Listed in the poll book of the election on April 22, 1889, were Blackburn, Scott, and Wallace. They helped elect James Murray as mayor in an effort to rival the Seminole Town and Improvement Company.

⁵ L. B. Hill, *History of the State of Oklahoma*, vol. 1, p. 246. The constitution of the "Kickapoo Council" was drawn up in the autumn of 1889 and is in Bunky, *loc. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

⁶ "The First Ordinance," *The Oklahoma Pioneer*, May 11, 1889.

Seminole Town and Improvement Company whose members were "brazen Sooners."⁷

Angelo C. Scott had no idea how many lots the company sold, but he thought those who bought them got a good bargain. He said: "Oklahoma City would have been spared her birth-pain agonies if those first-day citizens had tamely accepted the Seminole survey in full and paid the modest price demanded. Thus would Oklahoma City have been founded in absolute peace upon a basis of absolute fraud."⁸

Commissioner Strother M. Stockslager on May 8 sent the following telegram to Inspector John Alfred Pickler at Oklahoma City: "Sales of town lots by townsite companies or other private individuals or organizations, are worthless under the law, and the people should be so informed."⁹ On May 9 Angelo C. Scott in the *Oklahoma Times* challenged the right of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company to sell the public domain. The same day the city council passed Ordinance No. 8 which provided that lot certificates issued by the company were equal, as evidence of ownership, to certificates issued by the city recorder and authorized the ejectment of those not holding certificates of either kind.

On May 16 Councilmen Jones, Wells, and C. T. Scott addressed a letter to Secretary John W. Noble asking "that the town site plat of this city, known as the Murray or citizens plat receive consideration and recognition. This plat was prepared in the interest of the inhabitants of the town and is in no way manipulated by any corporation."¹⁰

The *Oklahoma Gazette*, edited by Frank McMaster in Oklahoma City, appeared on May 21, and performed a valuable

⁷ John Alley, *City Beginnings in Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 28-45; cf. Maj. J. P. Sanger to Asst. Adj. Gen., Dept. of the Mo., Sept. 27, 1889, *S. Ex. Docs.*, loc. cit., pp. 15-17.

⁸ Scott, *The Story of Oklahoma City*, pp. 16, 32.

⁹ Tel. from Stockslager to Pickler, May 8, 1889, NA (National Archives) GLO (General Land Office), *Telegrams*, vol. 17, p. 346. Pickler said the telegram was "very beneficial in results. Speculators find few buyers since it is understood they can give no title. It inspires people with confidence in the administration, and a belief that government will protect them in their rights against fraud and injustice"; tel. from Pickler to Noble, May 13, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., box 680.

¹⁰ Jones et al. to Noble, May 16, 1889, NA, GLO, townsite box 140. A. C. Scott said that Jones and Wells were "steadfast friends" of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company. A certificate issued under Ordinance no. 8 on May 13, 1889, is reproduced in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1958), p. 93.

No. 116

The Seminole Town and Improvement Company.

OF KANSAS.



I, John Brandley, THE SEMINOLE TOWN AND IMPROVEMENT COMPANY hereby sells and relinquishes to Arnold Brandley — of Block No. 19, all right, title, and interest that it now has or may hereafter acquire in and to Lot No. 4

OKLAHOMA CITY,

Indian Territory, in accordance with said Town Company's Plat and Survey thereof, and this certifies that the said **Arnold Brandley** — is this day in possession and the occupant of said lot.

THE SEMINOLE TOWN AND IMPROVEMENT CO.,

By **L. H. Brandell** *Sept 27*

Apr. 27/89

MADE IN A HOLLAND, NETHERLANDS

Please return this certificate to Arnold Brandley, Oklahoma City

(Photo from National Archives, Lands and R. R. Division)
Certificate from the Seminole Town and Improvement Company issued to Arnold Brandley for Oklahoma City town lot, on April 27, 1889.

service in recording local history.¹¹ The newspaper on May 24 stated that lot certificates issued by Oklahoma City were based in part on acts of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company which "was organized for fraud and deals in favoritism," and which by ordinance was protected in "their illegal acts." The following reference was made to Ordinance No. 3:

Section 1. Any person holding certificates under the laws of Oklahoma City to a lot in said city, shall, after the filing of the same with the recorder of said city be secure in his right to the extent that the city guarantees to said person that said certificates shall be conclusive evidence that such holder has in every way complied with the law in regard to settlement and occupancy of said lot, and that all persons not holding one of said certificates, or under some person to whom one has been issued, who shall claim or undertake to exercise any right or claim to any lot or lots shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor under ordinance number (1).

This double barreled ordinance is hung on a swivel and shoots both ways. It is intended to compel the taking out of certificates, in order to collect fees, and then make these certificates conclusive evidence of ownership, guaranteed by the city. By its terms an occupant may comply with the statutes of the United States fully, yet be subject to a fine of \$100 for making improvements on his own lot.

Remember there are no courts, no power to investigate the truth or falsity of this certificate, and yet it is substituted for actual compliance with the law, while ignoring the law.

Ordinance No. 14 passed on June 4 made it a misdemeanor to claim adverse possession against the holder of a certificate of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company. Angelo C. Scott called this the "final catastrophe" and said it brought the "indignation of the Kickapoos to the boiling point." More than a year later Violet ["Judge Posey"] said that the records of his court would show that "the ordinances passed by the city council were recognized as law governing the parties as law thereunder, and the decrees of the court were as near as the court was able to determine in accordance with the provisions of those ordinances." W. C. Arnold described the situation more bluntly while testifying before the local land office on November 15, 1890.¹² He said that in May or June,

¹¹ From May 21 to July 23, 1889, the name of the newspaper was the *Oklahoma Gazette*. Without notice the name was changed on July 24 to the *Evening Gazette*, but the format remained the same. The library of the University of Oklahoma has a complete file of the newspaper to May 25, 1893, and some copies of it are in the Kansas Historical Society.

¹² Herbert S. Butler and W. C. Arnold, *v. C. B. Bickford*, NA, GLO, townsite box 125. In regard to certificates, J. L. Brown said that the city jail ("Cottonwood de Bastile") was "crowded so full there was not room for another man." He said that trial by jury terminated when juries "got to acquitting the fellows who were charged with being on lots without certificates." A reliable account of proceedings of the police court is given by Brown in Hill, *History of the State of Oklahoma*, vol. 1, p. 246-251.

1889, persons were arrested, tried and convicted, fined or imprisoned for setting up claims to lots occupied by other persons holding certificates issued by the Seminole Town and Improvement Company. Trial in local court was a summary proceeding.

For a few months the War Department with the bayonet stood squarely behind the sooner government in Oklahoma City. From the military camp there on July 15 Order No. 24 was issued stating in part: "The commanding general directs that, in any matter of violence directed against the city government of Oklahoma, with a view to its overthrow, you will use the troops in the maintenance of peace. This order applies to any disorders growing out of the efforts of the civil authorities of Oklahoma to suppress measures tending to the destruction of the city government." Many a qualified settler found it expedient to purchase a sooner's claim to a lot for \$25. Some of the purchasers of lots later acquired legal titles, not by reason of purchase from fraudulent claimants, but by virtue of actual possession.¹³ Purchasers from the company merely bought a possessor's claim illegally acquired.

Peter G. Burns was one of the original surveyors employed in "surveying and platting Oklahoma City." In a sworn statement of June 27, 1889, he said that the survey was commenced on April 22 after 2 p. m. and was continued from time to time until May 18. He added: "All work lying N. of Reno St., except that not subdivided into lots was occupied by April 28th '89. I was prevented from completing my work in that direction by armed interference." Burns made his statement on the "Plat of Oklahoma City and South Oklahoma."¹⁴ He noted that the plat includes the east half of Section 33 and "is the tract covered by the Murray application."

The plat has the appearance of an incomplete hybrid. Only seven of the streets on the plat are named, and no lots are numbered. South Oklahoma City is laid off into blocks, streets, and alleys, but not into lots. Burns accepted the citizens' survey in its entirety, and for practical purposes he accepted the Seminole survey. At the junction of the two surveys he designated only eighteen wedge lots, and a few other minor differences can be found. He copied the eastern border of the Dick plat as drawn, and did not include the one hundred-foot strip north of the station grounds, that in reality was annexed to the blocks. On the west border of the plat he drew the blocks, between Main Street and Seventh Street, uniform in size with thirty-two lots to the block. Thus they

¹³ Alley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 28-45.

¹⁴ The plat with a letter of transmittal by John I. Dille and Cassius M. Barnes on June 29, 1889, are in NA, GLO, townsites box 140.

conform to the western blocks in the citizens' survey, but contain fewer lots than do corresponding blocks on the Dick plat.

The portion of the east half of Section 33 "not subdivided into lots," extends from Seventh Street to Tenth Street. Samuel Crocker made homestead entry for it on April 24, but Frank M. Gault claimed it and finally secured it as the "Gault eighty."¹⁵ For this tract Burns drew on the plat the blocks, streets, and alleys. Conspicuous in the center of the "Gault eighty" is a rectangular park extending from Seventh Street to Ninth Street, and from Broadway to Harvey Avenue.

An interesting notation on the plat is the right of way of the Kansas City and Pacific Railroad, and the Choctaw Valley Railroad. It runs east and west across the plat between Third and Fourth Street. In the margin are these words: "This is not respected by the Seminole survey."¹⁶

On June 29 John I. Dille and Cassius M. Barnes, register and receiver of the Guthrie land office, transmitted Burns' plat to the General Land Office with this statement: "We herewith transmit for your consideration additional plat for the town of Oklahoma with showing of election statistics, improvements and population to go with and be made a part of the

¹⁵ Samuel Crocker, a prominent Boomer, was a timekeeper and book-keeper for William L. Couch's "grading gang that put in three quarters of a mile of side tracks, preparatory to the opening of the country to settlement on April 22, 1889." At high noon on that day Crocker left the right of way of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad and went upon his claim. He had the "first house that was built on a farm claim" in Oklahoma City. From his first year's crop he sold more than \$200 worth of melons and turnips. He lived on the tract two or three years. For a good account see Dan W. Peery, "Colonel Crocker and the Boomer Movement," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (September, 1935), pp. 273-296.

¹⁶ James F. Harrison, "Chief Engineer Oklahoma City," said: "The Santa Fe people, also, entirely ignore the claim of right of way by the Choctaw Coal and Mining Company Railway through said section 33, which has been granted to the said Choctaw Company by the United States, and also I have been directed in laying off the town according to the citizens' survey, to respect said right of way"; Harrison to Sec. Int., April 29, 1889, NA., Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., box 681.

Under the provisions of an act of Congress on February 18, 1888, a tract of 13.77 acres was selected by the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company for station purposes. It extended east and west across the townsite, just south of Fourth Street. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, approved the plat on September 18, 1889. The plat is in NA, RG 49, bundle 53, no. 82620-1889. The railroad was later known as the Rock Island; 25 *Statutes*, 35; Com. Lewis A. Groff to register and receiver, Guthrie land office, Oct. 14, 1889. NA, GLO, "F" *Letter Book*, vol. 294, pp. 314-315; BLM (Bureau Of Land Management), *Oklahoma Tract Book*, vol. 2, p. 143; Redfield Proctor, Sec. War, to E. L. Dunn, Nov. 30, 1889, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., ix (2686), no. 72, p. 48; D. A. Richardson, "Judge Charles Bismark Ames," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (December, 1935), pp. 391-398.

Townsite application filed on the 24th day of April 1889 by James Murray, Mayor.

William M. Stone, Acting Commissioner of the General Land Office, said that in view of Dick's sworn statement that the lands applied for were already settled upon and occupied as a townsite, the provisions of sections 2258 and 2289 of the *Revised Statutes* were applicable. Stone took notice that lands so occupied were in a state of reservation from disposal under the homestead laws. He directed Dille and Barnes to conduct a hearing on the matter.¹⁷

They found that Charles Chamberlin and his associates, with a plat already prepared, began the survey of the southeast quarter of Section 33 at two minutes after noon on April 22. The surveying was done "at the instance of someone whose name, residence, purpose and interest do not appear." However at noon about 150 persons were near the railroad station and at once settled upon the quarter section and "staked lots for purposes of business and trade."

Dille and Barnes found that the northeast quarter of Section 33, now the area between Fourth Street and Tenth Street, was settled upon by Frank M. Gault, a qualified homesteader, on April 22, at 1:10 p. m. It seems that prior to Gault's arrival Chamberlin had extended the east line of Broadway, north to the center of the quarter section. Dille and Barnes said:

While we found that such line had been run at that time, the evidence is very conflicting upon that question. Such line did not of itself show for what purpose it was run or that it was the line of a street. Chamberlin himself was a non-resident, had come into the territory illegally and could not make the selections for himself or anyone else, had he attempted to do so. It does not appear that the person who procured his service was at that time or ever since has been a settler upon the land or a person competent to make a selection or settlement. It does not appear that Chamberlin represented or was acting for the settlers present nor does it affirmatively appear that there was a single settler upon said half section, who came from the line afternoon of said day. The burden of proof is upon the townsite claimants to show a legal and valid selection and settlement of the land to segregate it from homestead entry.

Dille and Barnes concluded that Gault was entitled to the northeast quarter of the section as a homestead claim, and that the southeast quarter was occupied by people for the purposes

¹⁷ Stone to register and receiver, Guthrie land office, Aug. 6, 1889, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 2, pp. 252-254. The decision of Dille and Barnes is in the *Oklahoma City Daily Times*, July 20, 1890.

of trade and business and should be entered as a townsite accordingly.¹⁸

Some judicial work inherited by the provisional government was continued even to statehood, as evidenced by the case of James M. Garner. He was twenty years securing title to a lot southeast of the intersection of Grand Avenue and Broadway.¹⁹ The real question of merit was whether he was the first settler on the lot after the land opening on April 22, 1889. The citizens' committee or the committee of fourteen awarded the lot to him. On September 18, John A. Blackburn, city recorder, issued a certificate to J. J. McColsky in accordance with the provisions of Ordinance No. 8.

J. T. Word succeeded to the rights of McColsky. He and Garner were contestants before Townsite Board No. 2 which on December 1, 1890, awarded the lot to Word. Garner on December 10 appealed to the Commissioner of the General Land Office. On May 7, 1892, the board issued a deed to the lot to Seymour L. Price, as grantee of the rights of Word. In 1894 the Commissioner of the General Land Office decided that Garner should be awarded the deed to the lot, and in 1895 the Secretary of the Interior reached the same conclusion. In the meantime Price had conveyed the lot by warranty deed to his sister who in 1898 conveyed it by a like deed to John E. Brooks.

Ten years later the Supreme Court of Oklahoma held that neither the Commissioner of the General Land Office nor the Secretary of the Interior could entertain an appeal from the decision of the townsite board after the deed was delivered to Price, notwithstanding that an appeal was pending at the time of such issuance and delivery. The title of the government passed with the deed, and at that time functions of the commissioner and the secretary closed.

Although the lot was in the possession of Brooks, the court observed that Garner had been diligent in the extreme and had done more than he could be called on to do to give notice of his rights to those who secured deeds to the lot, and to protect his interests. The court directed that a good and sufficient conveyance to the lot be made to Garner.

¹⁸ Secretary Hoke Smith found that Gault did not use a relay of horses in the race on April 22, 1889 (*Fuller v. Gault et al.*, 21 L. D. 176 [1895]). Dan W. Peery said that Gault, Bill McClure, and Frank Cook "sent horses ahead by some Indian boys who were holding them beside the trail and they changed horses twice before they reached their respective homesteads."

¹⁹ This was lot 26 in block 5. See Com. S. W. Lamoreux to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, Jan. 2, 1894, NA, GLO, "G" *Letter Book*, vol. 12, pp. 115-120; Sec. Hoke Smith to Com. Gen. Land Office, April 8, 1895, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent*, vol 171, p. 144-145; *Garner v. Brooks*, 94 Pac. 694 (1908); 97 Pac. 995 (1908); BLM. *Okla. City Tract Book*, p. 2.

Provisional government grew out of necessity made by the absence of legal authority. It consisted of an aggregation of people associated together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection. Concerning this type of government the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory said:

Without any statute law, they became a law unto themselves and adopted the forms of law and government common among civilized people, and enforced their authority by the power of public sentiment. They had no legal existence; . . . they could not bind themselves by contracts, or bind anyone else. They were morally bound to make just compensation for that which they received in money, labor or materials, but no such obligations could be enforced against them.²⁰

Despite growing pains of provisional government, Oklahoma City made commendable progress. The first city directory prepared under date of August 22, 1889, said: "We see a living town of 5,027 souls, well built and complete in its commercial branches. It has attained in four months what many towns of like population have taken a decade, a quarter or a half century to reach. None see Oklahoma City but prophesy a bright future for her."²¹

THE "STATU QUO" ORDER

William L. Couch resigned as mayor of Oklahoma City on November 11, 1889, to maintain residence on his homestead claim which bordered the townsite on the southwest. He was succeeded by Dr. Andrew Jackson Beale, former Kentuckian, who had come to Oklahoma City on April 22. Henry Overholser lost to Beale by about a dozen votes. Beale, age 53, was the Grand Sachem of the Kickapoos, and his election on November 27 evidently was interpreted as a reversal of the Seminole policy. An epidemic of lot jumping broke out. On December 3 the *Evening Gazette* said: "It is a desperate and hard fact and it may need a hard and desperate remedy. The citizens of this community need to legislate. The legislation should be short in its enactment and speedy in its enforcement. It should declare: **No Lot Shall be Jumped in Oklahoma.** Its enactors should see that this law is enforced by the death penalty if necessary."²² The next day the *Evening Gazette* observed that the courts must at last pass upon titles to lots, and added: "Temporary advantages gained by force will not decide in the final results." Beale issued a proclamation warning all persons against unlawful interference with the "lawful possession, occupancy or use

²⁰ *City of Guthrie v. Territory ex rel. Losey*, 1 Okla. 188 (1892).

²¹ R. W. McAdam and S. E. Levi, *The City Directory*.

²² See also, "Lot Leapers," *Evening Gazette*, Dec. 3, 1889.

14.

January 31, '90.

R. L. Walker,
Guthrie,

Indian Territory.

No instructions except to keep the
peace have heretofore been sent you.
You are now directed to stop ejec-
ments and lot-jumping, and preserve
the status quo against all violations,
until a government is established
by Congressional action.

Attorney General.

The "Statu Quo" order issued by Attorney General W. H. H. Miller, on January 31, 1890.
(Photo by Courtesy National Archives)

of other persons of town lots."²³ It added that all persons advocating, inciting, abetting or committing murder to settle such disputes would be turned over to the federal authorities to be dealt with according to law.

Beale insisted on filing in the land office the James Murray plat, one that was never used, instead of filing the "compromise" plat agreed to on April 27. This plat was largely the work of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company, and had been in use six months. About December 14 Beale recommended to the council the repeal of Ordinance No. 8 which required lot owners to submit to arbitration, and the repeal of Ordinance No. 29 providing for payment for town lot certificates.

Beale wrote a letter concerning the taking of town lots on the public domain.²⁴ He said:

The principal ordinances of Oklahoma City on this subject are in conflict with the laws of the United States. Ordinance No. 3 makes certificates conclusive evidence of compliance with the law of settlement. The holder of a certificate of a vacant lot is conclusively presumed to have complied with every requisite of the law of the land. And Ordinance No. 14 makes it a misdemeanor for any one to question by claim the validity of his title, or to attempt to occupy such lot. These ordinances are in conflict with the letter and spirit of the laws of the United States and persons undertaking to enforce them are making themselves guilty of the violation of those laws. It is needless to say they encourage speculation, false swearing, and fraud. The pretense that a certificate conveys guaranty of title is a specious conceit.

The only possible title at present is that of actual possession or occupancy for use. Where a person has such possession his certificate is of no importance and where one holds a certificate to vacant property he has no title. Our city council cannot make new and extraordinary regulations for acquisition of town lots. It may memorialize Congress or offer suggestions to the Sec'y of the Interior, but until such regulations are provided by competent authority they will hardly be considered binding by the land office or

²³ The proclamation is in *ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1889. On the same page is an article, "Git You Coon," telling how H. Overholser by firing a pistol cleared a lot of a Negro (Willie Dickson) and a white man. The two lot jumpers were on a lot Overholser claimed at the corner of Grand Avenue and Robinson Street.

²⁴ Beale to the City Council, *Evening Gazette*, Dec. 7, 1889. The letter is dated Dec. 14, 1889, and is in Bunky, *loc. cit.*, pp. 68-70. Beale cited the case of Singer Manufacturing Co. v. Tillman et al., 21 Pac. (1889). In the case the Supreme Court of Arizona said that an occupant was a settler or resident of the town, and that no one could receive government title to a town lot unless he was in the actual, bona fide possession and occupancy of the lot.

In 1892 Acting Secretary George Chandler said it was not required that a person "actually live upon a lot as upon a homestead. It is sufficient if he makes a settlement and improvements thereon, though the improvements be occupied by another. Such tenant occupies for him, the owner"; *Berry v. Corette*, 15 L. D. 210.

the courts. Actual possession as above defined is the true rule of settlement, and ordinances looking to the protection of such actual settlement, require and will receive the support of the people as well as the enforcement of city government.

It appears therefore that so called lot jumping is reducible to one or the other of these divisions. First, where actual bona fide possession is assailed. Second, where a pretended title to vacant property is sought to be impeached. In the first class of cases my duty, as a peace officer is clear enough, and I shall use the power at my hand to swiftly interfere and punish offenders. The second is of cases illegal in their inception, and to undertake to defend them, would be a flagrant abuse of power, and contrary to the laws of the U. S.

I further recommend the repeal of Ord. No. 29 which has created in regard to town lots, a diminutive but pestilential land office, that is a standing invitation to lot jumpers to enter contests upon lots of bona fide occupants who have not seen fit to comply with an unlawful ordinance, commanding them to pay an exorbitant and unnecessary price for a certificate. I further recommend the repeal of Ord. No. 8 which obligates lot owners in contests to submit to an arbitration and award, when the laws of the land entitle them to await the decisions of constitutional courts, having jurisdiction.

These illy conceived ordinances are the fruitful source of those contentions concerning our title, which have occasioned so much complaint and uncertainty; and confusion is worse confounded by illegal awards and city land office contests entered without authority of law. Had our settlement been left to ordinary usages and the laws of the land, nice distinctions concerning certificates and their value would never have been heard of; and the indications of actual possession at all times plainly point out settlement, occupation or use in good faith.

By this time titles might have been tolerably well settled; and if adjudication had to be made, temporary courts with the ordinary American system of trial by jury, instead of secret award, would have more readily gained the confidence of the people and litigants.

Our sister city of Guthrie has found, I am informed, the adoption of these courts an available expedient, and if, in the opinion of the council, any great delay may intervene before the establishment of constitutional courts, I should gladly recommend the creation by election of these popular tribunals, with jurisdiction to try questions of actual possession, but not title to real property.

On the day Beale's letter appeared, the *Evening Gazette* made the following comment: "Mayor Beale has certainly fallen into the hands of bad advisers, and in thus assailing the titles to the property of our citizens and the laws by which they are protected, will call down upon his head a condemnation from which he will wish to escape at no distant day. In this ill-advised communication he strikes a blow at all the vital business interests of the city." The next day the newspaper said: "If the ordinances are invalid they do not need repeal. If they are invalid the power which made them is usurped. If the council are usurpers the mayor is a usurper also." On December 19 the *Evening Gazette* charged Beale with assuming the province

of a court and with "an airy and sprightly disregard of facts he with one sweep of his pen destroys the title to at least \$100,000 worth of property in this city. Assuming that the Kickapoo Klan is very wise and that their head and Mayor is also very full of wisdom, it reads strange that the accepted work of seven members of the council is brushed away so lightly and quickly." The prediction was made that "the men who seek to destroy may meet destruction."

A majority of the city council stood in the way of Beale's "destructive policy." Influential members of the council were J. Ed. Jones and W. C. Wells who refused to support the Murray-plat filing, as they had done in May. The extent of their alignment with the Seminoles is difficult to determine, but for Jones it was sufficient to result in his defeat in the legislative campaign in 1890. Beale said he received a petition "signed by 154 voters" stating that Jones and Wells had moved from the second ward some time ago, leaving the people of that portion of the city without just representation in the council, and requesting that the seats be declared vacant. The *Evening Gazette* on December 20, 1889, carried Beale's proclamation declaring the seats of Jones and Wells vacant, and ordering an election to fill the vacancies on December 30 at "Lindsey & Brandom's office, corner California avenue and Harvey street."²⁵ In the proclamation Beale said that it was a "well known fact made more emphatic by report of Secretary Noble and the message of President Harrison, that there exists no laws to govern us save the will of the majority of the people." Jones and Wells declared they would not abide by the election if it were held. The *Evening Gazette* observed that "the condition of affairs in this city is rapidly nearing the point of explosion."²⁶

The page of the *Evening Gazette* that carried the proclamation also carried a long letter in which Jones replied to Beale, stating that he would "submit to no such usurpation of authority on your part. If you are mayor of this city, you are mayor by virtue of the ordinances, and under these ordinances my title to the position I hold as a city officer is unassailable."

²⁵ The proclamation is dated December 18, 1889, and is in Bunky, *loc. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

²⁶ Beale contended that he was responding to the call of two-thirds and he believed three-fourths of the residents of the second ward when he issued the proclamation. On December 23 the *Evening Gazette* said: "There has never been in all this city's variegated history one-half the deep seated interest and excitement that there is at the present hour. This is proven by the frequent visits of United States Marshal [Richard L.] Walker to the city of late and his presence here today. He knows of the unrest, the subdued excitement, the danger the town is in, and he is ready to nip the first squall in the bud."

Jones said the proclamation of "yesterday sets the priming to a magazine the explosion of which will leave bloodshed and blackened ruins as monuments to your supreme folly." Jones added:

The proposition was submitted to me that if I would support the Murray filing there would be no vacancy declared nor election held. I refused, and was given to understand on the afternoon of the same day that the action of yesterday would be taken. Had I submitted to the proposition of the Murray plat your proclamation of yesterday would not have been issued One thing is certain, you are prostituting your position to vile purposes, and as surely as the days go by, so surely "will the rooks come home to roost." and the citizens of the city you have dismantled and left desolate, will visit upon you the odium you and your advisors so justly merit.

Jones said the petition was circulated "for the purpose of throwing a mantle of decency" over a secret conspiracy, because Jones would not support the Murray-plat filing.

Edwin W. Stone who served four years as prosecuting attorney for the sixth judicial district of Iowa, arrived in Oklahoma City on April 22, 1889. On December 20 he wrote:²⁷

From the very start there have been two contending or antagonistic forces and interests in this city, viz., those who entered the territory prior to that date [April 22] in defiance of the law and proclamation, called "sooners," and those who entered according to law. The former seized upon nearly all the valuable lots in this city, and all the claims for miles around. The latter class, when they reached the territory found nearly all the lots and claims held by sooners, and have been contending all summer that the sooners had no rights to this valuable property—hence much jumping of claims and lots. The sooners were shrewd enough to get possession of the provisional city government and passed most objectionable and arbitrary ordinances to protect these illegal holdings. By a system of arrests, fines, and imprisonment they yet hold these possessions except where they have sold their rights. Our council or board of trade, mostly of the sooner class, now petition Congress to validate their acts and make them binding. Among other acts they issued certificates of ownership to lots and seek to have Congress give to them sanctity of evidence.

Senator Preston B. Plumb of Kansas said he desired what the people in Indian Territory wanted done as to townsites.²⁸ He thought that legislation should not change the relation of occupants of town lots or lands to each other or to the law. He had no doubt that under any scheme of townsite entry which could be provided, someone would get a lot who was not entitled to it, although in this case, as in all others, the law could create as well as destroy rights, and it did not seem to him unwise to permit persons who held certificates to have the lots covered by those certificates where there was no contest. He

²⁷ Stone to John F. Lacey, Dec. 20, 1889, NA. Leg. Sec., HR, 51A-F39.5 Okla. (or Ind. Ter.).

²⁸ Plumb to C. H. Eagin, Dec. 21, 1889, *Evening Gazette*, Dec. 27, 1889.

noted that lots had been made the subject of transfer, and many of them were held by what were practically innocent parties. He said: "The government does not care for the small amount of money they would bring if sold at public sale, nor would the amount to be realized be of any great importance to the new municipality, and in my judgment it would do far more hurt to incontinently overthrow all claim to title arising under certificates."

On December 23 the *Evening Gazette* published a letter addressed to the people of Oklahoma City and signed by Sidney Clarke, president of the city council; Jones and Wells, councilmen; O. H. Violet, police judge; John A. Blackburn, city recorder; and Ledru Guthrie, city attorney.²⁹ The letter referred to the "articles of confederation" unanimously adopted on April 27 (when the two surveys were harmonized) providing for "the more adequate protection of property and for the better preservation of order." Reference was made to the election on May 1, and to the city charter. It was charged that Beale without any legal authority and in contempt of the laws of the city had "assumed to call an election" on December 30 to elect two persons to the council, though no vacancies existed. The letter said:

We, the undersigned, duly elected members of the city government for the term of one year, and duly qualified to hold and exercise the duties of our respective offices as required by law, and having taken a solemn oath to faithfully support the laws of the city, hereby declare the call of the Mayor for said election to be a gross usurpation of power, and of no force and effect. We should betray every vital interest of our constituents, and be false to every instinct of official duty if we did not warn the people of Oklahoma City against this revolutionary attempt to overthrow our municipal government, and plunge this community into a conflict which would inevitably result in anarchy and untold disasters. In obedience to the oaths we have taken, this attempted outrage will be resisted to the end by the undersigned.

The Mayor of this city is as much the creature of our municipal laws, and as sacredly bound by their provisions as any other member of the city government: and it should now be fully known to our people, and to the civil and military authorities of the United States located here for the protection of life and property, and to the authorities at Washington, that in obedience to the dictation of a secret clan, in which violence and assassination are threatened against law-abiding citizens, and at a time when numerous threats are being made to destroy our city by fire, the Mayor openly defies the laws of the city and takes the lead in a policy of destruction. Elected by the bare majority of fourteen votes, and having held office only a few days, his defiance of the city ordinances has been open and flagrant. He

²⁹ "An Appeal for Law and Order," *Evening Gazette*, Dec. 23, 1889. Beale appointed George E. Thornton of South Oklahoma City as marshal of Oklahoma City, but the city council refused to confirm the appointment. There was speculation that Thornton would be a candidate for sheriff when the county was organized.

has appointed and assumed to commission a person as city marshal, resident of another city, disqualified to serve under Section 7 of the city charter, and contrary to Section 1 of Ordinance No. 12.

He has declared in a message to the city council that no person can own and hold lots in this city who does not actually reside on the same, regardless of the rights of the citizen, whether he has staked or purchased his lots or as to his financial ability to improve them either for residence or business purposes.

He declares in the same message against the ordinance for the protection of possessory rights, and invites the lawless element congregated here to jump the lots which have been properly taken, purchased and improved in good faith.

He has attempted to mislead the people and falsify the city records by declaring that Sec. 15, Chapter 19 of the compiled laws of Kansas relating to the division of cities of the second class into wards and to the qualifications of councilmen, has "been adopted for the government of our city." This statement is wholly untrue.

He declined to file the authorized plat of the city in the Guthrie land office, though directed to do so by a vote of the city council.

He presides at the conclaves of a secret clan, and the attempt he now makes to destroy our city government was first decreed by members of said clan.

Under the circumstances and in view of these facts, but two courses are open before us. One is to submit to these usurpations, allow the possessory titles to all city property to be overthrown and destroyed, and the city government turned into a crusade against the property, business, and prosperity of the city. The other is to maintain existing municipal laws, preserve the peace and property of our people from violence and rapine, until such time as Congress, in its wisdom, shall give us the protection of a territorial government.

The undersigned have unalterably determined, from a sense of duty, both official and personal, to pursue the latter course, and we earnestly invoke the aid and action of all good citizens. We call upon our people to guard their property from the torch of the incendiary. We admonish them to defend their property and their homes from the invasion of lot jumpers. A single man in the city government, as herein set forth, has forced us to make choice between anarchy and self-preservation. The emergency is great. It must and will be met.

On the same day the letter by the council appeared in the newspaper, the council addressed the military authorities as follows: "The situation is extremely critical: It is the concurrent judgment of a great majority of our law-abiding citizens that the civil and military authorities of the United States should at once assume control of affairs here, to the end that life and property may be fully protected and the present status preserved until Congress affords the necessary relief."

On December 23 Beale said in a letter to John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior:³⁰

³⁰ Beale to Noble, Dec. 23, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., box 681.

The same element that have systematically violated the President's Proclamation have used and are again seeking to use, the U. S. Deputy Marshals and the troops, against the law abiding citizens of this town. The conduct of U. S. Marshal, R. L. Walker of the district of Kansas is plainly in the interest of these violators. His brother, and chief deputy, George L. Walker, solely associates with this element, as does the marshal when here, and deputies are made and unmade at their dictation. We name among these violators, Sindy [Sidney] Clark[e], Gen. (James B.) Weaver, John Blackburn, J. E. Jones, W. C. Wells, and others; these men in the confusion captured the early city government, and have passed laws in conflict with the laws of the United States, granted franchises, turned the people out of the lawful possession of lots and houses, and have ever been in conflict with the great majority of the citizens, causing continual friction.

The present council has adopted a system of certificates for lots by which they permit persons to hold possession without occupancy or improvement, and by this device many people who came into the territory in open violation of law and the President's Proclamation have staked and claimed the most valuable lots in many cities. And many others are thus held by persons who are not residents of the territory, and this council has steadily upheld possession by certificate, and has persistently prevented actual, lawful settlers from taking bona fide possession of such fraudulently held lots. If the present council is upheld by the military in preventing an election, then the certificate system is safe, and these schemers hope to engineer a bill through Congress upholding and ratifying the certificate system of occupancy, and already such a bill is introduced into the senate, when they will present these certificates to the authority which will be delegated to convey title to lots and upon such evidence demand deeds.

Noble on December 24 sent Beale the following telegram, and Beale replied:³¹

In the opinion of the President your reported action in declaring seats in the council vacant and the proposed election to fill such vacancies are ill-advised and are apt to provoke a breach of the peace. He directs me to say you should allow the present status of affairs to remain undisturbed, until Congress has provided a lawful government. The general good conduct that has characterized the people of Oklahoma should not be put in jeopardy by any factional proceedings. Peace and good order must be preserved. Please answer.

Telegram received. Mail matter en route to self and President will reach Washington Saturday. Reserve reply until received and read. Feel it a duty to observe your and President's wishes to pre-

On December 4, 1889, John J. Ingalls of Kansas introduced Senate Bill 501 providing for an election in which "the qualified voters" on a townsite should elect a mayor and council. Thereafter the mayor should be empowered to enter the townsite in trust for the several use and benefit of the occupants thereof according to their respective interests. The mayor and council should be authorized to carry out the provisions of the act in awarding lots, under such rules and regulations as they might prescribe. The bill is in NA, Leg. Sec., *Sen. Bills (Originals)*, 51 Cong. 1 sess.

³¹ Tel. from Noble to Beale, Dec. 24, 1889, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent*, vol. 82, p. 486; tel. from Beale to Noble, Dec. 26, 1889, box 681, *loc. cit.*

vent election. Looks like a great government upholding a petty tyranny and in conflict with your and President's reports to Congress. Peace and order prevail. I fear no trouble. Please defer answer until time indicated.

In Oklahoma district it was becoming increasingly clear that the city governments did not have the physical or legal power to subdue the rebellious spirit of lot jumping. The military authorities considered the situation sufficiently critical to take precautionary measures.³² General Wesley Merritt ordered two troops of cavalry to proceed to Oklahoma City to protect property interests involved in the controversy.

Federal action was climaxed by the famous "statu quo" order. A year after its issuance Oscar H. Violet recalled that in Oklahoma City the order "went into effect between Christmas and New Year."³³ The following statement by him helps to explain the evolution of the order:³⁴

I sat as judge of the Police Court here, and I was informed by the United States marshal that the order had been received. I since learned it had been received by the United States commissioners; and it was brought to my attention on the 26th of December, I think. Its effect was to suspend operations of the provisional government here and left matters in relation to civil affairs and lots, etc., in statu quo. It remained in force until the passage of the Organic Act by Congress which was approved May 2, 1890 In obedience to the order as presented to me, I ceased to exercise any jurisdiction in matters effecting the possessory rights of parties to lots, and the United States marshal assuming to act under that order prevented physically any person from going on to a lot that was then occupied or in the possession or claimed by anyone. Up to that time the city authorities had exercised that jurisdiction over the possessor's rights.

On the night of December 26 two troops of the Fifth Cavalry from Fort Reno encamped on the military reservation at Oklahoma City. The *Evening Gazette* said: "Wagons, mules, tents, soldiers and two hundred cavalry horses made up the lively scene." Among rumors it was said that they came to "prevent the election," and that the city was to be placed under martial law. On December 27 the *Evening Gazette* reported: "Numerous contests are being filed and if the thing continues for the next thirty days three-fourths of the lots in the city will be in litigation; someone will make money, but it will not be the lot owners." That evening about fifty citizens of the second ward chose John B. Otto and J. S. Lindsley as candidates for councilmen to succeed Jones and Wells. A correspondent for the *Kansas City Times* noted that Oklahoma

³² Merritt to Adj. Gen. Army, Dec. 26, 1889, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., ix (2686), no. 72, pp. 48-49.

³³ See Violet's testimony given December 12, 1890, in the Frank McMaster case, NA, GLO, townsite box 126.

³⁴ "Oklahoma City Facts," *Kansas City Times*, Dec. 27, 1889.

City was "forging ahead marvelously" in construction work, and reviewed the political situation as follows:

It is not fair to say that self government has proved a failure even in this city. The present crisis, of which so much is made, in no sense arises from a spirit of lawlessness in the large majority of the people. One would think from some of the sanguinary dispatches concocted here that the town is made up of outlaws and thugs. On the contrary it is a town where good, intelligent and well disposed people are largely in the majority, where churches prosper mightily and where the average moral tone is quite up to the average town with 6,000 people in it.

Why are the people so "by the ears," then, just now? In the first place it must be remembered that the Anglo-Saxon capacity for self government was never put to a sorer test than arose in the larger towns of Oklahoma. Thousands of people poured in upon the townsite in one day, each one claiming the spot of ground upon which he alighted. Town plats constructed subsequently brought about unspeakable confusion by throwing from two to a half dozen people upon one lot sometimes, and very frequently leaving supposed lot owners stranded in streets and alleys. To add to the irritation necessarily engendered by this state of affairs, in this city a corporation known as the Seminole town company, which had platted the townsite upon paper in advance, endeavored to force its plat upon the people and reap a revenue from the sale of lots—a very neat attempt to speculate upon the public domain. This was indignantly sat down upon by the people, who decided upon a new survey *ab initio*. But when this was about half completed it was found that the remainder of the town had become settled largely upon lines of the Seminole survey, and the people very sensibly did the best thing in sight by compromising the two surveys and welding them together as neatly as could be—though the scars still show. While this was done under the spur of necessity, the advantage thereby gained to the "Seminole crowd" rankled with a good many people and was the basis of subsequent difficulty.

An election for mayor and councilmen and other city officers was held on May 1 resulting, as afterward developed, in about an equal division of officials between the people's party and the Seminole sympathizers—although if the sentiments of the latter had been known at the time of the election, they would have been overwhelmingly defeated. It should be said in passing that all these officials immediately dropped party distinctions, wroked in complete harmony and all came soon to be dubbed "Seminoles" by the disgruntled faction which soon developed.

The first matter to receive the attention of the council was legislation looking to the possessory rights in lots and also rather liberal provisions in the way of salaries of city officials. The kicking immediately began and the "Kickapoo" faction came into being. The name originated in a rather strained pun of a local paper, which ironically entreated somebody not to "Kick-a-poo(r) Seminole." It is fair to them to say that much of the legislation of the council was ill advised and objectionable. But it is likewise fair to the council to say that it was confronted by a terribly complicated and wholly unprecedented state of things that the wisdom of a Solomon could not have met fully. Harsh and arbitrary measures were almost necessary and time has proved that the council did fairly well.

The fact then is that the Kickapoos started out with a basis of real grievance under their complaints. But at every critical period in the course of their agitation against the methods of the city

government they suffered from injudicious and intemperate leadership, and while the majority of the people recognized a good deal of ground for their complaints, the conservative and business element became thoroughly distrustful of the leaders and came very generally to the support of the city government. As time went on, too, and people adapted themselves largely to the legislation of the city council it began to be apparent that less hardship and injustice would result from acquiescence in it than from its complete overthrow, as insisted upon by the Kickapoos. The town thus became divided into the Kickapoos and the Seminoles, although the vast majority of the conservative citizens referred to were quite as hostile to the Seminole town company as the Kickapoos themselves.

In November Mayor Couch resigned, and after an exciting campaign the Kickapoo candidate for mayor was elected by the narrow majority of thirteen out of some 700 votes. This defeat of the better element was brought about by the odium still clinging to the Seminole town company and the unfortunate prominence of some of its adherents in the campaign. The new mayor began his administration by issuing various communications and manifestoes, all looking to the abrogation of the work of the city government. Finally in order to get a majority of the council on his side, he declared vacant the seats of two councilmen on the ground that they had removed from their ward. They had removed, it is true, and a proper sense of the fitness of things might have suggested the propriety of their resignation; but they thought the best interests of the city required their continued presence in the council. As they had been elected for a year, the mayor plainly had no power to declare their seats vacant. And so it stands now

The plain remedy, in the judgment of your correspondent, is for the de facto government to suspend operations entirely until Congress grants relief—very soon now, let us hope. The council meetings accomplished nothing but additional irritation. Nine-tenths of the people would welcome an adjournment sine die.³⁵

On December 28 Noble sent the following telegram to Beale: "Your telegram and letter received. The President adheres to his opinion expressed in telegram of December 24. The present status of affairs should remain undisturbed until Congress has provided a lawful government."³⁶ This was clearly a *status quo* order. The *Evening Gazette* on December 28 echoed the rumor that Beale was being curbed by Federal communication, and that the troops were to obey only the orders given by the United States marshals. Adjutant General J. C. Kelton said that troops were on the ground in sufficient force,

³⁵ Tel. from Noble to Beale, Dec. 28, 1889, box 681, *loc cit.* Conditions at Guthrie tended to make a status quo order necessary. Noble on May 15 suggested to Attorney General W. H. Miller the propriety of ordering the United States marshals to desist from interference with the city government except upon written complaint and due process of law. He suggested that the marshals should not attempt to protect private interests in property by their personal judgment and official action. Miller sent Marshal Thomas B. Needles this telegram: "Better not interfere with any local, city, or town authorities unless to prevent violent breach of peace." On May 20 Miller added: "Simply keep the peace, but undertake to decide no rights as between parties."

³⁶ "Oklahoma's Plea Heard," *Kan. City Times*, Dec. 29, 1889.

and fully instructed to preserve the peace at all hazards, and he believed their presence would restrain the lawless element at the election on Monday, December 30.³⁶ He added: "When every man there is a walking arsenal and all the houses are filled with war munitions, there is no telling what may happen in view of the high state of feeling existing between the contending parties."

On December 29, the following telegram was sent to the president: "Former orders to military should be restored at once to suppress lawlessness and liquor traffic and protect life and property." It was signed by Clarke, Guthrie, Blackburn, Jones, Wells, W. A. Monroe, President of board of trade; W. E. Eby, secretary.³⁸ On the same day Attorney General W. H. H. Miller advised Marshal Thomas B. Needles at Oklahoma City, that, "Only instructions are that you and Marshal Walker keep the peace as heretofore."³⁹

No election was held on December 30. The commanding military officers at Oklahoma City were directed to take precautionary measures and to maintain vigilance.⁴⁰ They were directed to aid Marshal Walker at his request in the dispersion of crowds and in the preservation of order. According to Angelo C. Scott, as confusion increased Walker appeared upon the scene, forbade the election "and turned the city over to the control of the deputy United States marshals." This practically ended the city government in the administration of lots.

Pause should be made to take note of James Layman Brown and of the letter he wrote on the day Beale desired to hold the election. Brown came from Iowa to Oklahoma City in April, 1889, at the age of 47, and practiced law there twenty years. His own story of how he and Marshal William Clark Jones claimed the same lot is of interest.⁴¹ He wrote:

³⁷ Tel. of Dec. 29, 1889, in box 681, *loc cit.*

³⁸ Tel. from Miller to Needles, Dec. 29, 1889, NA., Justice Dept., *Instruction Book*, vol. 5, p. 429.

³⁹ Kelton to Gen. Wesley Merritt, Dec. 30, 1889, *S. Ex. Docs.*, *loc cit.*, p. 50.

⁴⁰ Brown to Sec. Int., May 1, 1889, box 681, *loc cit.* Secretary Noble sent the letter to the Attorney General with the request that it be "returned to me as soon as noted." Jones claimed a lot at the "corner of Main and Broadway"; Inspector J. A. Pickler to Noble, May 8, 1889, *Cong. Record*, Jan. 17, 1890, pp. 666-667.

Beale left Oklahoma City about 1900, and died January 4, 1909, at Cynthiana, Kentucky; *Daily Oklahoman*, Jan. 5, 1909. His photograph is in *Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. 4 (July, 1895), p. 395.

⁴¹ Dan W. Peery. "The first Two Years," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (Sept. 1929), p. 299. According to Peery, "some allowance must be made for any story written by Judge Brown."

In an editorial in the *Evening Gazette* on December 17, 1889, Frank McMaster said of Brown: "His record is on exhibition at this office, but outside and beyond that the *Gazette* knows him as a 'sooner,' a lot jumper and

Jones had a stake on one of the most valuable lots in town. On Wednesday morning, April 24, there was nothing on the lot to show who owned it. I came there and found two men on the lot, one being Samuel Hook now of this place. They claimed the lot. I knew nothing of Jones or his claimed rights. I paid Hook for the lot \$110.00 cash, and was put in quiet and peaceable possession. I put up a tent, and began to fence, when deputy U. S. marshals threatened me every way. . . . I had settled here on the lot in good faith and claimed it. I built a small house on it, and was going on to dig a well and put a business house on the front part.

On April 29th I was digging out a foundation trench when Jones came with about twenty men, carrying a ready framed house, sills of heavy timber, yelling and threw them upon me, and but for the earth heaped up would have crushed me. I dare not resist by reason of superior numbers, and the yells and excitement. After the front of the lot was thus taken, I saw I could not hold my settlement in peace, and by interposition of one Harvey (he Harvey claiming to act for Jones), paid me \$300.00 to go out in peace, but at that time the right to the lot was worth \$700.00, and that right I was compelled to surrender and take \$300.00, giving up my home and move out or fight, with these things led on by this U. S. Marshal, Jones.

This was witnessed by a large crowd of persons, but all strangers to me. One John T. Voss, late judge at Girard, Kansas, saw the matter with the frame. I lived for years at Bedford, Iowa, and was a college chum of John B. Elam of Indianapolis, late law partner of the President. I fear I will have to leave here because my business location is taken from me. . . .

The town here is grabbed by a set of bummers [boomers] who hold all good lots and the real homesteader must buy them off or fight. Gen. J. B. Weaver got \$500.00 off of a fellow for what the fellow had the right to take for nothing, to wit, an unoccupied lot in this town. In justice to all, see that lots finally go only to actual residents and business men, and then there will be enough for all. The actual settler is held back by being compelled to buy out these bummers [boomers] or fight for his lot.

Brown was a leader among the Kickapoos and "a thorn in the side of that Seminole crowd who always referred to him as 'Lot Jumping Jim' "⁴² From Oklahoma City on December 30, Brown addressed a letter to Isaac S. Struble, Bishop Walden Perkins, and Joseph Edwin Washington as a House subcommittee on townsites.⁴³ He said: "Do not legalize any certificates in connection with any townsites, or give them any force whatever." Among the reasons he set forth the following:

a claim jumper and can prove all it says." The comment was occasioned by the appearance of Brown's pamphlet, *Information for Congress*. See also Scott, *The Story of Oklahoma City*, pp. 46-47.

"J. L. Brown's Narrative" comprises pages 234-254 in Hill, *History of the State of Oklahoma*, vol. 1.

⁴² Brown to Struble et al., Dec. 3, 1889, NA., Leg. Sec. HR. 51A-F39.5 Okla. (or Ind. Ter.).

⁴³ Tel. from Dooly to Noble, Jan. 3, 1890, Justice Dept., No. 1359 in file, no. 3485-1889.

It has become a systematic way of perpetuating swindles in connection with the public lands, and for Congress to now recognize them in any way will aid all such swindles in the future by enabling them to point to the success of certificates here.

A tract of public land is laid into lots by a company and lots then sold and *certificates* issued, to the lot sold and in that way the lot settler is fleeced the price paid for the certificates, when he has a perfect right to settle on the lot for nothing, it being public domain.

This was done extensively here in Oklahoma Ter.

El Reno to the tune of about	\$ 10,000.00
South Oklahoma City	4,000.00
Oklahoma City by Seminole Co.	7,000.00
Same place, by city officials	5,000.00
Moore	1,000.00
Norman	unknown
Noble	3,000.00
Edmond, estimated	1,000.00
Total	\$31,000.00

This embraces not half the towns in Oklahoma. A bare pittance of this money ever went to public purposes. In Oklahoma City less than \$100.00. All streets were graded, etc., by private subscription.

The men who operate formed city governments many times, and forced honest settlers from the lots or to pay for certificates, and then applied the money to public uses by *paying it all to themselves* for salaries, services, etc. To now recognize them, in the future will double the success of these robberies.

In no two cities or towns are these certificates conditioned alike, or based on like ordinances. In Oklahoma City we have had two kinds. The 'Seminole' (issued by a Kansas corporation). The other city certificates, issued by the same men—both issued by authority of the city, and each one differently conditioned.

On January 2, 1890, at 1 p. m. the two troops of cavalry left the military reservation for Fort Reno. The *Evening Gazette* said: "The boys found it pretty cool camping out and were all glad when the command was given for them to go. As the proposed election was unceremoniously relegated to the mouldy archives of the town's history, the presence of the troopers was no longer required."

Lot jumping in the towns of Oklahoma district remained a vexed question. Mayor James Dooly of Guthrie on January 3 sent Secretary Noble the following telegram: "One of Marshal Needles' deputies or possemen has jumped two lots here this morning and has with him on the lot a Needles U. S. deputy marshal protecting him. Is there no limit to this thing by U. S. officers? We are able to handle all others."⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*, pp. 156-158; L. B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma*, vol. 1, p. 250; Fred L. Wenner, *Story of Oklahoma and the Eighty-Niners*, p. 32; B. B. Chapman, *The Founding of Stillwater*, p. 86.

According to Marion Tuttle Rock, Walker attended a meeting of the chamber of commerce in Guthrie in which he said of the situation: "If in my opinion the city was right, I would assist it; but if in my judgment it was wrong, I should not allow it to proceed."⁴⁵ The *Evening Gazette* summed up the general situation thus:

In the present condition of legislation buying lots of any party who is not himself in actual personal possession, with an undisputed right to take land or lots, is a precarious matter. A large number of persons were thrown off their lots by unauthorized committees or ejected by force. There is no record of these facts nor could any record be made as none was authorized by any existing law. There can be no innocent purchasers as there was neither right to buy or sell, except the purchase of a possessory right, which could be no stronger than the occupancy of the seller.

On January 31, Miller issued the famous "statu quo" order which was a telegram to Guthrie addressed to Richard L. Walker, United States Marshal, Kansas. Miller said: "No instructions except to keep the peace have heretofore been sent you. You are now directed to stop ejectments and lot-jumping, and preserve the *statu quo* against all violations, until a government is established by Congressional action."⁴⁶ The order applied to all towns in Oklahoma district, and popular attention seems to have seized upon the fact that the term "*status quo*" was misspelled in the official communication. Mrs. Rock said that the Secretary of the Interior was appealed to and through him the Attorney General issued the order. She noted that the order was arbitrary and without any legal force, and hence without any penalty for its violation. J. L. Brown said that after Violet's "police court was closed" and the local government of Oklahoma City stopped its operation, there was "the most perfect peace, quiet and order."

On the day that Miller telegraphed the order to Walker, a citizens' committee at Guthrie consisting of Judge Rock, J. T. Taylor, and W. C. Roberts replied to Miller. They said: "Unless sooner and their agents have more rights than the eight thousand people of this city, let the order of U. S. Marshal Walker stand all quiet."⁴⁷

On February 1, Miller sent the following telegram to Needles at Guthrie: "Secretary Noble has a dispatch from the Mayor of Guthrie stating that one of your deputies or

⁴⁵ Tel. from Miller to Walker, Jan. 31, 1890, NA, Justice Dept., *Instruction*, vol. 134, p. 43; and in *ibid.*, *Instruction Book*, vol. 5, p. 578. The first citation is a press copy of the telegram. Note the spelling "statu quo." In the second citation the spelling is "statue quo."

⁴⁶ Tel. from Judge Rock et. al., to Miller, Jan. 31, 1890, NA, Justice Dept., no. 1308 in file no. 3485-1889.

⁴⁷ Tel. from Miller to Needles, Feb. 1, 1890, NA, Justice Dept., *Instruction Book*, vol. 5 p. 579.

posse has jumped two lots in Guthrie yesterday. Look into this matter. If true, discharge the man at once. I yesterday telegraphed Marshal Walker that lot jumping, ejectments, and all violence should be prevented. The same instructions are given to you."⁴⁸

According to Mrs. Rock the "statu quo" order served to allay a storm that had been gathering for weeks. Walker had doubt as to how he should interpret the order. He said: "Parties who have moved on lots since your instructions of 31st have been ordered by me to remove their improvements and are obeying without resistance. Parties renting property and having paid rent up to date of your instructions are taking advantage of instructions against ejectments, laying claim to the lots and refusing to pay rent or vacate, which will cause more serious trouble than any heretofore."⁴⁸ Walker interpreted his instructions to mean that he should remove such parties. From Guthrie on February 5 W. P. Thompson, editor of the *Guthrie Daily News*, sent Miller the following telegram: "Marshal Walker is here and understands your instructions. I say to you that he 'fills the bill.'"⁵⁰

Miller realized that the "statu quo" order lacked much to be desired, but he considered it beneficial. In regard to federal authorities enforcing it, he said in a letter to Perry M. Hoisington of Guthrie: "While your case as presented bears upon its face hardship, I think the peace and order of the community would be more endangered than the adjustment of your case demands, if I were to reverse this order and open the gates to a pell-mell scramble before there is in fact any law in that country by which controversies can be authoritatively decided. Congress will doubtless give you some sort of a government in the near future and it is only necessary for you to wait a little while for justice.

(To Continue with Part Three)

"THE DAY IN COURT"

⁴⁸ Tel. from Walker to Miller, Feb. 5, 1890, NA, Justice Dept., No. 1716 in file no 3485-1889.

⁴⁹ Tel. from Thompson to Miller, Feb. 5, 1890, *Ibid.*, No. 1519 in file No. 3485-1889.

⁵⁰ Miller to Hoisington, March 7, 1890, NA, Justice Dept., *Letter Book*, vol. 5, pp. 65-66; Hoisington to Miller, "Feb., 1890," No. 1919 in File No. 3485-1889.

According to Bunky, after the "statu quo" order was issued the regulation of the liquor traffic was given to the keeping of the United States marshals and saloons at once started all over the territory.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

ELECTION NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF THE OKLAHOMA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society, on authority granted in Article IV, Section 3, of the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society, has directed that a ballot for five (5) places on the Board of Directors of the Society be printed in the winter number (1959-60) of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

The ballot will automatically contain the names of the five (5) members of the Board whose terms are current (1960) -expiring "and the names of such other eligible persons who may be nominated thereto in writing filed with the Administrative Secretary by the first day of such year by twenty-five members who at said time are entitled to vote at the annual meeting."

Elmer L. Fraker
Administrative Secretary

A GUIDE TO HISTORIC SITES AT FORT SILL

The U. S. Army Artillery and Missile Center Museum has recently published an attractive folder giving in fine detail all sites of historical interest in the Fort Sill area. An excellent map is included, with each site given a numbered key to the explanatory text. A total of 48 separate locations are marked and described; and with each is a concise thumb-nail historical sketch. Established in January, 1869, there is no more historic area in Western Oklahoma than is Fort Sill; and the army is to be commended heartily for its interest and effort in marking these sites and thus preserving for future years the location of each. Mr. Gillett Griswold, Director of the Museum, is entitled to much credit for the completion of this substantial and important task. The brochure sells for 15c and may be ordered from the Museum at Fort Sill.

—G. H. S.

THE NAMING AND THE DEDICATION OF "KEY GATE," FORT SILL

General Orders No. 5 at Headquarters for the Commander, U. S. Army Artillery and Missile Center, at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on January 8, 1959, provides as follows in Section 1: "The gate located at the apex of Sheridan and Randolph roads, in the vicinity of coordinates 56618-35390, currently referred to as Gate One, is formally named 'Key Gate' in honor and in memory of Major General William Shaffer Key, Military, Civic, Political and Business leader, of the State of Oklahoma."



Key Gate, at main entrance to Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Named as a memorial to Major General William S. Key and dedicated on August 1, 1959.

A bronze plaque on a native stone monument, briefly outlining the career of Major General W. S. Key, the former 45th Division Commander and one-time Fort Sill Commandant, now stands at the main Fort Sill entrance on the new four-lane urban highway connecting the City of Lawton to the great U. S. Artillery and Missile Center in Oklahoma. The action in naming the Key Gate and in conceiving the idea of an enduring memorial to General Key was that of Major General Thomas E. de Shazo, former Fort Sill commander and now deputy commander of Third Army, Fort McPherson, Georgia. The Key Gate was dedicated at Fort Sill in August 1, 1959, the dedicatory address being delivered by Major General Verdi B. Barnes, Commanding General, U. S. Army Artillery and Missile Center and Commandant, U. S. Army Artillery and Missile School. General Barnes reviewed General Key's career as a citizen-soldier, stating in part:

From 1936 to 1942, he was commanding general of the famed 45th Division, Oklahoma's own "Thunderbirds." During World War II, he was assigned to military duties of great responsibility overseas, serving at one time as temporary commanding general of the entire European Theatre, a signal honor held by no other Oklahoman.

The Acceptance on the Program was by Mrs. William S. Key, honors were by the combined 77th and 97th U. S. Army Bands, and the Unveiling of General Key Gate Monument was by Mrs. Key and Major General Barnes.

IN MEMORY OF CAPTAIN LOUIS MCLANE HAMILTON

When the Oklahoma Historical Society's Committee on Historic Sites planned early this year to erect a memorial plaque and marker at the grave of Captain Louis M. Hamilton at old Fort Supply, nothing was found there in the vicinity to indicate the burial place of this young officer in the Army and grandson of Alexander Hamilton, first Secretary of the U.S. Treasury in the Cabinet of President Washington (1789 to 1797).

Captain Louis McLane Hamilton, 7th U.S. Cavalry, was killed in the first charge of the troops in General George Custer's attack on Chief Black Kettle's Cheyenne village, in the "Battle of the Washita," November 27, 1868. Late the evening of the same day the Captain's remains were carried back to Fort Supply, under Custer's hurried orders to his troops, leaving the other dead soldiers on the battle field until they were buried after his return visit to the scene two weeks later. Of Custer's two reports (original manuscripts in the National Archives), the first, written November 28, mentions the death of Captain Hamilton; the second, written December 22, describes the scene of the battleground when Custer visited

it but makes no mention of Hamilton nor his burial. In another report from Fort Cobb on December 24, 1868, Custer mentions the deaths of Major Joel H. Elliott and Captain Louis M. Hamilton, 7th Cavalry, in the recent Battle of the Washita.

In *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders*, De B. Randolph Keim, the journalist present at the burial, describes (p. 125) the funeral services for "the gallant, young officer, Hamilton," held on December 4, 1868, at Camp Supply:

During the fourth of December the troops of the Seventh and a portion of the garrison, were ordered under arms, to perform the last tribute of respect to the gallant young officer, Hamilton who had fallen at the head of his squadron in the late battle. A neat coffin had been made of pine boards, in which the remains, attired in the full uniform of a captain, were placed. The troops formed in the vicinity of the tent in which the body had lain since its arrival at the camp. At two o'clock in the afternoon the roll of muffled drums, the solemn refrain of the band, and the slow step of the pall-bearers, announced that the remains were approaching. The coffin, enveloped in the national colors, was placed in an ambulance. The long line of mourning comrades, in reverse order, broke into the column. The squadron of the deceased officer took the advance. Next came the remains, followed by the riderless horse, covered with a mourning sheet and spurs reversed. The long column of troops and officers, all moving in measured tread towards the grave.

The site selected for the resting place of Hamilton was beautifully situated on the banks of the Beaver, beneath the over-spreading branches of a few cotton-woods. Here the troops massed and the body was lowered into the cold and solitary grave. The burial service was read by a brother officer, and amid volleys of musketry the earth closed upon its dead.

With only a rumor locally that the remains of the young officer had been removed a long time ago from Fort Supply and no available records in the Historical Society indicating the exact site of the grave, the Editor did some research this past summer in the original records of the War Department, now in the Civil War Records Division of the National Archives in Washington, D.C. After checking many documents there, including the Custer reports, the Louis M. Hamilton file, Regimental Returns of the 7th Cavalry (1868) and Selected Letters Sent—Fort Supply Indian Territory, a clue led to the "Fort Dodge (Kansas) Letter Book 19," in which letters, telegrams and military orders were found relating to the removal of Captain Hamilton's remains from Camp Supply.

When news of the Battle of the Washita and Captain Hamilton's death reached the East, telegrams were sent by Louis McLane and friends of the young officer to Lieut. General Wm. T. Sherman, Commander of the Division of the Missouri, U.S.A., with headquarters at St. Louis, asking for particulars of the Captain's death and what was done with his



LOUIS McLANE HAMILTON

Captain, 7th U.S. Cavalry, Killed in Action, Battle of the Washita,
November 27, 1868.

remains. Messages of inquiry and reply were received and sent in a period of five months through the office of General E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant General. On December 8, 1868, a message was addressed to Philip Hamilton, Esq. (District Judge and father of Louis M. Hamilton) at Poughkeepsie, New York, inclosing the following telegram:

December 8, 1868

General E. D. Townsend
A.A.G.

On the fourth instant at the request of Louis McLane, I sent orders to General Sheridan to have the body of Captain Hamilton brought to the Railroad and sent by express to the Father at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. The only particulars of his death are contained in the reports of Generals Sheridan and Custer already sent you.

(Signed) W. T. Sherman
Lieut. Gen.

On January 9, 1868, Townsend, Asst. Adj. Gen., addressed a telegram to General Sherman asking for further information relating to the burial of Captain Hamilton. Two days later another letter was addressed to Philip Hamilton, Esq., at Poughkeepsie, enclosing a copy of the telegram of reply from General Sherman to General Townsend: "I have no official notice but I believe Captain Hamilton's body was taken by General Custer from the Washita to the Camp on the Canadian and there buried. I suppose it will come to the Railroad by first return train of wagons."

The following communication is found in the file "Selected Letters Sent—Fort Supply, Indian Territory, 1868-1870":

Head. Qr. Infantry Battalion
Camp Supply, Ind. Ter.
January 20, 1869

Mrs. Philip Hamilton
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Madam:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of special Order No. 24 C.S. from these Hdqrs., in order to advise you in regard to the action taken in forwarding of the body of L. M. Hamilton, late Captain 7th U.S. Cavalry.

I have the honor to be Madam

Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Svnt.
Signed/ W. N. Williams
2nd Lt. 3rd Infantry
Batt. Adjutant

Special Order No. 24

Brvt. Maj. Henry Asbury, Capt. 3rd Infantry, with Srgt. Scott and Pvt. Kelop, Co. A. 7th Cavalry, Srgt. Geary, Co. F 3rd Infantry and Srgt. Luckman, Co. B 3rd Infantry will proceed to Fort Dodge, Kansas as escort to the remains of Capt. L. M. Hamilton, 7th Cavalry. Upon arrival at Fort Dodge, Bvt.

Maj. Henry Asbury will report to Comdg. Officer of that Fort. The Quartermaster Dept. will furnish necessary transportation.

By order of Bvt. Maj. Page

Signed/ W. N. Williams

2nd Lt/ 3rd Infantry

Batt. Adjutant

A letter from Philip Hamilton, written from Poughkeepsie on April 24, 1869 (H-102-CB- 1869, Civil War Records Division) refers to a recent issue of the *Army and Navy Journal* reporting that the nomination of Captain M. Hamilton, 7th Cavalry, as "Major by Brevet" had been confirmed by the U.S. Senate. The writer requested that the full name of his son, "Louis McLane Hamilton," late Captain of the 7th Cavalry, be inserted in the commission and that the commission be transmitted to him at Poughkeepsie. Further memorandum in the same file states that the commission had been signed by President Grant and forwarded to "Hon. Philip Hamilton, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., the father of the deceased officer."

The research in the National Archives ended here yet the question was still unanswered, "Where is the grave of Louis M. Hamilton?"

Touring north from Washington with Mary Jeanne Hansen and Mrs. C. G. Keiger, members of the Historical Society, to visit historical places in the eastern states, a stop was made at Poughkeepsie the morning of July 4, 1959, where all business was closed for the holiday. It was thought that the grave should be in some burial ground in, or in the vicinity of, this old community and city. Upon inquiry, direction was given to the oldest cemetery here. On a drive of a few miles down Livingston Road, an arch over the gateway was seen bearing the name "Rural Cemetery," but the office at the entrance was closed. After driving through this large and beautifully kept area filled with literally thousands of graves and after checking some old tombstones, the search was all but abandoned when passing the office at the entrance. At this moment, the sexton happened to be in before closing the office for the holiday. He checked the cemetery record file, and gave the information, "Hamilton Plot on a knoll, Lot 120." After another winding drive and search, the knoll was found, one of the most beautiful locations in Rural Cemetery. On this knoll is a handsome white stone monument about twelve feet high, carved to represent the broken trunk of a tree hung with the shield of the 7th Cavalry. The name "Hamilton" appears on the base with the following inscription on three sides:



(Photo by Mary Jeanne Hansen, 1959)

Monument to Captain Louis McLane Hamilton in Rural Cemetery,
Poughkeepsie, New York.

- (1) Brev't. Maj. Louis McLane Hamilton
 Capt. 7 U.S. Cavalry
 Aged 24 Years.
 Son of Phillip &
 Rebecca Hamilton.
 Killed in the Battle of
 the Washita Nov. 27, 1868
 While gallantly lead-
 ing his command.
*"A little while and ye
 shall see me."*
- (2) Born July 21, 1844, at the City
 of New York. Joined 22 N.Y.
 Militia as private June 1862.
 Entered the 3 U.S. Infantry as
 2nd Lieut. the following Sep-
 tember. Served throughout the
 War with the Army of the
 Potomac, in Sykes Division.
 Brevetted for gallantry at
 Chancellorsville and again
 at Gettysburgh, and was
 appointed Capt. 7th Cavalry
 July 1866.
- (3) After death, he was brevetted
 Major U.S.A. "For Gallant and
 "Meritorious Services in Engage-
 ments with the Indians, Partic-
 ularly in the Battle with the
 Cheyennes on the Washita River,
 Nov. 27, 1868, where he fell
 while gallantly leading his
 Command."

Within a radius of a few feet from this monument lie two graves covered by large marble slabs bearing these inscriptions:

- (1) Sacred to the Memory of
 Rebecca McLane
 Wife of
 the late Philip Hamilton
 and daughter of
 Louis McLane of Delaware,
 who died in the City of Poughkeepsie
 April 1st, 1893
 in her eightieth year.
*"Blessed are the pure in heart for
 they shall see God."*
- (2) Philip Hamilton
 Son of
 Alexander and Elizabeth Hamilton
 Born June 1, 1802
 Died July 9, 1884.
*"Blessed are the merciful
 for they shall obtain mercy."*

(M. H. W.)

HISTORIC SITES IN THE TAHLEQUAH AND PARK HILL AREA

The following notes on some Oklahoma historic sites were written by H. D. Ragland, Minister of the First Methodist Church, Watonga, Oklahoma, for the dedication of the "Riley's Chapel" historical marker on September 29, 1959, at the location of this marker one mile south of Tahlequah on U.S. Highway 62. The dedication was a special program during the meeting of a group of Methodist ministers and laymen who had met also for the purpose of dedicating four new buildings at the Methodist Orphans Home at Tahlequah.

Tahlequah and Park Hill Area

TAHLEQUAH

This city was the capital of the Cherokee Nation, designated as such by an act of the Cherokee National Council on October 19, 1841. The City was surveyed in 1843 and the first council house erected 1847-1848.

Riley's Chapel:—In 1833, The Reverend Thomas Bertholf was appointed by the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Key's School No. 2 in the Cherokee Nation, West. This school, named for Isaac Keys, the father-in-law of Bertholf and a leader in the Cherokee Nation, was located at a site a little over a mile south and a mile east of present Tahlequah, Oklahoma. The little log building in which the school was held and where the first Methodist Church in the Cherokee Nation was organized, was on the bluff just south of the Illinois Camp Grounds. (See map.)

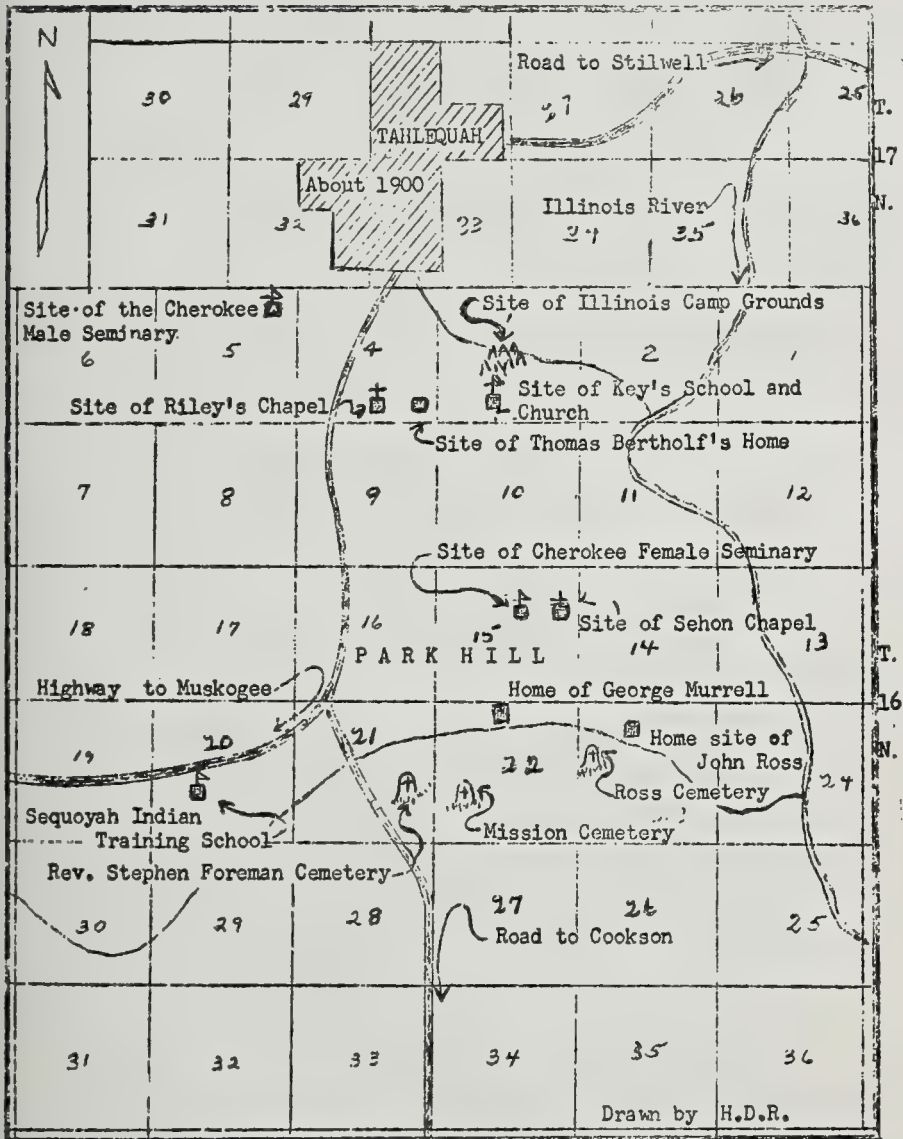
About 1843, Bertholf had another church building erected on the hill about three quarters of a mile west of the Key's school and church. This new building was called "Riley's Chapel," named for a well known Cherokee Methodist family of Rileys who were related to his wife. This building, a frame structure 60 feet long and 40 feet wide, was built of yellow pine lumber, sawed at a mill in the Cherokee hills, and seated with pine benches. It was in this building that the Indian Mission Conference was organized and the 1st, 6th, 11th and 14th sessions of the same conference were held.

After the building of the Cherokee Female Seminary, the Methodist Church saw a need for the religious training of the Cherokee pupils attending the school. Through the help of the Reverend Edward W. Sehon of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the support of Chief John Ross and George Murrell, another church building by the name of Sehon Chapel (named for Dr. Sehon) was erected on a site located about one half mile east of the Seminary. This brick structure, erected in 1856, served as a place of worship until 1885, when it was closed as so many of the Methodist people had moved to Tahlequah. The building was torn down in 1888 and the bricks were used in the construction of a Methodist church building in Tahlequah. (This building is still standing and is being used today by a Church of Christ congregation.)

Riley's Chapel stood until 1868 when it was torn down by George W. Keys and Isaac Bertholf and the lumber was sold to F. H. Nash of Fort Gibson for building purposes.

Thomas Bertholf:—The Reverend Thomas Bertholf, founder of Riley's Chapel, was born in the state of New York, July 12, 1810, son of John W. and Elizabeth (Perry) Bertholf. He was admitted

R. 22 E.



TAHLEQUAH AND PARK HILL AREA

This map shows some of the historical sites in the Tahlequah and Park Hill area of Oklahoma. The area covers Township 16 North, and part of Township 17 North in Range 22 East. Each square represents a section of land, or one square mile of territory.

on trial into the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1832; and into full connection into the Missouri Conference in 1834. He served as pastor of a number of churches in the Indian Mission Conference and was Presiding Elder of a number of districts. He served as superintendent of the Asbury Manual Labor Academy, a Methodist school located near present Eufaula, Oklahoma, during the years 1830-61., 1864-66. He was honored by his fellow ministers and elected president of the Annual Conference sessions of 1864 and 1865, with no bishop present. He died June 28, 1867 and was buried in the Mission Cemetery located near Asbury Academy. (This cemetery is soon to be moved to make way for the Eufaula Lake.)

Thomas Bertholf's Home:—Bertholf lived in a large log house which was on a site about midway between Key's School and Riley's Chapel. It was used for special business sessions of the first Indian Mission Conference, and the mission work was placed under its supervision until the organization of the Indian Mission Conference in 1844.

Illinois Camp Grounds:—These camp grounds, located about a mile southeast of present Tahlequah, was the place where the Western and Eastern branches of the Cherokee tribes met and drew up a plan of union for the two groups, which was approved May 12, 1839.

Sequoyah Indian Training School:—In 1914, the Federal Government purchased the old Cherokee Insane Asylum buildings, located about four miles southwest of Tahlequah, and converted them into a training school for Indian boys and girls, which is still in operation at this site.

INDIAN MISSION CONFERENCE

The work of the Methodist Church in the Indian Territory—what is now Oklahoma—was, at first, under the supervision of the Mississippi and Missouri Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1836, the Arkansas Conference was organized and the Mission Conference was organized. At that time the mission consisted of 12 white preachers; 21 local Indian preachers; 1,500 Cherokee members; 1,000 Choctaw members; 600 Creek members; 150 Negro members; and 100 white members.

The General Conference which met in New York in May, 1844, selected Bishop Thomas A. Morris as General Superintendent of the Indian Missions with authority to organize the Indian Mission Conference which was to have supervision over a territory bounded on the North by Montana; on the West by the Rocky Mountains; on the South by Texas with a part of that state included; on the East by Arkansas and Missouri.

The bishop met with the ministers at Riley's Chapel in October, 1844, and the conference was organized on the 23rd, with 17 charter members as follows: Thomas B. Ruble, David B. Cummings, J. C. Berryman, Edward T. Perry, Nathaniel M. Talbott, William H. Goode, Johnson Fields, Thomas Bertholf, James Essex, Samuel G. Patterson, John M. Steel, Erastus B. Duncan, Isaac F. Collins, William McIntosh, Learner B. Stateler, William W. Oakchiah and John F. Boot.

William Goode was elected secretary of the conference and H. C. Benson was elected as his assistant.

PARK HILL

The Reverend Samuel Newton, serving under the American Board of Commissioners for the Foreign Missions (Congregational-Presbyterian), established a mission at the Forks of the Illinois River in

1830. Seven years later, he moved the mission to Campbell Springs located one and a half miles east and two miles south of Key's School. He named the area Park Hill as it resembled an English estate.

Cherokee Seminaries:—The Cherokee Male and Female seminaries were provided for by an Act of the Cherokee National Council, November 26, 1846. The Female Seminary, located at Park Hill, three and a half miles south, and one and a half miles east of Tahlequah, was completed in time for the admission of pupils, May 7, 1851. The three-story, 85-room brick structure, valued at \$100,000 in 1884, burned in 1887 and was rebuilt on the campus of the present North Eastern State College in 1889. The Male Seminary, similar in structure to the Female Seminary, was erected on a site about a mile southwest of Tahlequah. It was opened for admission of pupils on May 6, 1851, closed in 1909 and burned in 1910.

George Murrell's Home:—George Murrell, a Virginia business man, built his large ten-room frame home at Park Hill about 1845. It was one of the few buildings which survived the Civil War. In July, 1948, the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board purchased the house and it is used today as a tourist attraction.

Home of John Ross:—Soon after the Eastern Cherokees moved to what is now Oklahoma, John Ross, their principal chief, built his home at Park Hill at a site about a mile east of the Murrell house. His large two-story dwelling burned during the Civil War.

Cemeteries:—The Ross Cemetery, located just across Park Hill creek, from the home site of Chief John Ross, contains not only the grave of the chief but also those of other leaders of the Cherokee Nation. The Mission Cemetery, located about three quarters of a mile south of the Murrell house, contains the graves of a number of early religious leaders. The Stephen Foreman Cemetery, named for Rev. Stephen Foreman, a Presbyterian missionary of the area, is situated a little over three miles south of Tahlequah and is still used as a burial place.

Oklahoma Methodist Conferences

Indian Mission Conference, 1844-1904, Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. (The latter church came into existence May 17, 1845).

Oklahoma Conference, 1905-1910, M. E. Church, South.

East and West Oklahoma Conferences, 1911-1929, M. E. Church, South.

Oklahoma Conference, 1930-1939, M. E. Church, South.

East and West Oklahoma Conferences, 1939-1953, The Methodist Church.

Oklahoma Conference, 1954-, The Methodist Church.

The Oklahoma Indian Mission, an Indian Conference, was started in 1918.

—H. D. Ragland

REPORT ON THE HEAVENER "RUNE STONE"

The following notes are the report by President George H. Shirk of the Historical Society, to the Board of Directors, giving a resume of recent research in the efforts to solve the old inscription of runes on a huge rock in the Poteau Mountains east of Heavener, in LeFlore County:

30 September 1959

To: Board of Directors,
Oklahoma Historical Society.

Re: Heavener "Rune Stone"

Sufficient preliminary investigation has been completed so that the Society should turn its attention to this engaging item of historical interest located in LeFlore County. For some years Mrs. Ray Farley, Heavener, has devoted much time and effort to the solution of the mystery of this carving or inscription. On September 28, 1959 at her invitation there was convened in Heavener a meeting with representatives of the Society to begin detailed investigation. This is a preliminary report to the Board on this matter.

The meeting was occasioned by a special visit to Heavener of Mr. Frederick J. Pohl, Brooklyn, N.Y. Mr. Pohl is a recognized scholar and student of Norse and Viking matters. He has written the following books:

The Vikings on Cape Cod (1957)

Amerigo Vespucci, Pilot Major (Columbia Univ. Press, 1955)

The Sinclair Expedition to Nova Scotia in 1398 (1950)

The Lost Discovery (1952)

Although Mr. Pohl's greatest interest is the Vikings, he has devoted considerable attention to runeology. He made a special trip to LeFlore County to investigate this stone and its inscription. The following preliminary report covers the discussion and the tentative agreements reached in the conference with him.

The Society was represented by George H. Shirk, Muriel H. Wright, John D. Frizzell and Mildred Frizzell. The following should be the basis for further study and analysis.

1. The Rock. The inscription is on a large slab approximately 12' x 10' x 2' of Savana Sand Stone. This is a crystalline stone of Pennsylvanian age and is extremely hard and resistant to erosion. It is not subject to spalding. The Savanna formation is overlying a softer shale which has a tendency to erode back, leaving overhangs of Savanna. In this instance by circumstance this rock at one time comprised an overhang and upon breaking off fell vertically into an upright position in the adjoining ravine. The rock fell almost vertical and in a direct north-south direction. The exposed surface faces west. Due to its extreme hardness and the fact that the face is vertical, the rock has the quality to sustain an inscription for an extremely long period of time.

2. Location. The rock is located in an extremely inaccessible ravine high on Poteau Mountain approximately two miles northeast of Heavener. It is difficult to reach on foot and is approximately one mile from the nearest road. Four-wheel Jeeps may approach within several hundred yards by utilizing primitive trails. The rock is located on:

SE¼ of SE¼ of Section 17, Township

Five North, Range Twenty-six East.

The land is owned by Mr. Herbert Ward of Heavener. Mr. Ward is a prominent citizen and has evidenced interest in this matter, including an informal agreement to convey at some time the tract to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

3. The Inscription. On the west face of the rock about five feet from present ground level are eight characters:



These characters cover a total length or width of 5 feet 8 inches. The left character is 6 inches in height and each character from left to right is slightly larger, with the final one on the right being about 9 inches high. Mr. Pohl stated that these are the largest rune characters he has ever seen. This is explained in that they are in scale with the size of the rock.

4. What Are Runes? Runes are characters used by Teutonic tribes of northwestern Europe. There are three classes: Anglo-Saxon, German, and Scandinavian. There are not great differences in the form of the characters as used by the three, just as today many languages use the identical alphabet form. In Anglo-Saxon the word *run* means secret and the word *runa* means magician. The use of runes was limited to a small class or profession of priests and magicians. With the introduction of Christianity in northwestern Europe, the use of runes was condemned; and the Church insisted upon the use of the Latin alphabet. The system has the name *futhorc* (from the first six characters) and such word has the identical relationship as has the word alphabet to our own language. The origin of the characters is uncertain, but they were probably an offshoot of the Hellenic system of alphabets. Their earliest use was in the 4th century and the latest use was in the 13th in Scandinavia. Their use in England was limited to the period from the 6th to the middle of the 10th centuries.

5. The Characters. These characters are of an established alphabet of runes. It is sometimes called the Vostina alphabet; and that these eight characters are from an alphabet of runes is not open to question. The nearest transliteral equivalent of each character into our Latin alphabet would be:

G N O M E D A L

The second and last characters are from an alphabet in popular use after A. D. 800, whereas the other 6 characters are of an earlier date. To this circumstance Mr. Pohl attaches no significance. He states that often such is the case and that usage of any one character by individuals would continue for a considerable period of time after general use had ceased. He pointed out that the 8th character is in retrograde, which he stated lends credence to authenticity and also could be a possible clue that the rune was to read from right to left. Each of the eight characters may be found in identical form on swords, household articles, and other items bearing accepted rune inscriptions.

6. The Vikings. Mr. Pohl gave a detailed report on Viking activities in North America. During the period from 986 to 1018 A. D. there was intense Viking activity in North America and at least 5 expeditions were sent to this country. Considering all factors, details of these expeditions are quite well known. These Vikings reported that they found adequate evidence of earlier visitations by people from Ireland; and that even at that early date there had already been European penetration inland from the seacoast. The inscription

in question was not made during the A. D. 1000 period, Mr. Pohl pointed out, since those particular explorers did not reach this far west.

7. Other European Culture. Mr. Pohl pointed out that there was European contact with this continent long before A. D. 1000. It is believed that this point is a vital link in establishing any type of authenticity; for unless it were possible for European man to have reached Oklahoma while such an alphabet was in use, it would be needless to investigate further.

8. Translation. Research indicates that several possible translations could be considered. Assuming that the characters read from left to right, the first 5 characters GNOME have been translated as "sun dial" or "monument" or boundary marker; and the final three characters DAL comprise the word for valley. Thus, the meaning of "monument valley" or something to the effect of "valley of the boundary marker" could be achieved. On the other hand, other students say that to each character should be assigned a "rune meaning" (i.e. that each character is a symbol for a word or thought) and in which case the eight characters could be rendered:

Give Supplication God Man Before Day Has Set
If the characters are to be read from right to left (suggested by the retrograde 8th character) no meaning has been brought forward.

9. Additional Stones. In addition to this stone, two other stones are extant, one with 3 characters and the other with 1 character. There is no indication that the three are linked together in any manner, as the other stones bear no duplicate characters to the one in question. Local tradition tells that some years ago several other stones were known (one is reported as having three lines of characters) but that they have all been lost or destroyed in some manner or another. At present an extensive search is being conducted locally for additional stones. Considering the rugged terrain, further discoveries of heretofore unknown specimens are readily possible.

10. Mr. Pohl's Statements. Mr. Pohl made the following firm statements:

- a. That the figures are accurate and genuine rune characters, insofar as their form be concerned.
- b. To be genuine they would have to have been carved over 1000 years ago.
- c. That the alphabet of runes of which these are a part was in use down to about A. D. 1000.
- d. That although the stone would still be of much local interest, if carved after about A. D. 1000, it would not be by someone who used such an alphabet and hence could not be a genuine rune stone.
- e. That in the absence of further rocks bearing more characters or runes, it is impossible to say that this carving was in fact made by men who used the rune alphabet in their daily life. This requires intense local search for more examples.

11. Conclusions. The meeting agreed upon a number of tentative conclusions. These are of course subject to revision and to further study. Although reported by me at this point, it should be stated that the following are not my own separate conclusions, but those reached by general agreement of all or a majority of those present:

- a. The rock is in its present location and position by natural means. There may have been additional deposits from time to time of material at the base of the rock, thus lowering the characters in relation to the ground.
- b. This type of rock is capable of sustaining or preserving an inscription for an exceedingly long period of time. This is due to:
 - (1) Type of rock,
 - (2) Its vertical position, and
 - (3) The protected or sheltered location.
- c. The type of tool that made the inscription is open to further study and analysis.
- d. The characters are actual rune characters easily recognizable as such and from a valid rune alphabet.
- e. The characters were placed there prior to our present culture and extend back prior to modern times or date. This is well established by statements and knowledge of the old-timer families and residents.
- f. The likelihood of a practical joke may be discounted for these reasons:
 - (1) The difficult if not almost inaccessible location.
 - (2) The fact that a practical joker sees to it that his joke is brought to light or popularized during his lifetime.
 - (3) The slight imperfections in the formation of the characters. A hoax would more likely be perfect in form.
- g. To have been carved by men who actually used such characters the carving must have been done prior to Columbus; and undoubtedly prior to A. D. 1000.
- h. If made at that time, the location would have been much more accessible than now, for the U. S. Forest Service states (interview with Mr. Paul Timko of that Agency) that at that time the area was covered with very large pine, with little or no undergrowth and the forest floor was like a park.
- i. If made after about A. D. 1250, the inscription would of necessity have been made by someone to whom runes were not native. Thus, even though 400 or 500 years old, the inscription would then not be an authentic rune.
- j. The possibility that the inscription was made by some culture between A. D. 1000 and our own is:
 - (1) **Spanish.** Highly unlikely if not impossible. There was no Spanish activity of any kind in LeFlore County.
 - (2) **French.** Possible, in that the French were in LeFlore County for some period of time. That any Frenchman would have the knowledge or inclination to make such a carving is unlikely.
 - (3) **Indian (Five Tribes).** Not believed possible. Does not correspond in any way with the Cherokee or other alphabets.
 - (4) **Indian (Prior to Removals).** Not believed possible. Indigenous tribes had no knowledge of such things; and inscriptions of such peoples are of the pictograph type and are not linear.

- k. By the foregoing eliminations, plus Mr. Pohl's positive assertion that pre-Columbian Europeans could possibly have visited the area, it is believed that the rune is of sufficient credibility that further and intense study and investigation is merited and is entirely warranted.

There is much local interest in the stone, and the possibilities are so vast that the Society should take an active interest in the development of the research. Care should be taken to preserve the stone from vandals, thoughtless people, and those persons that seem to have the unmastered desire to mark up things.

Respectfully submitted,
George H. Shirk,
President.

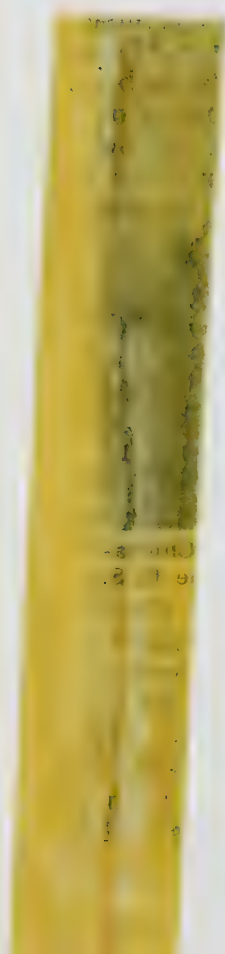
THE ANNUAL SEMINAR OF AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURE, 1959

The purpose of the seminars on American Indian culture held at Anadarko in August for the past two years has been to foster a better understanding of the history of the American Indian through knowledge of the Indian point of view. This course of lectures and discussions has been offered during the American Indian Exposition week at Anadarko to give students and American enthusiasts an opportunity to observe at first hand and to "ask the Indian." Specialists in various phases and areas of history of the American Indian served on panels, and outstanding Indians and others act as panel discussants. An authentic background has been provided by the American Indian Exposition encampment where Indians from many tribes over the United States live in a traditional manner and perform their dances and ceremonials during the Exposition that has been an annual affair for many years at Anadarko.

The 1959 Seminar, under the direction of Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma Historian, was sponsored by the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians and the Oklahoma Historical Society. Seminar sessions were held in the spacious waiting room of the historic Rock Island Railroad depot at Anadarko, for a three day period, August 18, 19 and 20, 1959. The theme for the opening session was based on the Centennial of the U. S. Indian Agency at Anadarko. The Rock Island Railroad exhibited its historic, wood-burning "Engine No. 9" which covered thousands of miles on the Western Frontier nearly ninety years ago. It was brought all the way from Chicago and stood as an exhibit on the track near the depot through the interest of President D. B. Jenks and other Rock Island officials prompted by the Indian Hall of Fame Seminar. The opening day of American Indian Exposition week, on August 17, saw Engine No. 9 with a gayly decorated flat-car and a handsome old Palace Dining Car in tow steaming over the railroad track from Chickasha to Anadarko. A large



Old Engine No. 9, Rock Island Railroad, on the run from Chickasha to Anadarko, for the Centennial of the establishment of the U. S. Indian Agency at Anadarko (1859-1959).



crowd with many in costumes of early days made this record run in 1959, symbolizing in pageantry the settlers forging westward at the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche- Apache and Wichita-Caddo land openings in 1901, in Oklahoma.

The program features and particulars for the 1959 Seminar were:

First Day Session: "Centennial Theme—Establishment of Indian Agency at Anadarko and Removal of Caddo, Anadarko and affiliated tribes from the reserves on the Brazos River in Texas to the Washita River in the Indian Territory," by Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma historian; "The Iron Horse Seminar—The Rock Island Railroad and its role in the opening of Indian lands, and its contribution to the development of the Southwest," by Miss Esther M. Glasper, Editor **Rock Island Rocket Magazine**; "Railroading and Pioneer Life in Folk Music," by Mrs. Marion Unger, Violinist, Oklahoma City Symphony Orchestra.

Second Day Session: "The American Indian—His contribution to white civilization," by Justice N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma Supreme Court; "Indian Drama in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma," by Allece Locke, Teacher of Speech, Harding Junior High School, Oklahoma City; "The Osages—Their participation in Oklahoma Statehood," by William A. Burkhart, Oklahoma State Treasurer; "The Five Civilized Tribes—Their contribution to our civilization," by Marie L. Wadley, Tribal Affairs Officer. Muskogee Area Indian Office.

Third Day Session: "History of the Kaw, Shoshoni and Comanche in Oklahoma—Brief resume of the lives of Charles Curtis (Kaw), Sacajawea (Shoshoni) and Quanah Parker (Comanche) whose statues were installed in the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians in 1959, by Muriel H. Wright; "U. S. Military Expeditions among the Plains Indians," by Col. George H. Shirk, President of Oklahoma Historical Society; "U. S. Military Campaigns on the Plains," by Gillett Griswold, Director U. S. Army Artillery and Missile Center Museum at Fort Sill.

DEDICATION OF MEMORIAL STATUES

AMERICAN INDIAN HALL OF FAME, 1959

The National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians dedicated three bronze busts at the grounds of the Indian Hall of Fame, located to the east of the Plains Indian Museum at Anadarko, Oklahoma, on the evening of August 16, 1959. These three busts of famous American Indians and the sculptor of each are: Sacajawea, the Shoshoni girl who was the guide and interpreter for the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1805-06, by Sculptor Leonard McMurray of Oklahoma City; Quanah Parker, noted Chief of the Comanches, by Jack Hill, an artist of Amarillo, Texas; Charles Curtis, Kaw, who was Vice-President of the United States, 1929-33, by Sculptor Madeleine Park of Katonah, New York.

The dedication program opened by Mr. Paul Stonam, Chairman of the Program Committee, introducing Justice N. B. Johnston, President of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, who presided during the ceremonies. Greetings from the State of Oklahoma were given by the Lieut. Governor of Oklahoma, George Nigh; address of welcome by Senator Don Baldwin of Anadarko; response by the Chickasaw Indian governor, Floyd Maytubby, Vice-President of the Indian Hall of Fame; greetings from the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko, by Robert Goombi, President; and commentary on the Indian Hall of Fame at Anadarko, by Logan Billingsly, Executive Director.

The unveiling of the Sacajawea bronze and the dedication were held on this same occasion, opened by a historical sketch on "Sacajawea, the Bird Woman" by Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma historian and editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for the Historical Society. Many members of well known pioneer and Indian families were in the large crowd attending the ceremonies. An interesting talk on the personality and life of Sacajawea as a leader of her Shoshoni people in her advanced years was given by her great-great-granddaughter, Mrs. Esther Burnett Horne, (Shoshoni) who had come from her home in Wahpeton, North Dakota, to attend the Indian Hall of Fame ceremonies. Unveiling of the Sacajawea bust was by Miss May Adele McFadyen, Treasurer of the Indian Hall of Fame organization, assisted by her niece and Mrs. Horne.

An address by former United States Senator from Oklahoma, Honorable Elmer Thomas of Lawton was given in the dedication of the busts of Charles Curtis and Quanah Parker in the Indian Hall of Fame area. Now retired and advanced in years, Senator Thomas was in fine form giving both history and his own reminiscences of Chief Quanah Parker, whom he had known personally many years ago at Lawton, and on Vice-President Curtis, with whom he had been associated for years in the United States Senate. A special salute of Chief Quanah's Comanche people was a part of the program given by the Llano Estacado Council of Boy Scouts of America, of Amarillo, Texas. The Reverend Dick Smith, native Indian preacher, gave both the invocation and the Benediction for the ceremonies.

Outstanding programs had been previously given elsewhere in unveiling ceremonies for the Quanah Parker and the Charles Curtis busts. The bronze portraiture of Chief Quanah was unveiled in the Texas town of Quanah, under the sponsorship of the Quanah, Acme & Pacific Railway, both the town and the railway bearing the name of this historic Comanche chief. The large crowd that gathered for the unveiling on July 24,

1959, in the main room of the Quanah Railway depot, included leaders from Oklahoma and Texas, and daughters and other members of Chief Quanah Parker's family, among whom was Mr. Joe Bailey Parker, a descendant of Cynthia Ann Parker's family in Texas. The ceremony in cooperation with Mr. Quin Baker, President of the Quanah Railway, was directed by Mr. Gillett Griswold, Director of the U. S. Army Artillery and Missile Center Museum at Fort Sill, in the region of which Quanah Parker made his home from the time of the surrender of the Quahada Comanche in 1875 to his death in 1911.

The unveiling of the bust of the late Charles Curtis was held in the Old Supreme Court Room in the National Capitol at Washington, D. C., with dignitaries from all parts of the country in attendance. This was on March 4, 1959, the 30th anniversary of the inauguration of Charles Curtis' inauguration as Vice-President of the United States. Senator Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma introduced Justice N. B. Johnson of the Oklahoma State Supreme Court, who presided during the program. Greetings were extended in person by the Vice-President of the United States, the Honorable Richard A. Nixon. Representatives of American Indian tribes present from several states were introduced by the Chickasaw governor, Floyd Maytubby of Oklahoma. Senator A. S. Mike Monroney of Oklahoma introduced the Honorable Patrick J. Hurley who delivered the memorial address. Mr. Logan Billingsly, Executive Director of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, introduced Leona Curtis Knight, daughter of former Vice-President Curtis, who unveiled the bronze portraiture of her father. The Reverend Bernard Braskamp, Chaplain of the U. S. House of Representatives, delivered both the invocation and the benediction. The Oklahoma State Society of Washington, D. C. held a reception immediately after the ceremonies.

(M. H. W.)

RECENT ACCESSIONS IN THE LIBRARY

The following list compiled by Mrs. Edith Mitchell, Cataloger, gives the titles of books accessioned and catalogued in the Library of Oklahoma Historical Society, from July 1, 1958, to July 1, 1959:

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BOOK REVIEW

The Papers of John C. Calhoun. Edited by Robert L. Meriweather. (University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1959. Volume 1. Pp. 438. \$10.00)

Here is a volume that includes much of the correspondence and many of the speeches written and made by John C. Calhoun between 1801 and 1817. This covers the beginning period of Calhoun's political career.

The University of South Carolina Press is rendering distinct service in presenting these papers, for John C. Calhoun was one of the giants among American statesmen of his era. A second volume, including the papers of the great South Carolinian when he was at the apex of his career, is understood to be in the process of compilation. The two volumes will undoubtedly prove a veritable storehouse of information for students of the period.

A scanning of the papers of the completed first volume reveals the growth from immaturity to maturity of Calhoun's political and economic thinking. The reader can get an inkling of his character which caused contemporaries to call him "The Cast-iron Man." Calhoun was inflexible once he had made up his mind as to the rightness or wrongness of a proposition.

In his early career he was dedicated to the concept that the United States had a great national destiny. He belonged to that group who believed America and Americans should stand for no affronts or browbeatings from foreign countries.

Many of his writings and speeches of the period covered by this volume are devoted to attacking the New England attitude of non-resistance to British encroachments on the rights of Americans.

Here was a man who believed the nation might be strong and powerful under the powers specifically delegated by the states to the federal government. He did not consider it necessary to give more powers to the federal government in order to attain such goal.

—Elmer L. Fraker

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City

Tecumseh, Destiny's Warrior. By David C. Cooke. (Julian Messner, Inc. New York, 1959, pp. 192. \$2.95.)

Although he touched Oklahoma but indirectly, the name Tecumseh is well known in the state; and it is important that it not be forgotten elsewhere in North America. Tecumseh, a Shawnee, was the greatest of his tribe. He was a renowned orator and a great leader of his race of men. His visions of empire, not for himself but rather for his people, rank with those dreamed by history's great. Such was not to be through no fault nor lack of effort on his part.

Tecumseh's maturity reached the stage of history at the period of the War of 1812. Based upon his own experience, and his lack of faith in the steadfastness of the word of the new United States, he aligned himself with the British. He brought much to their cause; and in turn, received from them very little, and certainly not, neither at the time nor from history, the appreciation that was and is his due.

The volume is in a popular, light and informal style. However, merit is not sacrificed, and the book makes excellent reading. Author Cooke tells his story well, and we hope the life of Tecumseh will be better known by reason thereof.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

ISABELLE REBECCA COLBERT YARBOROUGH
1865-1958

Mrs. Isabelle Rebecca Colbert Yarborough, who died August 2, 1958, was one of the dwindling band of local pioneers of that part of the old Indian Territory, now known as Bryan County. She was born near Colbert, Oklahoma, April 6, 1865, and had lived her ninety-three years in Bryan County and in McAlester. She died in McAlester and was buried in Highland Cemetery, Durant.

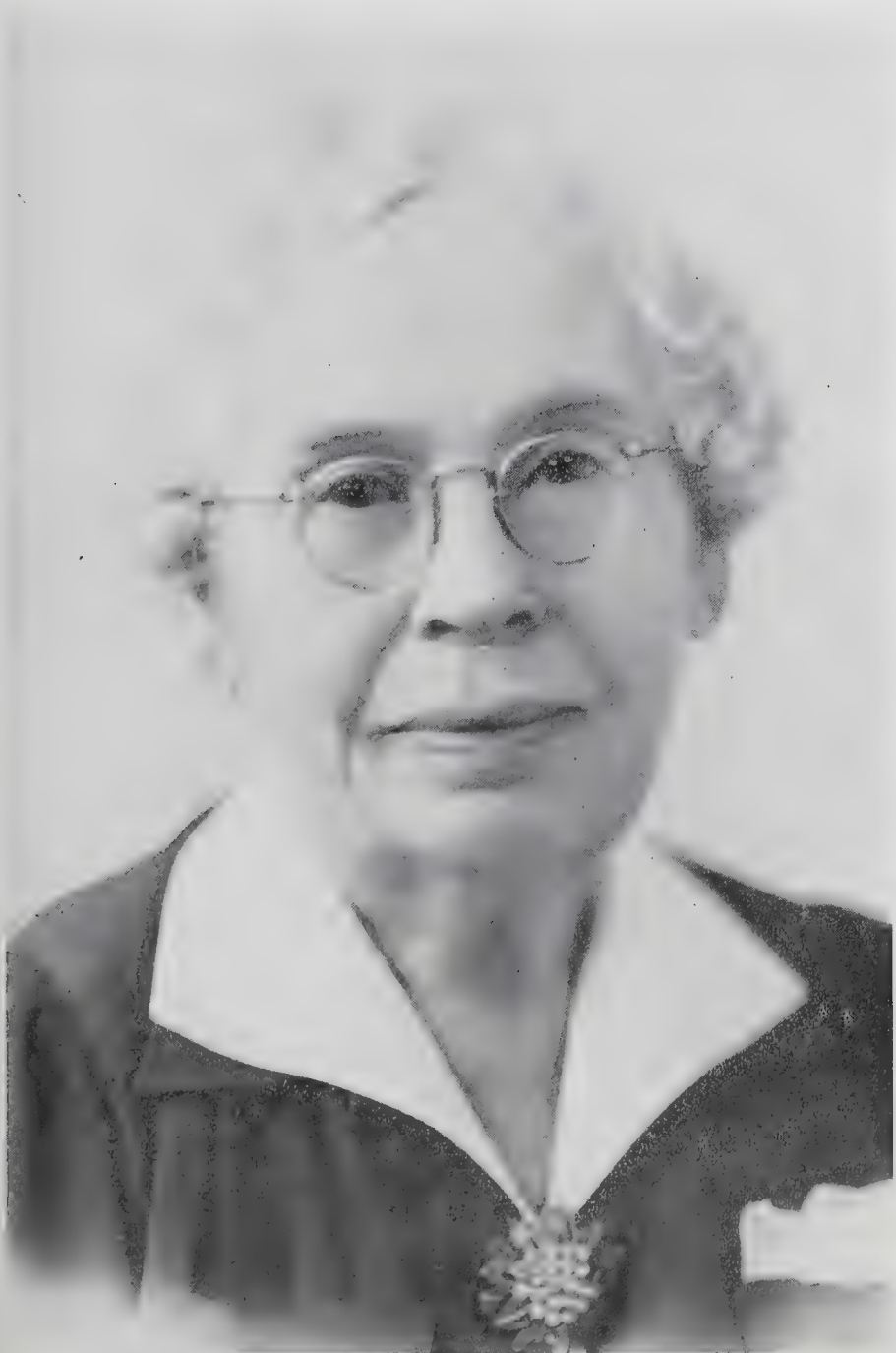
Isabelle Rebecca, or Belle as she was called, was the granddaughter of Martin Colbert, who was part Chickasaw Indian and one of the group of Chickasaw men chosen to come to Indian Territory on an exploring party to look over a new home for the tribe. Later, he and his family came west to live about 1838. Belle remembered knowing and talking with many other Indians who made the historic removal to a new land, many of whom had come over the "Trail of Tears."

Her father was Calvin Colbert, son of Martin. He was born in 1838. He carried out the traditional concern of the early Indian people for the education of their youth. After graduating from a Chickasaw academy at Tishomingo, he attended Vanderbilt University in Tennessee, and graduated in law. His death from pneumonia in 1871 at the age of thirty-three years occurred because he was chilled in a cold rain as he returned from a meeting of the Chickasaw Legislature in Tishomingo, of which he was a member and a scribe.

Her mother, Emma Frances Nail, was the daughter of Lucinda, a white woman, and Henry Nail, a Choctaw, who came from Mississippi to Indian Territory when the Choctaws first were removed west. Emma attended Collins Institute, a Chickasaw academy near Stone-wall, and afterwards was sent by her parents to Boston, Massachusetts, to school, where she remained three years, returning home an accomplished pianist. Accompanied by her brother and some Negro servants, she made the trip by horseback to the Mississippi River, then by boat to New Orleans, and thence by sea to Boston. This trip was over much of the same route traveled by her daughters in later years when they went to Mississippi to school.

Because of the educational background of these two young Indians, Calvin Colbert and Emma Nail, their parents thought it most appropriate they should know each other upon their graduation in June. A fish-fry at the mouth of the Washita River was arranged by the families. The two young people met, and in a few months they were married. Today they lie buried on the grounds of their home place, "Carriage Point," four miles west of Durant. The headstone of Calvin Colbert bears the Masonic emblem. Emma Colbert died in 1884 at the age of forty-four years of tuberculosis.

In 1869, Belle's father, Calvin, bought the Fisher stage stand which had become well-known as Carriage Point, after it was no longer used as Fisher's Stand by the Butterfield Overland Mail, 1858-1861, because an old carriage had broken down nearby during the Civil War and was left to the ravages of time. Following the Civil War, after Calvin Colbert bought the property, Carriage Point became an overnight stop for stagecoach travelers. It was also the place where fresh horses for the stagecoach were secured to continue the journey on the old stage and cattle road. The barn was made of



ISABELLE REBECCA COLBERT YARBOROUGH

lumber hauled from the forest around Stringtown and was put together with wooden pegs. A granddaughter can remember playing in the old barn and jumping off the eighteen-inch snubbing post in the lot where the wild horses were broken by walking them around this old post, back and forth, without the laying on of whips. By nightfall the wild ones were tired and tamed so that a saddle could be cinched on, and the horses were ready to be ridden.

In 1872, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway was built through the Territory, and the stage stand was no longer needed in travel over the Texas Road. However, until the death of Belle's husband in 1911, Carriage Point was considered by the old-timers as an overnight break in their journey. The big house, the ample food stores, and the hospitality found there made the travelers know they were welcome.

At the time the railroad was built, Belle was six years old and was attending school in Atoka. She stood in the yard of her aunt's home and watched the first train go through the town. During the year, she rode the train home as one of the earliest passengers on the railroad which still serves Durant.

Belle continued her schooling in Denison, Texas, and at Bloomfield Academy, a school for Chickasaw girls. She later sent her own daughters to Bloomfield, and her sons attended Harley Institute.

As a girl of thirteen, Belle, with her older sister, Ada, was sent to a school for girls in Oxford, Mississippi, the home of the University of Mississippi which absorbed the academy when the university became co-educational some years later. By special concession, Belle was the youngest student admitted to the school when she attended there. She and her sister distinguished themselves by their achievements in art, for both were talented.

The journey to the school was made from Belle's home to Fort Smith, Arkansas, and thence by coach to Mississippi. Her mother and two Negroes, who had been trusted servants in the family for many years, accompanied the girls to Fort Smith. Their trunks were carried on pack horses, a trunk on each side to balance the load. After her mother and one servant turned homeward, the girls continued their journey, accompanied by the other Negro servant who afterward took the horses home.

While she and her sister were in Oxford, during an epidemic of yellow fever, the president of the school took these Indian girls with him and his family to the country, after closing the school, and there they lived until the epidemic ended.

On January 1, 1880, Belle eloped with John Calhoun Yarborough who was of a pioneer white family in Blue County, Choctaw Nation, now a part of Bryan County. She became owner of Carriage Point by exchanging her original inheritance of Red River bottom land with her only brother who inherited the homeplace. The exchange was made by oral agreement only, and, as was usual in pioneer days, this agreement was never contested by anyone. At Carriage Point, Mrs. Yarborough reared three daughters and two sons: Mrs. Meta B. Hatchett and Mrs. Eunice Franklin, Durant; Mrs. Elizabeth Bentley, Ardmore; Clarence Yarborough, now deceased; and John C. Yarborough, McAlester.

The Yarboroughs lived the life of Indian Territory pioneers, with rich farm lands in Red River bottom and lush grasslands for their cattle herds at Carriage Point. Texas herds driven north sometimes

passed by on the road, the hundreds of head of lowing cattle coming out of a great cloud dust that had been first seen swirling up on the horizon to the south.

Mrs. Yarborough retained a feeling of kinship, loyalty, and responsibility even to her own distant cousins throughout her lifetime, like members of many another Indian family. She had her husband reared as their own son, Steve Yarborough, now deceased, whom they took as an infant of six months. He was the son of her sister and her husband's brother. Upon the death of the baby's mother, the infant was taken into the hearts of the members of the family and regarded as a son and brother. His education and upbringing was as great a concern of these pioneers as was their concern for their own children.

Mrs. Yarborough possessed the inner strength necessary for pioneer women. She was a member of the Presbyterian church which sent early missionaries, many of whom had several preaching appointments. One of the highlights of the church year was the camp meeting at Presbytery which she and her husband with all the members of the family attended.

This little old lady lived the kind of life we read about, and she regarded it as commonplace. She lived a long life marked by rugged faith, staunch loyalties, great courage, and amazing endurance. She left her loved ones a heritage which they will always cherish and will pass on in memory to their children's children as a real life legend.

—M. Ruth Hatchett*

Durant, Oklahoma

* M. Ruth Hatchett, the oldest grandchild of Mrs. Belle Yarborough, is Assistant Professor of English, Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma.

HOUSTON BENGE TEHEE

1874-1953

There was born on October 14, 1874, in what is now Sequoyah County, a Cherokee Indian, destined to bring honor and recognition to his country. This man who represented two old prominent Cherokee families was Houston Benge Tehee.

His father, Stephen Tehee was a prominent farmer and Baptist minister who spoke only the Cherokee language. He was universally loved and honored by both the white people and the Indians. Houston Teehee's mother, whose maiden name was Rhoda Benge, died when he was only twelve years old. Houston's boyhood days were spent on the farm, and his ambition was to become a good and upright man like his father. Houston attended the Cherokee common schools and later the Cherokee Male Seminary at Tahlequah. After graduation from the Seminary, he was a student for a term in Fort Worth University.

He returned to Tahlequah, and after working as a clerk for a period of ten years, he became Cashier of the Cherokee National Bank of Tahlequah in 1906. During this time, he studied law under the guidance of Judge John H. Pitchford. He resigned his position as Cashier of the Bank in 1908, and began the practice of law in Tahlequah, devoting attention to probate oil and gas matters.



HOUSTON BENGE TEHEE

Houston B. Tehee was highly regarded in public life, serving as alderman and later, as mayor of his home city to 1910. He was elected Representative from Cherokee County to the Third State Legislature in 1910, and reelected two years later to the Fourth Legislature. He was appointed Register of the United States Treasury and went to Washington, D. C., in 1914, his name appearing on all Federal notes and bonds from 1915 to 1919. He returned to Oklahoma and served ably for a number of years, as Vice President, Treasurer and General Manager in the Continental Asphalt and Petroleum Company with headquarters at Oklahoma City. He served as Assistant Attorney General of Oklahoma in 1926-27, and was a member of the Supreme Commission of Oklahoma, representing the First Judicial District of the Supreme Court in 1927-31. He returned to make his home in Tahlequah and gave his time to his law practice. He rendered great service to many leaders in affairs of the Cherokee Nation, acting as counselor and advisor in matters affecting individuals as well as families and communities.

Mr. Tehee married Miss Haglund, a native of Alabama, on December 11, 1898. When he died at Tahlequah on November 19, 1953, he was survived by his wife who passed away in 1958. Both Mr. and Mrs. Tehee were buried in the Tahlequah Cemetery. They had no children, and he had no living brothers nor sisters at the time of his death.

A lover of nature and all that is true and beautiful, Houston B. Tehee loved his home and enjoyed the out-of-doors. He found pleasure in music and literature, and his constant reading kept him in touch with the trend of modern thought and progress. He was a member of Cherokee Lodge A.F. and A.M., the oldest Masonic Lodge in Oklahoma. He was a deeply spiritual man and an ardent member and worker of the Presbyterian Church. He was an inspiration to the Cherokee people and to all who had business and social relations with him during the years of his active life.

—Marie L. Wadley

Muskogee, Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING JULY 30, 1959

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by President George H. Shirk at 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, July 30, 1959.

Roll call was made by Mr. Fraker, with the following being present: Mr. Henry Bass, Mrs. George Bowman, Mr. Kelly Brown, Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge R. A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Mr. George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught. As they have been published it was agreed the minutes of the previous meeting need not be read.

Dr. Harbour moved, and Mr. Harrison seconded, that the absentees: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Exall English, Dr. James D. Morrison, and Mrs. Willis C. Reed be excused. The motion carried unanimously.

President Shirk said that a letter of resignation from Mrs. Willis Reed of Vinita as a member of the Board of Directors had been received. He pointed out that Mrs. Reed had offered her resignation the previous year, but had been persuaded to withhold her resignation to see if she might attend Board meetings more regularly. Inasmuch as Mrs. Reed had found it impossible to make such arrangements, he was presenting her resignation to the Board. It was moved by Mr. Miller and seconded by Dr. Harbour that Mrs. Reed's resignation be accepted. The motion was put and carried.

In speaking of the recent death of Judge Redmond S. Cole, long time member of the Board of Directors, President Shirk said that in looking through some old letters in the Oklahoma Historical Society, he had realized that Judge Cole was a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society as far back as 1910. He said that Judge Cole's membership up to the present had not been continuous, but that he had been among the first to serve in the capacity of Director. Mr. Shirk then requested a moment of silent reflection in honor of Judge Cole. A resolution was then adopted expressing profound regret at the passing of Judge Cole.

Announcement was made by Mr. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, that seventy-eight new members had applied for membership in the Society within the past quarter, along with one new life member. He then presented the list of gifts to the various departments of the Society and the names of donors. Mr. Phillips moved that the new members be approved and the gifts be accepted. Upon the second of Miss Seger the motion was put and carried.

The Treasurer's report was made by Mrs. George L. Bowman in which it was indicated that a balance of \$187.79 was left in the annual tour fund. It was stated that all of this except \$23.74 had been transferred to the regular bank account. Mrs. Bowman stated that the revolving fund then stood at \$1,180.22 and that regular account No. 18 showed a \$1,899.00 balance. There was a residue of \$630.86 in the special fund at the First National Bank and Trust Company.

Report on the 1959 tour was made by Mr. Miller. He said that everyone on the tour had declared it to be the best. He further

stated that everyone seemed to be highly pleased with all detail arrangements. Mr. Miller, in revealing plans for the 1960 tour, said that the trip would be made into the northwestern section of Oklahoma, including the Panhandle region. Miss Seger moved that the tour committee be authorized to proceed with plans as outlined by Mr. Miller. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion, which was adopted.

President Shirk said that with the permission of Judge Clift, Legislative Committee Chairman, he would make a summary of the accomplishments of that committee and officers in working with the recently adjourned Legislature. He complimented the members of the Legislative Committee on the manner in which they had discharged their duties.

He said that in the final stages of the work before the Legislature that he and Mr. Fraker had divided their activities, with the President checking on the general appropriation bill and Mr. Fraker working on the airconditioning proposal. The President remarked that at times the airconditioning proposal for the Historical Society looked a rather forlorn hope, but that the Board could not pay too much tribute to Mr. Fraker for the final result of an allocation of \$29,760.00 for airconditioning major portions of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building.

President Shirk then referred to a large chart that had been placed in the room, along with small charts furnished to each Board member, showing that appropriations for the Oklahoma Historical Society had increased tremendously in recent years. He said he had enjoyed his work before the Legislature and expressed appreciation to the Governor, leaders in the House and Senate, along with the membership of both bodies, for the generous way in which they had in large measure accepted the budgetary proposals of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

It was called to the attention of the Board that copies of the actions taken by the Executive Committee had been sent to each member and that these actions of the Executive Committee should be considered. After some discussion, it was moved by Judge Hefner and seconded by Mr. Curtis that the report and actions of the Executive Committee be approved. Before the motion was put President Shirk said that the procedure followed by the Executive Committee was in accordance with that specified by the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The motion was adopted.

It was noted that action had been taken by the Executive Committee opposing the removal of the bodies of Stand Watie and Elias Boudinot from their present burial places. President Shirk submitted a file of correspondence concerning this matter. It was then moved by Mr. Miller and seconded by Mr. Bass that the Board of Directors specifically confirm the action of the Executive Committee and go on record firmly disapproving the moving of the bodies of either Stand Watie or Elias Boudinot. This motion was unanimously adopted.

A letter from the director of the Planning and Resources Board, requesting the loan of some artifacts by the Oklahoma Historical Society to the Black Kettle Museum located at Cheyenne, Oklahoma, was submitted. After considerable discussion, a motion was made by Mr. Phillips that the Board authorize a display of materials from the Oklahoma Historical Society at the Black Kettle Museum for periods not to exceed six months and that such displays indicate specifically that such exhibits are owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Upon the second of Mr. Bass the motion was adopted.

In reporting on the progress being made in restoring the old stage coach owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society, President Shirk said that when the work now being done is completed, the stage coach would be worth around \$35,000.00. He said plans are being made, when the refinishing job was completed, for the stage coach to be driven through downtown Oklahoma City and then placed on display in the lobby of one of the banks. With Camp Fire girls passing out membership blanks and selling brochures at the stage coach exhibit, it was felt, Mr. Shirk said, that a great many new members would be added to the Society.

The President called attention to the ceremony that was to be held on the next Saturday at Fort Sill where the main gate was to be dedicated to General W. S. Key, former President of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He said the gate would thereafter be known as "Key Gate." He further stated that General deShazo was flying back to Fort Sill to be present, with Mrs. Key and family, at the time of the dedication.

Mr. Bass moved with the second of Mr. Phillips that General Thomas E. deShazo be made an Honorary Member of the Society. The motion was put and unanimously approved.

Judge N. B. Johnson reported on the "American Indian Hall of Fame" at Anadarko. He said that in August dedication ceremonies for the installation of busts of Charles Curtis, Quannah Parker, and Sacajawea would be held. He reported there would also be a seminar in Indian culture, which will be conducted by a number of eminent authorities on Indian life, including Miss Muriel Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Judge Johnson asked permission to have the Oklahoma Historical Society appear as joint sponsor of the seminar, without cost to the Society. It was moved by Dr. Harbour that Judge Johnson and the "American Indian Hall of Fame" be given the permission he requested. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Korn and adopted.

Attention was called to the policy of the Knox Oil Company in distributing china and glasses with Oklahoma Indian figures on the designs. Dr. Johnson moved that the Knox Industries be commended for combining an Oklahoma historical theme with their advertising and for flying the Oklahoma flag at all stations. This motion was seconded by Miss Seger, and after a brief discussion, accepted.

The matter of filling the vacancies created by the death of General W. S. Key and the resignation of Mrs. Willis Reed was presented. Several names were suggested by Board members for the two places. Ballots were distributed and when counted showed that Judge Orel Busby of Ada (term expiring January, 1963) and Mr. Fisher Muldrow of Norman (term expiring January, 1960) had been elected to fill the unexpired terms of General Key and Mrs. Reed.

Some discussion was held concerning the matter of a parking lot on the Historical Society grounds. It was suggested by Mr. Bass that study be given to the possibilities of such parking lot, so that some action might be taken in the not too distant future.

There being no further business to come before the Board, it was moved by Judge Baxter Taylor and seconded by Mr. Henry Bass that the meeting be adjourned. The motion was adopted at 12:20 p.m.

(Signed) George H. Shirk
President

(Signed) Elmer L. Fraker
Administrative Secretary

New Members for the Quarter April 24, 1959 to July 30, 1959

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

Johnson, Sarah Ann

Tulsa, Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Lee, G. William
 Moore, Daisy L.
 Farr, Mrs. Pearle
 Darnell, James C.
 Brown, Charlotte
 Read, Robert F.
 Couch, Edna M.
 Seelig, Jessie Hall
 Tolbert, Ruth Ann
 Finney, Tom
 Morgan, Mrs. Roy C.
 Musick, Patricia
 Howell, Jimmie
 Pryor, W. E.
 Brillhart, N. W.
 Patterson, B. B.
 Patterson, Mrs. B. B.
 Rogers, Mrs. Jack S.
 Impson, Hiram
 Corbin, Mrs. M. B.
 Nunn, Dr. E. S.
 Couch, Joe B.
 Rennie, David Alexander
 Bearman, Mrs. Charles H.
 Caldwell, Georgia Anna
 Carter, Myrtle E.
 Coyle, John W.
 Cunningham, Mrs. Ivan
 Dague, Mabel
 Dennis, Mrs. D. R.
 Downer, D. W.
 Gatlin, Mrs. Leroy
 Green, Mrs. Hobart
 Griggs, Beula
 Harlow, Elma W.
 Lightfoot, Elizabeth
 McKee, Roy
 Martin, O. O., Sr.
 Melrose, Dana R.
 Moore, Charles S.
 Robinson, Ina Lee
 Wilkinson, Dorothy DeWitt
 Tillman, John
 Large, Mrs. R. E.
 Overstreet, F. M.
 Craig, Allene
 Porter, Jack B.
 Davis, Mrs. Jeff
 Lukens, Mrs. John P.
 McLaughlin, Mrs. E. L.
 Nuckolls, Mrs. A. S.
 Fischer, Le Roy H.
 Williams, Mrs. Nannie
 Currie, Dr. & Mrs. Robert L.

Ada, Oklahoma

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Antlers, Oklahoma

Apache, Oklahoma

Bethany, Oklahoma

Cushing, Oklahoma

Ft. Supply, Oklahoma

Hinton, Oklahoma

Hobart, Oklahoma

Idabel, Oklahoma

Jefferson, Oklahoma

Kingfisher, Oklahoma

Lawton, Oklahoma

Lindsay, Oklahoma

Madill, Oklahoma

Manitou, Oklahoma

Manitou, Oklahoma

Maysville, Oklahoma

McAlester, Oklahoma

Muskogee, Oklahoma

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Norman, Oklahoma

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Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

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Pawhuska, Oklahoma

Ponca City, Oklahoma

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Pryor, Oklahoma

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Rush Springs, Oklahoma

Shawnee, Oklahoma

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Stillwater, Oklahoma

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NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS (Continued)

Klapp, John D.	Tecumseh, Oklahoma
Burke, J. R.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Freese, John M.	" "
Grimes, Otha H.	" "
McNeill, Neal E., Jr.	" "
Meason, Tom	" "
Pope, Hugh A.	" "
Rickerson, Lucy F.	" "
Tulsa Linen Service	" "
Sargent, O. D.	" "
Nichols, Mrs. Allen G.	Wewoka, Oklahoma
Adams, Laura O.	Woodward, Oklahoma
Hayes, Jennie	" "
Heath, Helen E.	" "
Hepner, Mrs. Mildred Jones	" "
Jones, Hugh C.	" "
Moore, Birdle K.	" "
Ricker, Henry	Yale, Oklahoma
Lee, Lindsay	Birmingham, Alabama
Corbin, Mrs. Harriet	Segundo, California
Fieck, Sammie	San Deigo, California
Brooks, J. F.	Key West, Florida
Brown, Lowell	Amarillo, Texas
Madsen, Christian R.	Ft. Worth, Texas

GIFTS PRESENTED:**MUSEUM:****Pictures**

Photograph of Judge R. A. Hefner

Donor: Judge R. A. Hefner, Oklahoma City

G. A. R. Encampment

Donor: Claude Hensley, Oklahoma City

Photograph of Muriel S. Wright in group

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater

Oil portrait of G. A. Nichols

Donor: Mrs. G. A. Nichols, Oklahoma City

Group of '89ers

Oklahoma City Post Office Employees 1912

Capitol Station in 1920

Six pictures of dedication of Atoka Dam

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

Three framed pictures of members of Oklahoma Legislature 1919-1922

Donor: E. E. Woods, Independence, Kansas

Eleven Air Force Pictures, World War I

Six negatives of Dr. Grant Foreman

Thirty-four pictures taken on trip abroad by Dr. & Mrs. Foreman

Donor: Mrs. Carolyn Foreman, Muskogee

View of Oklahoma City, showing Colcord Building

Donor: Buffalo Historical Society

Fifteen pictures of locomotives used on Railroads in Eastern Oklahoma

Donor: J. T. Compton, Seminole, Oklahoma

Photograph of Mrs. Oklahoma Belle Cunningham Cheever

Donor: Mrs. Cheever, Oklahoma City

Four photographs of Historical Tour

Donor: R. G. Miller, Oklahoma City

Color photograph of Julia Chisholm Davenport

Reeves Hotel, Pauls Valley, Indian Territory 1899
Dr. A. E. Davenport in uniform World War I
Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Davenport
Mrs. Douglas Johnston, wife of Chickasaw Governor
Oil painting by Julia Chisholm Davenport, granddaughter of Jesse Chisholm
Donor: Juanita Johnston Smith, Oklahoma City
Officers of Ohoyohoma Club in 1959
Eleven pictures of Legislative party, Ohoyohoma Club 1959
Donor: Mrs. Jeff Davis, Oklahoma City
First County Officers of Curry County, New Mexico
First house built in Brownhorn, New Mexico
Donor: W. B. McBee, Oklahoma City

Exhibits

Cannon shell - War Between the States
Donor: James W. Green, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Belt made of pieces of wood with cattle brands, given to Julia Chisholm
Davenport at dedication of Jesse Chisholm marker, Texas
Collection hand painted china by Julia Chisholm Davenport
Donor: Juanita Johnston Smith, Oklahoma City
Case, shaving kit owned by Wiley Post
Goggles taken from dead German World War I
Donor: Walter A. Craig, Sparks, Oklahoma
Doll with kid body bought in 1890
Toy iron bought in 1890
Donor: Mrs. Fern Ross Tafel ('89er), Oklahoma City
Hackle, for carding flax
Donor: P. A. Tankersley, Oklahoma City
Navy uniforms, eleven pieces, World War II
Donor: Buck Cartwright, Wewoka, Oklahoma
Charter for LeFlore Toll Bridge
Donor: Mrs. Lou Ferguson, Kiowa

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL ROOM

Three steel engravings, framed, of Jefferson Davis, General Robert E. Lee
and Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson
Donor: Tulsa chapter UDC, Tulsa
Silver cup
Donor: Oklahoma Division UDC, Oklahoma City
Newspaper, "The Southwest Courier", June 13 containing biography of
Father Ryan, the poet, priest of the Confederacy
Donor: Joseph J. Quinn, Oklahoma City

UNION MEMORIAL ROOM

Gun, bayonet and canteen - War Between the States
Donor: Herman H. Morgan, Oklahoma City

INDIAN ARCHIVES

Winter 1958-59 issue of THE AMERICAN INDIAN
Donor: Richard K. Pope, University of Chicago

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Winter, 1959-60

Volume XXXVII

Number 4

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Cover: This shows a reproduction of the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma, in colors. The five-pointed central star represents the 46th State in the Federal Union, Oklahoma, surrounded by a field of 45 stars representing the other states of the Union arranged between the rays of the star. The design in the center of the large star is that of Oklahoma Territory; and in each of the five rays appear the designs of the old seals of the Five Civilized Tribes. Reading clockwise these seals are: (upper) Chickasaw, Choctaw, Seminole, Creek, Cherokee.

JUDGE EDGAR S. VAUGHT

By George H. Shirk

The beginning of Oklahoma as a State was unique. It was a task requiring much energy and vision to blend and mold the two distinct and separate territories into one commonwealth. This could not have been accomplished except for the circumstance that Oklahoma had been blessed with men of ability, leadership and vision. Without doubt, the successful transformation of the territories as they existed at the turn of the Century into the State of Oklahoma was due to the type and quality of the men who settled in them in the early days and who guided their destinies into a common statehood and through the years to the seventh decade of the Century. Of all of Oklahoma's distinguished adopted sons, none reached the position of eminence nor made the contribution of Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

It is not infrequent that men excel in their own profession or aptitude, but a State is indeed fortunate that may number among its most distinguished citizens one in whose character has been blended the leadership of his own chosen profession, an intense understanding of humanity and its weaknesses, a true love of God's nature and all of its wonders, an abiding faith in the ultimate goodness of mankind, and a devout belief in his own religious faith and creed. All of this was Judge Vaught; and no one knew him who did not at once wish to seek him as a personal friend, close counsellor and personal inspiration.

Edgar Sullins Vaught was born in Cedar Springs, a hamlet in Wythe County, Virginia, on January 7, 1873. His parents were Noah Trigg Vaught (B. December 3, 1839; D. July 13, 1916) and Minerva Jane Atkins (B. January 5, 1840; D. July 17, 1901). They were of hardy stock and on both sides descended from members of the American Revolution. His father was a successful farmer and operator of a sawmill. Noah Vaught admired and drew inspiration from Dr. David Sullins, Bishop of the Methodist denomination and the founder of Sullins College; and it is not without interest to note that Judge Vaught was so early identified with educational endeavors that his middle name was that of one of the nation's finer schools.

The elder Vaughts succumbed to the lure of the West, and at the age of fifteen young Edgar moved with his parents to Oak Grove, a settlement near Dandridge, the county seat of Jefferson County, Tennessee. Shortly after arrival in his new state he turned to teaching; and until 1895 he served as a teacher in the Tennessee public schools, teaching at least one term in



JUDGE EDGAR SULLINS VAUGHT

Granger, Hamblin and Jefferson Counties. He alternated his teaching with studies at Carson-Newman College at Jefferson City. While still an undergraduate, alternating terms, he served as County Superintendent of Schools for Jefferson County from 1895 until 1901. He received his Bachelor of Science from Carson-Newman in 1899. This he supplemented by graduate study at Emory and Henry College, at Emory, Virginia. He has since returned to both schools as Commencement Day speaker.

As with his father before him, the lure of the West had its attraction. The young college graduate first came to Oklahoma Territory to look over the new country in the spring of 1901. As with other men of vision, Oklahoma City was his choice; and his application for affiliation with the Oklahoma City school system has been preserved:

Office of
ED. S. VAUGHT,
Superintendent of Public Instruction,
Jefferson County.

Dandridge, Tenn., Jany., 17th. 1901

To the Honorable Board of Education,
Oklahoma City,
Oklahoma Territory.

Gentlemen:—

Through the Supt. of your city schools, I learn that there will be a vacancy in one of your principalships for the next year, and I most respectfully ask to be considered an applicant for the position.

I am a graduate of Carson-Newman College, Mossy Creek, Tenn. and have done post-graduate work at Emory and Henry College, Va. For nearly ten years I have been actively connected with the public schools of Tennessee, as teacher in the primary, secondary, high school and academy, and am now serving my third term of County Supt. of the Jefferson County schools.

I could not think of giving up my present position for the salary of a principal of one of your ward schools, were it not for the fact that I believe there is a chance for promotion, for the competent teacher.

You will find enclosed testimonials from some of the leading educators of Tennessee, and I refer you to Rev. W. M. Anderson, and J. L. Francis, Esq., of your city, and Prof. John P. Hickam, of Perkins, Okla. for any further information you may desire.

It is my purpose to meet you in person before the election takes place and in the mean time, I ask for a careful consideration of my application.

Yours very respectfully,
Ed. S. Vaught

The letter met with favor and he returned to Oklahoma City, never to leave it as a permanent residence, for the September opening of school in 1901. He was appointed Principal of the old Irving High School in Oklahoma City. He was not to complete the school year in that capacity. The minutes of the Oklahoma City School Board for February 28, 1902, read in part: "Supt. I. M. Holcomb stated that he desired to be relieved of his duties to accept a position in District Court Clerk's office and

tendered his resignation. He suggested that Principal E. S. Vaught be put in his place."

He served as Superintendent of the Oklahoma City system until the close of the spring, 1906, term. During this period there was the first of the great cycles of metropolitan expansion for Oklahoma City, and it was under Judge Vaught's sponsorship that a concerted plan was developed for new school buildings for the infant system. There were five school buildings in use when he assumed his responsibilities. In 1903, Lincoln and Willard Schools were completed; in 1905, Garfield, Jefferson and McKinley were added to the system. The other buildings were improved and modernized, and it is safe to say that every citizen of Oklahoma City past the age of forty who attended public schools in the City studied in classrooms of a building sponsored by Judge Vaught. At the close of his administration the number of buildings had exactly doubled and the enrollment had increased to 5,301.

The practice of law had always appealed to Judge Vaught. His brother-in-law, Eugene Holtsinger, was a successful lawyer in Dandridge. Even while Judge Vaught was County Superintendent in Jefferson County, he was interested in the profession as he saw it practiced in the Holtsinger office. During his period of public service with the Oklahoma City schools, Judge Vaught "read law." By self-instruction, tutelage from his attorney friends with particular help from the late Judge C. B. Ames, he passed the Bar examination and was admitted to the Oklahoma Territorial Bar on June 5, 1905. It was not long until he determined to adopt law rather than education as his chosen field. The minutes of the Oklahoma City School Board for December 4, 1905, reveal his desire:

WHEREAS Supt. E. S. Vaught has announced his intent of severing his connection with the City schools at the end of the present school year, at which time he desires to actively engage in the practice of law, the Board of Education hereby grants him the privilege of forming a law partnership and allowing his name to be used in connection with the same.

His first firm was DuMars, Vaught and Calhoun, with offices in the old Baltimore building. In 1913, he organized the firm of Vaught and Ready. When the late Howard Ready moved to Omaha, Judge Vaught associated himself with the late Judge Phil B. Brewer, which association developed in 1918 into the firm of Everest, Vaught and Brewer. This partnership, with the late Judge J. H. Everest, remained for many years as one of the leading law firms of the Southwest. He was admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States on March 19, 1920.

The late Judge D. A. Richardson wrote of Judge Vaught as a lawyer:

To say that he was a successful trial lawyer is to put it mildly. He was eminently successful. But he never won a case that he thought he ought to lose. That was because he never felt that he ought to lose any of them. In one year he tried 63 jury cases, won 57 of them, and complained bitterly of the miscarriage of justice in the other six. He represented the Ford Motor Company for 20 years, and during all of that time he never lost a case for it—nor drove a Ford.

Judge Vaught always took great pride in the legal profession. A number of years after he had been elevated to the bench, he said in a speech to the Bar Association: "It has been said that the legal profession today is on trial. Of course, it has been on trial for many years, but there is no aggregation of men who, because of personal character, individual accomplishments, and public service that are comparable to the legal profession."

He did not, however, completely abandon the field of education, as he served for the period from 1903 to 1906 on the Oklahoma Territory Board of Education. Following statehood, he was appointed a member of the State Board of Regents for Normal Schools.

His time was divided between the practice of law and civic affairs of importance and vision. He was appointed Clerk of the District Court of Oklahoma County in August, 1907, serving until the first elected clerk under statehood qualified and took office in 1908. Probably one of his most enduring contributions to Oklahoma was his work as a member of the State Capitol Advisory Commission. A factor in the removal by Governor Haskell of the Capitol to Oklahoma City had been the promises made by local civic leaders of financial aid, particularly with respect to a capitol site. The Advisory Commission worked hard to arrange the acquisition of sufficient lands for a site and for the financing of the proposed new Capitol Building. Many local citizens wished to contribute tracts of land; and, of course, these donations were by their very nature scattered throughout the City. It was agreed that anyone wishing to donate land rather than money would deed the same to Edgar S. Vaught, as Trustee. As the plans were formalized, he in turn deeded the real estate to a corporation organized for the purpose; and in 1914, title to these many separate lots and tracts passed to the State of Oklahoma. It is interesting today in the examination of an abstract for a piece of Oklahoma City real estate to see that its chain of title, as is the case in dozens of instances, passed through Edgar S. Vaught, as Trustee, and on to the State of Oklahoma for eventual disposition into private ownership. Today Capitol visitors will find his name on the marble slab inside the front entrance showing him as Secretary to that body.

On the mantel of Judge Vaught's den there stands a tangible reminder of his service, a large silver cup inscribed:

To
ED S. VAUGHT
From

J. J. Culbertson
T. F. McMahan
Orin Ashton

C. F. Colcord
W. F. Harn
K. W. Dawson

Directors
of
The State Capitol Building Company
In recognition and appreciation of his efforts and work
(of which he contributed more freely than anyone)
in securing the
State Capitol of Oklahoma for Oklahoma City
1913

Other civic affairs also received his attention. He was one of the oldest members of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, having been a continuous dues paying member since 1902. On the 50th Anniversary of his membership, he was presented a gold Life Membership Card, suitably inscribed, attesting his half century of membership and service to that body. He served as President of the Chamber of Commerce for the 1915 term.

Of the various civic clubs, the Lions held his greatest and deepest interest. He served as President of the Oklahoma City club for the term 1921-22. He was a delegate to the annual International Convention at Oakland during his term as local President. He so concerned himself with the affairs of the Lions that at the following convention at Hot Springs, he was unexpectedly elected International President for the term 1922-23. His personal capacities are well attested by the circumstance that the senior Vice President, who would have without question succeeded to the Presidency, continued to serve on as Vice President under Judge Vaught; and notwithstanding the "political upset" the two remained life-long friends. This was the only instance up to the time when the International Presidency of that body had come to the Southwest. His interest in the Lions was not concluded with the expiration of his term as President; to his death one of his great personal joys was the Lions Club Health Camp for the youth of Oklahoma City, located northeast of town. With his abiding pleasure in the outdoors, nothing pleased him more than to be able to hike over the grounds of the camp, personally selecting the site for each new sapling or transplanted evergreen.

On May 31, 1928, President Coolidge appointed him as United States District Judge for the Western District of Oklahoma. In this capacity he served his state and country until his retirement in 1956. Now that his service on the bench is complete, an evaluation of his contribution is not difficult. It



Governor Lee Cruce in first car (back seat to left) in parade at Oklahoma City on way to the State Capitol ceremonies, July 20, 1914. Judge Vaught is in the front seat at left.

is not possible to encounter a member of the Bar who could not readily add another word of approbation for his service to whatever else may already have been said.

Until the appointment of Judge Alfred P. Murrah in 1937 as District Judge, Judge Vaught was the only judge for his District. He carried the entire responsibility alone for the first nine years of his service on the bench; and at one time Judge Vaught estimated that he disposed of an average of 1200 cases a year. Many factors, particularly oil and gas and Indian lands, contributed to make Federal practice extremely heavy in Oklahoma.

He took with him to the bench his love and understanding of his fellow man. In December, 1935, he remarked in a speech before the Oklahoma County Bar Association:

I asked Judge Bob Williams what he did when he comes to questions he could logically decide either way. He replied that he would lay that case aside for a few days and then try to figure out what was right and what was wrong. "When I do what I think is right," he said, "I always get plenty of authority to sustain my position."

Judicial humor is all too uncommon for often a jurist is unable to blend his own understanding of his fellowman with the austere requirements of his position. In this regard, the Judge at no time had difficulty. Dr. W. M. Stowe spoke of him:

I have been told that Judge Vaught was not renowned as a great legal technician, but rather as a jurist with that rare humanness which made him understand the many qualities, some strong and some weak, in people; and with this understanding he was in fact able to be a better judge and jurist than had he relied solely on the niceties and technicalities of the law.

Probably the classic example of Judge Vaught's intense humanness is in a formal written opinion handed down recently while he was serving as a special Judge for the United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida. The case involved the financial affairs of an aging man and a young woman. In the opinion (170 Fed. Sup. 951), Judge Vaught wrote in part and concluded his decision saying:

One characteristic of a Virginia gentleman is the ready appreciation of a beautiful woman and this particular ability is neither dimmed nor retarded by advancing age. On the other hand, a beautiful woman does not knowingly conceal her beauty from the admiring notice of men.

The \$25,000 was a gift, and while it must be admitted, was a generous one, yet it was his gift and he had a legal right to make it if he so desired. Sometimes penalties come high but in a case such as this they are not unusual and are not ordinarily open to public inspection. One is reminded of the well-known axiom: "Do right and fear no man; don't write and fear no woman."

On the anniversary celebration of his twenty-five years on the bench, he commented: "It's pretty hard to remember

over twenty thousand cases''; but when asked to recall some of them he said: "Perhaps the kidnapping case was the most important I have ever tried as far as the general public is concerned." He had reference to the sensational kidnapping in 1933 of C. F. Urshel. The day the Urshel abductors were arraigned for trial before his bench, Judge Vaught rocketed into national attention. His courtroom became the center of national publicity and attention. Spectators' seats were at a premium; and his courtroom became crowded with countless writers and reporters, telephone and wire circuits, and recorders paying heed to every word. Altogether, he sentenced thirteen individuals to imprisonment for their part in the abduction.

It was at this trial that he became an intimate and lasting friend of J. Edgar Hoover. In later years, it seemed as though Judge Vaught particularly enjoyed assignment as a special Judge in the District of Columbia, for he was certain Mr. Hoover would always be his host and friend. Book lovers will appreciate the circumstance that the first copy of Hoover's recent book, *Masters of Deceit*, came direct from the author addressed to Judge Vaught with a personal and endearing inscription.

On December 1, 1955, Judge Vaught wrote to the President of the United States:

Dear Mr. President,

On January 7, 1956, I will be eighty three years of age. On May 31, 1956, I will have served twenty eight years as a United States District Judge for the Western District of Oklahoma.

My health is good and my docket is current. It is my desire, however, in accordance with Section 371, Title 28, United States Code, to retain my office but retire from regular active service effective as soon after January 7, 1956, as my successor shall be appointed and shall legally qualify.

My only motive in considering retirement from active service is to make possible the appointment of a younger man to take my place. It is my intention to continue in service as a District Judge.

My years upon the Bench have been most pleasant years, and my retirement is not without compensation which results from an honest effort to assist in the conscientious administration of justice.

Most respectfully yours,
Edgar S. Vaught

President Eisenhower replied on February 10, 1956:

Dear Judge Vaught:

I have your letter informing me of your desire to retain your office but to retire from the regular active service as Chief Judge of the United States District Court for the Western District of Oklahoma, under the provisions of Section 371, Title 28 of the United States Code, upon appointment and qualification of your successor.



COURT ROOM SCENE, URSCHEL KIDNAPPING CASE, 1933,
Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Presiding, center. To far left, jurymen in the jury box; to far
right, news reporters and correspondents at tables

In approving your retirement as requested, I desire to express to you the appreciation of the American people for the many years you have served as a member of the Federal Judiciary. Your continuance on active duty for so long after you earned the right to retire is indication of your outstanding devotion to the public interest.

It is my earnest hope that in your retirement you may enjoy many years of continued health and happiness.

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

The President appointed Ross Rizley of Guymon to the vacancy thus created, and Judge Vaught's retirement from regular active service became effective on April 23, 1956, the date Judge Rizley took his oath of office and assumed his duties.

After his retirement, Judge Vaught was subject to call for special assignments in other Judicial Districts. He was a stranger only once to the local Bar of a District where he served on special assignment; his ability as a jurist is best expressed by the fact that he more than once returned to the same District, perhaps indirectly by informal invitation, to assist with the local crowded docket.

A lifelong Methodist, Judge Vaught evidenced keen interest in his Church, St. Luke's. Upon his arrival in Oklahoma City, he attended the old Tabernacle Methodist Church on Northwest Third Street just off Broadway. He often recalled that he had been in Oklahoma City only two weeks when he was elected Superintendent of the Sunday School. He served as Chairman of the Building Committee when Tabernacle Methodist, now St. Luke's, acquired its new site at Northwest Eighth and Robinson. The new building was completed in 1907. He has served his congregation in every capacity, acting even as supply pastor when the Minister was temporarily absent. For over twenty-five years and up to the date of his death, he was Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

In his last years he became intensely concerned with a new and lasting edifice for his congregation. He and Mr. R. W. Robberson, by their personal energies, perhaps more than any other person, made possible the imposing and inspiring church building now at Northwest Fifteenth and Robinson. Being of modern design, the Judge took the lead in winning over all of the congregation unanimously to the proposed architectural plans. In his talk before the congregational meeting called to make a decision on the new structure, his humor and humaneness were well reflected when he said, "I feel that we should have the finest and best Church building possible. I am reminded somewhat of the car I drive, and I would not want to drive a 1907 motor car any more than I would wish an old

model Church. For our needs and for our future, we need a late model Church in the same fashion that each of us needs a late model automobile." In 1909, he founded his renowned Sunday School class. On June 28, 1959, an honor entirely unique was bestowed upon Judge Vaught by his beloved congregation when he was presented with a large and beautiful hand-illuminated plaque naming him "St. Luke's Man of the Half Century."

Speaking of his Church and faith Judge Vaught once remarked: "The most satisfaction that may be obtained from life comes from living right and being fair with your fellow men. The strongest element in human nature is faith. One must have faith in whatever he does. If you do not have faith in an all-wise Creator there is very little left. An abiding faith comes as a result of thought and careful study."

Many honors came to him during his many years of service. In 1929, he received an honorary LL. D. from Oklahoma City University. On November 16, 1941, Judge Vaught was inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame. He was elected a Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1950. He served as President of the University of Oklahoma Dads Association for the term 1935-36; and in 1951, he received a Distinguished Service Citation from the University. By unanimous agreement of the entire membership, Judge Vaught was elected to the post left vacant by the late Dr. C. A. Scott as President of the Men's Dinner Club of Oklahoma City. No meeting of the Club was quite the same if Judge Vaught were not present to introduce the speaker of the evening.

On November 1, 1899 he married Mary Holtsinger, the charming daughter of an old and prominent Dandridge family. Their first child, Mary Eleanor (Mrs. M. S. Morris of El Reno), was born at Dandridge August 5, 1901, and was a few weeks old when her mother and she moved to Oklahoma before the opening of the school year. Edgar S. Vaught, Jr. was born April 9, 1907; and a third child, Ruth Loretta (Mrs. Wayman J. Thompson of Oklahoma City) was born May 5, 1908. Mrs. Vaught died in Oklahoma City on September 13, 1948, and it was always a deep regret of the Judge that she did not live to see their three grandchildren grow to maturity and to join in the family fun with the young great-grandson, John Morris Bentley, born September 20, 1955. Judge Vaught died December 5, 1959, and interment was in Rose Hill Mausoleum, Oklahoma City.

In a speech in June, 1944, before the Texas Bar Association, in the midst of WW II, Judge Vaught said: "There is nothing in our history that justifies a pessimistic view of the

future. We have weathered many storms, we have had many depressions. Depressions are not of modern order not of American invention."

This was his philosophy throughout his life. He never took time to find alarm in the future, nor to adopt the attitude that the past contained more than the present. He often recounted a speech he once heard while an undergraduate in Tennessee. The speaker remonstrated that everything had been invented that could be, that further progress was unlikely, and that the days of exploration of uncharted areas were past forever; and that accordingly, the youth of that day had more limited opportunity than did their parents. The Judge would then immediately explain how preposterous was such an attitude and that even at the time it seemed to him entirely without foundation. He used this as an illustration of what was *not* his philosophy.

In a recent interview, he declared:

Life is worth living if one will just learn to put the proper value on things. People must learn to relax mentally as well as physically. Why do people today think they have to be on the go every minute? It has always been my policy never to worry about anything I cannot help. Nothing I can do will change the facts about atomic or hydrogen bombs. I am perfectly willing to await and abide the results. I just cannot understand these people who sit around and talk about growing old and wonder what will happen when they die and after they are gone. I do not have time for this. I am having too much fun. You make a friend by being one.

Truly, this was the philosophy of Edgar S. Vaught. As a friend and understanding fellow man to all, he could number all people his friends. No one learned better how to live and to enjoy the true art of living as did he. We are all better because of him.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

December 7, 1959

Mr. Edgar S. Vaught, Jr.
1422 Northwest 36th Street
Oklahoma City 1, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Vaught:

I was indeed sorry to learn of the passing of your father, and I did want to send this personal note expressing my deepest sympathy.

Words, of course, are most inadequate at a time such as this, but I hope you and your sisters may gain some comfort from the knowledge that his many contributions to the security and welfare of our Nation will long stand as a memorial to him. His outstanding services will be greatly missed. The thoughts of all of his friends in the FBI are with you in this hour of bereavement, and if there is anything at all we can do to be of assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

A NEW CHAPTER IN AN OLD STORY

By Edgar S. Vaught

FOREWORD

Judge Edgar S. Vaught was an active and honored member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, elected January 26, 1950. He was in demand as a speaker on programs of different organizations to tell the history which he had helped to make as a leader for over half a century, in the development of the Capital City and the State of Oklahoma. His account relating to the location and construction of the State Capitol of Oklahoma was written and given by him on a program of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, September 7, 1945. It is here published for the first time in The Chronicles. Some explanatory and reference footnotes have been added to Judge Vaught's original manuscript by Colonel George H. Shirk, which are published here with the Judge's own account and title "A New Chapter in an Old Story."

—The Editor

The development of that section of Oklahoma City adjacent to the State Capitol for oil and gas and the large revenues derived by the State from lands donated to it by citizens of Oklahoma City have developed fresh interest by the citizens of the State. The subject relates to the contract between the State and citizens of Oklahoma City in connection with the location and construction of the State Capitol of Oklahoma.

At the request of the Chamber of Commerce, because of my participation in practically all of the activities by the citizens of Oklahoma City in the location and provisions for the construction of the State Capitol, I am giving, from the records and from my own memory, the facts as I remember them.

Soon after statehood in November, 1907, agitation began for the permanent location of the State Capital. The capital was then located at Guthrie and had been throughout the life of Oklahoma Territory. Oklahoma City was an active candidate for the location of the capital, as were other cities in the state, and of course Guthrie desired very much to retain the capital. A special election was called by the State authorities for June 11, 1910, at which the people of the State were given the opportunity to vote¹ for a capital city. The result of that election was a majority in excess of 50,000 votes for Oklahoma City.²

¹ State Question 15, *Initiative Petition No. 7.*

² Notwithstanding the affirmative vote of the people, the election was declared invalid for technical reasons by the Supreme Court in *Smith vs State ex rel Hepburn*, 28 Okla. 235, 113 Pac. 932.

On the night following the election, Governor Charles N. Haskell removed the official capital to Oklahoma City. In the campaign culminating in the election on June 11, 1910, the fact that the capital should not be removed to Oklahoma City until 1913 was given much publicity, and the people in Oklahoma City who made the campaign for Oklahoma City did not expect the capital to be removed until 1913. There were no facilities for accommodation of State offices and it would require the three years to provide the necessary facilities. The people in Oklahoma City as a whole were greatly surprised when the capital was removed immediately following the election. Governor Haskell opened his executive offices in the Huckins Hotel and the various state offices were located in the different office buildings in the downtown district.

There was much discussion in the next few months as to the location of the capitol building, and on the 23rd day of November, 1910, Governor Haskell issued a proclamation³ convening a special session of the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma to be held on Monday, the 28th day of November, 1910, to consider matters in connection with the permanent location of the state capital and construction of the capitol building.

At this special session of the Legislature, the Governor submitted a message to the Legislature (Sen. Journal, Extra Session, 1910, pp. 10 to 15) wherein he sought to justify the recent removal of the capital from Guthrie to Oklahoma City, showing that 120,352 votes were cast for removal and 71,933 against. He also submitted a plan to the Legislature recommending a site in a suburb of Oklahoma City consisting of sixteen hundred acres of land and \$100,000 cash, the \$100,000 cash being a guarantee that from the proceeds of the sale of lots, the State would derive \$1,700,000.

This plan was not acceptable to the Legislature and the first bill introduced in the House in that session provided for a permanent location of the seat of government of the State of Oklahoma, created a Board of Capitol Commissioners and defined its powers and duties, authorized said Board to accept for capitol purposes the proceeds of the sale of land or donation from other sources and appropriation of the same for capitol purposes, and repealed all laws in conflict therewith. A similar bill was introduced in the Senate. The House bill, after being approved by the House, was approved by the Senate and sent to the Governor for his approval⁴ (*Sen. Journal*, Extra Session, 1910, pp. 15 & 16).

³ *Sen. Journal*, Extra Session, 1910, pp. 1 & 2.

⁴ Laws 1910—11, Chapt. 5. Only Section 1 of this Act remains effective today, and appears in our present code as Title 73, O.S. 1951, Sec. 1. By this enactment the Legislature declared Oklahoma City to be the capital of

Numerous suggestions were made by various citizens of Oklahoma City and by various members of the Legislature with reference to a capitol site adjacent to the city. The House and Senate appointed a joint committee on location of the Capitol Building, which committee will be referred to as the "Capitol Committee." This committee rejected many suggestions as to location but advised a citizens' committee representing Oklahoma City that it would consider a proposition for location of the State Capitol in the northeast section of the city adjacent to Lincoln Boulevard and between Thirteenth and Twenty Third Streets.

The property owners interested in the northeast location met, discussed the possibilities of providing an acceptable site and finally submitted a proposition to the Capitol Committee, which was as follows:

We, the undersigned committee, present for your consideration the following proposition for a free Million Dollar Building, with grounds for same of fifteen acres.

We propose to provide warranty deeds to six hundred fifty (650) acres of land located in the Northeast part of the City, the site for the Capitol being within one and three-fourths ($1\frac{3}{4}$) miles of the Federal Building, which we will place as security, with an additional bond of \$100,000 in cash within the time agreed upon.

The proposed capitol site consisting of fifteen (15) acres to be located as follows: $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres to be in the Northeast corner of the Northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 27, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres in the Northwest corner of the Northeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 27, all in Township Twelve (12) R. 3 W. of the Indian Meridian. The exact site for the capitol building to be near the center of Lincoln Boulevard and South of 23rd Street, as nearly in the center of the said described site as practical.

Then followed with the Capitol Committee of the Legislature, various discussions. For the purpose of handling the donations of land and funds, there was organized a corporation known as the State Capitol Building Company.⁵

Prior to the organization of the State Capitol Building Company, deeds to the 650 acres of land were made to Ed. S.

the State. The Act was upheld by the Supreme Court in *Coyle vs Smith*, 28 Okl. 121, 113 Pac. 944. Affirmed by U. S. Supreme Court, 221 U. S. 559, 55 L. Ed. 853. Thus the legal basis for the present location of the capital is legislative enactment rather than the vote of the people. The remaining portions of the 1910-11 Act were repealed by Session Laws 1913, Chapt. 220.

⁵ The area ground between N.E. 23 and N. E. 21 Streets and the Santa Fe R/W and North Kelley Street was platted on June 30, 1911 by the State Capitol Building Company into lots and blocks, with the central area designated as the state capitol square. The plat was signed on behalf of the corporation by K. W. Dawson, vice president and Orin Ashton, secretary, and is in Book 18, p. 61 of the records of the County Clerk of Oklahoma County.

Vaught, as trustee, and the notes aggregating more than \$20,000 were made to said Ed. S. Vaught, as trustee, but upon the organization of the State Capitol Building Company, all of these lands were conveyed and the notes were assigned by said trustee to the corporation.

This proposition was put in more definite form, submitted to the Governor and the Legislature (Sen. Journal, Extra Session, 1910, pp. 95 to 101), appraisers were appointed by the Capitol Committee and the report of the appraisers was as follows:

Grand total	Acreage	627½	Valuation	\$1,278,400.00
	Lots	51	Valuation	120,950.00
	Lots	10	Valuation	3,500.00

This was a total valuation on the lands proposed to be donated of \$1,402,850. In addition there were notes given by those citizens interested in the northeast location but who did not own real estate in that section in the amount of \$29,500. The State Capitol Building Company, having been organized and vested with the title to the donated lands and notes, entered into a formal contract with Charles N. Haskell, as Governor, which, with other matters connected therewith, appears at pages 83 to 108, inclusive, of Senate Journal, Regular Session, Oklahoma, 1911.

There also was executed a bond for \$100,000 guaranteeing the faithful performance of the obligations assumed by the State Capitol Building Company and this bond was signed by thirty one citizens of Oklahoma City.

This contract with the Governor was approved by the Legislature but nothing was done with regard to the construction of the capitol building because of litigation which had arisen with reference to the legality of the removal of the state capital. After this litigation was finally determined, the State Capitol Building Company entered into a new contract with Lee Cruce, as Governor, in which it was agreed that the bond of \$100,000 should be paid to the State in cash and on the 18th day of May, 1912, said payment was made. The last clause of the contract provided:

It is furthermore agreed that actual work on said building shall be begun by the said Lee Cruce within days from this date and continued as rapidly as conditions will permit until said sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$100,000.00) shall have been exhausted; and that the said The State Capitol Building Company shall have the same rights to audit the books of the said Lee Cruce relative to the expenditure of said sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$100,000.00) as was guaranteed to it under said original contract between the said The State Capitol Building Company and the State of Oklahoma, through Governor Chas. N. Haskell.



Governor Lee Cruce turning the first dirt for the State Capitol Building,
Oklahoma City, July 20, 1914.

On July 3, 1914, the deeds to all of the property,⁶ after being carefully checked by the office of the Attorney General, were delivered by the State Capitol Building Company to the State of Oklahoma and on the same date the Governor signed the following acceptance for and on behalf of the State of Oklahoma:

WHEREAS, It satisfactorily appearing that the tracts of land in the above and foregoing deed described, have been legally conveyed to the State of Oklahoma, by a title in Fee Simple, free from all liens, incumbrances, and adverse claims whatsoever, the said lands being for Capitol Building Purposes, all as provided by Senate Joint Resolution No. 7, adopted by the Senate on March 5th, 1913, and by the House of Representatives on March 15th, 1913, approved March 17th, 1913, Oklahoma Session Laws 1913, P.p. 264-268.

NOW THEREFORE, We, the Commissioners of the Land Office of the State of Oklahoma, pursuant to the directions of Section Three of said Senate Joint Resolution No. 7, hereby accept for and upon behalf of the said State of Oklahoma, in its name, and benefit, the lands above described, all in the City, County and State of Oklahoma, this the 3rd day of July, A.D. 1914.

This deed was signed by the Governor, the Secretary of State, State Auditor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and President of the Board of Agriculture, constituting the Commissioners of the Land Office.

Thus, with the conveyance of the 650 acres, as provided in the original contract, and the payment of the \$100,000 bond in cash, the State Capitol Building Company had met every requirement to which it was obligated in the original contract.⁷ Disposition of these lands accepted by the State has been entirely in the hands of the State and is a matter of State record.

Of the lands deeded to the State for capitol purposes, the State has disposed of some of the property and has received therefor the sum of \$4,625. The remaining land in the possession of the State is in the area of oil production and in addition to the 650 acres of land, the capitol site, and the \$100,000 in cash, the State has received to this date from royalties on the capitol lands, the sum of \$4,265,828.79.

In other words, the State has received from the citizens of Oklahoma City (1) the State Capitol site consisting of fif-

⁶ The property was conveyed to the State of Oklahoma by two separate deeds. The fifteen acres for the capitol building site and the governor's mansion site as selected by the State Capitol Commission on June 19, 1914 were conveyed by deed recorded in the office of the County Clerk on 12 December 1914 in Book 173, p. 640. The deed for the remaining properties was recorded February 12, 1915, Book 182, p. 248.

⁷ The Oklahoma State Capitol was completed by March, 1917. — "State Capitol Commission Record" in Notes and Documents, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1944), pp. 354-56.

teen acres on which the Capitol Building is located, (2) cash of \$100,000, (3) \$4,625 from the sale of lots included in the capitol donation, and (4) \$4,265,828.79 from royalties on the capitol lands, or total cash in the sum of \$4,370,453.79, as of September 4, 1945. The State still owns the lands donated, including the site on which is located the Governor's Mansion,⁸ in addition to the capitol site, less the acreage sold for the \$4,625.

All of which most certainly justifies the confidence which the State Capitol Building Company and its officers had in the represented value of the lands donated to the State, as contained in their original proposal. While production of oil has greatly enhanced the value of the lands donated and the income therefrom, yet the original 650 acres of land had a value of at least one million dollars at the time of its donation.

⁸ Governor Henry S. Johnson was the first resident of the Governor's Mansion, having moved into the recently completed residence in September, 1928.

THE MAKING OF GRANT'S "PEACE POLICY"

*By Henry E. Fritz**

"The "Peace Policy" of the Grant administration was one phase of a Protestant crusade which reached a climax with the passage of legislation looking to the solution of the American Indian problem in the West. It was established through Protestant influence in order to clear the Great Plains for white settlement and to undertake Indian assimilation in a period when public opinion was against legislative reform favoring the Indian. The men who sought government adoption of the policy were aware of the enormity of the task. Their plan was practical. Contrary to the accepted view, the "Peace Policy" in American Indian affairs was not "a product of confusion regarding the proper course to pursue"¹ but an intelligent attempt, in view of adverse circumstances, to deal with complex problems that were associated with the settlement of the western frontier in America.

Sentiment among white settlers was prejudiced against Indians belonging to the "wild tribes" of the Plains leaving no room for acceptance of a plan to incorporate them within American society. Whatever his merits, the Indian was looked upon as a nuisance in the white community. With such a view in the West and with the people in the East largely unconcerned, Congress was neither disposed to appropriate the funds necessary to teach reservation Indians the "white man's way" nor to consider the question of developing a new policy.

Life for the Indian had become desperate. His people were decreasing rapidly from disease, intemperance, war and starvation. The policy of the Federal government had not kept up with changing conditions, for it would soon be impossible to remove

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¹ Loring Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren* (New Brunswick, 1942), p. 183. Elsie M. Rushmore, *The Indian Policy during Grant's Administration* (Jamacia, N.Y., 1914) gives the churches much credit for the work which they undertook. In preparing this article, the author has made extensive use of the Annual Report of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs and of the Secretaries of Interior and War.

the tribes beyond the limits of frontier settlement. The intrusion of white men was breaking down their self-government. Intercourse laws of the United States proved inadequate on the borders of the reserves. The Indian was caught as if in the jaws of a huge vice which pressed upon him from the Pacific region as it did from the prairie plains of the Middle West. Squeezed by the more stable and respectable elements of white society bearing down from opposite directions and robbed, harassed, and confounded by fugitive fragments in their van, the destruction of the cultures of the last great tribes in the mountains and on the plains required nearly three decades.

Because Congress refused to recognize the inadequacy of past policy, conscientious and competent administrators of Indian affairs, whether in Washington or in the field, were left to deal with the problem as best they could. Provisions in treaties for teachers, farmers, blacksmiths and carpenters who were to guide the tribes in civilized ways became more and more common. These personnel took up residences on the reservations and were under the supervision of the agents.

Commissioner Willian P. Dole stated in 1863 that this approach was correct in theory but admitted that it had glaring weaknesses in application. He observed that the inherent weaknesses were not so apparent while reservations remained beyond the limits of settlement, but that from the moment these were surrounded by white immigrants, the consequences would be disastrous to the Indians. A year earlier, the Commissioner had expressed regret that the comparatively insignificant holdings which had been set aside for tribal occupation in the wide country west had become objects of the white man's cupidity. The Indian was looked upon by the white immigrants as a worthless obstacle, and he was therefore subjected to all kinds of "wrongs, insults, and petty annoyances," which in the aggregate meant tragedy for the tribes. When the white man did him an injury, reparation was not usually obtainable; on the other hand, Indian crimes against members of the white race were swiftly punished, the whole tribe often being made to bear the weight of the punishment.

The need for a new legal code governing relations among Indians on reservations, and their relations with the neighboring white population was apparent. A Federal law governing crimes committed by whites in the Indian country, except in those cases where the tribe had been granted authority by treaty to mete out justice in its own way, had been on the statute books since 1817. But who was to bear witness in those instances where the law was applicable? The settler whose fingers itched for a deed to Indian land? The miner who longed for the mineral wealth that lay beneath it? Except in liquor cases, Indians were not

allowed to serve as witnesses. A white jury was usually prejudiced and not likely to convict the culprits who were unfortunate enough to be placed on trial. State and territorial courts had no jurisdiction in litigation arising on the reservations that involved the relations of Indians and whites, or of Indians with Indians.² Obviously, the correction of such abuses was wholly the responsibility of the Federal government.

Fraud had become a serious problem and drained away the meager Indian appropriations allowed by Congress. The term "Indian Ring" was used to describe a corrupt group which had become interested in the Indian for purposes of private gain. Cliques oftentimes developed where there happened to be an Indian reservation or an opportunity to profit from Indian annuities. Generally, there were three principal figures involved: the contractor or trader, the agent, and the politician. The three were interdependent. The politician used his influence to install the agent who in turn selected a contractor willing to share in the tribal annuities which were often paid in cash. Appointments for the Office of Indian Agent were approved by the President and then confirmed in the Senate. Senate approval was usually given a candidate who had been recommended through political channels in the state or territory in which he sought assignment. There was no competition in the purchase of supplies at the agencies since a single contractor or firm was given a monopoly of the trade. When the more stable elements of the white community arrived in great numbers, they demanded the removal of the Indians. As a result, agencies were often located in distant places where they were not subject to scrutiny either by a conscientious and intelligent public or by the Indian Bureau at Washington. The Indians were usually too backward to protect themselves from imposition, and had no means of publicizing dishonesty when they recognized it. Furthermore, the Indian bought on credit. Who was to prove at payment time whether the trader had really supplied the goods for which he presented vouchers?

Beginning in 1859, a series of letters from Episcopal Bishop Henry B. Whipple at Faribault, Minnesota, to the presidents of the United States and to the heads of the Indian Bureau, pled for an end to political appointments. Whipple was the most influential of the Protestant reformers, and some of his proposals became a part of the "Peace Policy." He is representative of the fact that, contrary to accepted opinion, the reform movement did not originate among sentimental easterners who had never seen an Indian. For the most part, it grew out of the pleas of eastern citizens who moved to the western frontier,

²Felix S. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Washington, 1942), pp. 146, 364-5.

lived in close association with the Indians, and were shocked by the fraudulent and indifferent administration of their affairs. Generally these reformers had one characteristic in common: a genuine sympathy for all humanity motivated by a deep-rooted Christian philosophy.

As Whipple saw it, "Every employee ought to be a man of purity, temperance, industry, and unquestioned integrity." He suggested that the government establish legal machinery on the reservations and provide a United States commissioner with power to try violators of Federal Indian legislation. The tribes should be concentrated on large reserves in order to protect them better from "fire water" and the "corrupt influence of bad men." Tribal annuities should be paid in goods rather than in cash; aid given in the building of houses; good schools provided; agricultural implements supplied; and land distributed individually to tribal members with inalienable patents.³

The Bishop was aware of the need to abandon the past policy of dealing with the tribes as semi-independent nations. Indians should be regarded as wards and prepared for assimilation in white society. Justice and protection from degenerate influences were essential to their becoming useful citizens of the United States.

In November, 1862, Whipple enlisted the services of Senator Henry M. Rice, and through him presented to President Lincoln a memorial which carried the signatures of eighteen bishops of the Episcopal Church. They asked for the appointment of a "commission of men of high character, who have no political ends to subserve," that should be given the responsibility for devising a more perfect system for administering Indian affairs. The President was impressed with the document and called the attention of Congress to the subject in his annual message: "I submit for your special consideration whether our Indian system shall not be remodeled. Many wise and good men have impressed me with the belief that this can be profitably done."⁴

Once the Civil War was over Congress acted by setting up a joint special committee of both Houses to inquire into the condition of the tribes. The Congressmen and Senators themselves visited several reservations in the western country but refused to admit that there was something wrong with the time-worn

³ Henry B. Whipple to President Lincoln, March 6, 1862, Whipple Letter Book, 1861-1864. The Whipple Papers are held by the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul.

⁴ Rice to Whipple, November 19 and 27, 1862, Whipple Papers, Box 3; James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1907), Vol. 6, p. 132.

policy for administering Indian affairs. After nearly two years of work it was decided that Indian troubles were caused by abuses in the established system.⁵

Whipple's efforts in behalf of the Indians won the support of William Welsh, an Episcopalian merchant of Philadelphia. Both men understood that the test of any policy would be made in the field. Working together in 1866, they succeeded in having a bill introduced in Congress which provided for boards of inspection selected from candidates nominated by the various religious denominations. All the tribal reservations from Michigan westward would be included within five districts with a board responsible for each district. The inspectors would make annual visits to the agencies, examine accounts, try violators of the law, remove delinquent agents, and make recommendations for improvement of the service. While this measure did not pass until 1873, and then in a modified form, it was endorsed immediately by the Society of Friends, and the fight over the measure produced an alliance between the Quaker and Episcopal churches which was essential in the inauguration of the "Peace Policy."⁶

The government began to make contracts in 1865 with the various missionary societies for the maintenance of Indian schools for teaching agricultural and mechanical arts. This was a continuance of a plan for Federal aid to Indian education begun with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as early as 1818. The Chief Clerk of the Indian Office reported in 1825, that there were thirty-eight denominational schools east of the Mississippi River, and in Arkansas and Missouri, through which the government expended its Indian civilization fund amounting only to \$13,550. Commissioner William Medill had written in 1847 that, "In every system which has been adopted for promoting the cause of education among the Indians, the Department has found its most efficient and faithful auxiliaries . . . in the societies of the several Christian denominations." Federal aid had been provided for academic education. Now in the post Civil War period, the Government was seeking the cooperation of missionary groups in its program of vocational instruction.⁷

⁵ Senate Executive Document No. 156, 39th Congress 2nd Session (1867), pp. 8-9.

⁶ B. Hallowell to Whipple, May 31, 1866, Whipple Papers, Box 4; *Congressional Globe*, March 19, 1866, pp. 485-6.

⁷ Report of Elisha Parker, Superintendent of Friends' Manual Labor School at Friends' Mission, Kansas, July 1, 1865, and James Harlan, Secretary of Interior, to D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 27, 1866, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received; Cooley to Reverend S. B. Treat, Secretary of American Board Commissioners Foreign Missions, September 13, 1866, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent. These Documents are held by the National Archives.

This approach to the problem may be explained by the fact that the men who ran the Indian Bureau through most of this decade were churchmen. Among these, were William P. Dole, James Harlan, Orville H. Browning, and Nathaniel G. Taylor. They were of the opinion that many of the difficulties that complicated Indian affairs could be alleviated through the application of Christian principles, and through the moral influence of Christian men who ought to be placed in direct contact with the tribes of the western reservations.

George Hyde has remarked that by 1865 Indian matters were controlled in Washington by visionaries with their heads in the clouds who based their policy on the doctrine that, "the Indians were always in the right and the frontier white population always in the wrong, that the Indians were good people who would never cause trouble if dealt with in a Christian spirit of kindness and forbearance." Hyde has written that, "these humanitarians and idealists were quite unconscious of the fact that a great crisis had come in the Plains region, where the tribes were determined to oppose any further encroachment on their lands and the whites were firmly bent on opening up the region to settlement."⁸ This is an overstatement.

Commissioner Dole wrote in his annual report for 1861 that the good effects which were derived through the presence of missionaries among the tribes could more easily be imagined than described. His enthusiasm about this would lead one to think that the Indians could not avoid adaptation to the "white man's ways" in a short time. Within three years, Dole's optimism had given way to sober reflection upon the many difficulties which grew out of contact between the two races. He not only admitted that his efforts to define a new policy were incomplete, but declared "Indian civilization" the most perplexing of all political problems. His successor, D. N. Cooley, said in 1866 that the Indian troubles had continually increased as white population crowded westward, and Commissioner Taylor applied the term "crisis" to this situation in 1867.⁹

James Harlan, twice president of Iowa Wesleyan College and an active Methodist all of his life, was Secretary of the Interior in 1865. He believed that the churches could be of great aid to the Indian service by supplying a needed moral influence as well as vocational instructors. Yet he was not an idealist since his concern was that the Indians should not become a perpetual burden to the white community by reason of their growing wants. Harlan had no mistaken notions of Indian goodness for he had

⁸ George Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1937), pp. 136-7.

⁹ Report on Indian Hostilities, Senate Exec. Doc. No. 13, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 5.

been reared on the Iowa frontier and spoke of their "perfidious conduct" in having made unprovoked war upon the United States in 1861. His successor, O. H. Browning, was of the opinion that the Indians were fully capable of adopting the white man's culture and that Christianity ought to be the crowning influence. It would take time, but, "The arts of civilization . . . slowly displaced the primitive tastes and habits of our own race." He designed to teach the Indians habits of industry after they had been gathered upon reservations. In the transitional period, it was "more humane and economical to subsist Indians than to fight them." The frontier had characteristics which severely limited the application of this plan, but in terms of 20th Century history of Indian affairs, Browning's "vision" now looks like foresight.

The crisis which had come on the Plains meant war. Hostilities led to Chivington's butchery of the Cheyenne and Arapaho at Sand Creek near Fort Lyon, Colorado, in November 1864. The Indians sought revenge during the winter by raiding ranches and mail stations in the Platte Valley. This outbreak had become so serious by the spring of 1865 that eight thousand U. S. troops were withdrawn from the effective force, then engaged in the final phase of the Civil War, and sent against these Plains tribes. In October, Generals William Harney and John Sanborn, accompanied by William Bent, Kit Carson, Jesse Leavenworth and James Steele, met tribal representatives on the Little Arkansas River in Kansas and concluded a treaty of peace. The Cheyenne and Arapaho agreed to exchange their southeastern Colorado reservation for one in southern Kansas and in the Indian Territory between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers. A line from the mouth of Buffalo Creek on the Cimarron due north to the Arkansas was the western boundary. The object was to remove the tribes from the Colorado region which was invaded by a host of prospective miners at the close of the Civil War.¹⁰

¹⁰ Report of the Indian Peace Commission, House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 40th Cong., 1st Sess. (1868), Vol. 2, p. 495; Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), Vol. II, p. 887. (It is an interesting note in the history of the Cheyenne and Arapaho in Oklahoma that the reservation assigned by the Treaty of the Little Arkansas, 1865, was temporary and one in name only, the Treaty providing that no part of the reservation should be in Kansas and that the President should designate other lands for the two tribes as soon as practicable. The Treaty at Medicine Lodge, 1867, describes another Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation lying south of the Kansas boundary in the Indian Territory, between the Arkansas and the Cimarron rivers. This area covered a large part of the Cherokee Outlet, to which the two tribes objected, contending it was too near the people of Kansas to the north and, on the east, too near the Osages who were their hereditary enemies. Another reservation in lieu of this was established by Executive order of President Grant, August 10, 1869, the large tract lying in western Indian Territory between the south boundary of the Cherokee Outlet (a line co-inciding with the present south boundary of Woodward

Frontier editors who clamored in their newspapers for extermination of the Indians were unrealistic. As Secretary Harlan pointed out, "The military operations of last summer have not occasioned the immediate destruction of more than a few hundred Indian warriors. Such a policy is manifestly as impracticable as it is in violation of every dictate of humanity and Christian duty." Financial considerations forbade such a plan since it was estimated that the maintenance of each regiment of troops engaged in warfare with Plains Indians entailed an expenditure of approximately \$2,000,000 per annum. In the interest of economy, Congress was intent upon reducing the Army to a skeleton force.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho treaty was scarcely signed when troubles arose in another quarter. News spread that the Government intended to build the Powder River Road in response to the demands of Montana citizens for a cheaper transportation link with their territory. This triggered a war with the Sioux. The route, from the Oregon Trail along the North Platte River through the rolling foothills of the Big Horn Mountains to Bozeman, was a threat to the game of that region. Hostilities lasting two years reached a climax in December 1866, when Captain W. J. Fetterman went in pursuit of an Indian war party which had attacked a wood cutting detail near Fort Phil Kearney. Fetterman along with his entire company of eighty men was slaughtered. This victory spurred the Sioux to greater action, and their attacks became furious. Forts Reno, Phil Kearney, and C. F. Smith, meant to protect the new road, were virtually under siege by the spring of 1867.¹¹ To make matters worse, trouble recurred with the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The cause was obvious. In April, hoping to overawe these tribes and thus prevent an expected outbreak of hostilities, the military command of General W. S. Hancock had found them camped on the Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas River and had burned two hundred of their lodges along with one hundred belonging to the Sioux.

Because the Army was compelled to muster all volunteers out of service by the end of 1866 and because the Cavalry was especially short handed, the Western Commander, General William T. Sherman, was willing that peace commissioners should be

County, Oklahoma] and the boundary of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation southwest. Brinton Darlington was the Quaker Agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho [1869-72]. The Agency was called Darlington, and became a noted center in Western Oklahoma, a site located on the old Chisholm Trail three miles north of present El Reno, in Canadian County—Ed.)

¹¹ This Fort Reno was on the Powder River, Fort Phil Kearney lay farther north being 223 miles from Fort Laramie on the Oregon Trail, and Fort C. F. Smith was on the Big Horn River where the Powder Road swung westward around the northern end of the Big Horn Mountains toward Bozeman.

sent among the hostile bands to induce the peaceably inclined to settle upon reservations. This was wholly a matter of strategy for, as Sherman wrote, it would "simplify the game." His concern was that the area between the Arkansas and the Platte should be cleared of Indians. It made little difference whether they were coaxed onto reservations or killed.¹²

Under pressure from both the military and the humanitarian group, Congress passed a bill on July 20, 1867 providing for the appointment of a commission of military and civilian personnel to make peace with the Plains tribes. The causes of conflict were to be resolved by treaty. The Commissioners were to select one or more large districts where all Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, who did not reside on reservations, could concentrate. Such districts should not be near the main thoroughfares of travel, particularly the routes of the Union Pacific, the Northern Pacific, and the proposed Atlantic and Pacific railroads. If the Commissioners failed to secure peace, the Secretary of War might accept the services of four thousand mounted volunteers from the states and territories for the purpose of ending hostilities by force.¹³

The Army was represented on this Commission by four officers of top rank: Lieut. General W. T. Sherman and Brevet Major Generals William S. Harney, Alfred H. Terry, and C. C. Augur. The other members were Nathaniel G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Senator John B. Henderson, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs; General John B. Sanborn, who had won recognition as a commander of volunteers during the Civil War; and Colonel Samuel F. Tappan, a reform-minded Congregationalist from New England, who had won his rank as a Colorado volunteer.

This Commission met in August 1867 at St. Louis for a preliminary conference. The members moved to adopt a plan similar to one proposed by General Sherman in November of the previous year and elaborated upon by Commissioner Taylor in response to a Senate resolution of July 8 seeking advice on the question. This plan was to concentrate the Sioux, the Crow, and some others in the area north of Nebraska and west of the Missouri River, and to place the southern plains tribes (Arapaho, Cheyenne, Commanche, Kiowa, and Apache) in the western section of the Indian Territory. The object was to clear Kansas and Nebraska of hostile Indians where the pressure of frontier population was the greatest. On paper, at least, the treaties of Medicine Lodge and Fort Laramie accomplished this. An agreement was made with the Sioux only on condition that the United

¹² Letters from Sherman at Fort McPherson, Nebraska to Secretary of War Stanton, June 17, 1867, Bur. Ind. Aff., Ltrs. Rec'd.

¹³ 15 U. S. Stat., pp. 17-18.

States stop building the Powder River Road and that the three forts which guarded it near the Big Horn Mountains be abandoned. In addition to gathering the respective tribes upon reservations in the above named districts, these treaties provided that each Indian was eventually to obtain a separate allotment of land, and that the Government should furnish clothing, agricultural implements, mills, schools or mission houses, agency buildings and other essentials necessary to promote self-sustaining habits.¹⁴

Commissioner Taylor, who served as President of this delegation, had been a preacher. He was a graduate of Princeton and is said to have possessed great powers of oratory. In his absence for the work of the Peace Commission in 1867, his annual report was written by Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Mix. It is likely that Taylor wrote the report of the Peace Commission and persuaded the Generals to sign it. The tone of that document is such that it could not have come from the pen of any one of the military officers. With reference to the situation of the Cheyenne and Arapaho prior to the Treaty of 1861 signed at Fort Wise in southeastern Colorado, the report reads as follows:¹⁵

These Indians saw their homes and hunting grounds overrun by a greedy population, thirsting for gold. They saw their game driven east to the plains, and soon found themselves the objects of jealousy and hatred. They too must go. The presence of the injured is too often painful to the wrong-doer, and innocence offensive to the eyes of guilt. It now became apparent that what had been taken by force must be retained by the ravisher, and nothing was left for the Indian but to ratify a treaty consecrating the act.

Such remarks together with others suggesting a policy of conquering with kindness and doing "good to them that hate us" were the product of a mind schooled in Biblical thought. The Generals would hardly have expressed such sympathy for the Indian warriors who had proven worthy opponents of the United States Army. Nevertheless, their signatures are evidence that they were not adverse to part of the content. It was not a case of "hard-headed realists" duped by dreamy-eyed humanitarians. The military men were sensible; some were even humanitarian after the Indians had been defeated. They were disposed to give benevolent proposals a trial because there was no possibility of subduing the enemy with naked force.

¹⁴ Report on Indian Hostilities, Senate Exec. Doc. No. 13, 40th Cong., 1st Sess. (1867), pp. 17-18; Kappler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 977-89, 998-1015. The treaties with the southern tribes were signed at Medicine Lodge Creek about seventy-five miles south of Fort Larned in Kansas October 21, 1867. The stream empties into the Salt Fork of the Arkansas River. The treaties with the Sioux, the Crow, the Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho were signed at Fort Laramie on the North Platte River in Dakota Territory between April 29 and May 10, 1868.

¹⁵ House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 2, pp. 489 and 493.

The Commissioners expressed a desire for a speedy settlement of all the western territories and for the development of their agricultural and mineral wealth "by an industrious, thrifty, and enlightened population." They understood that the Indians could not be allowed to stand in the way of these aims, but they challenged "the purity and genuineness of that civilization which reaches its ends by falsehood and violence, and dispenses blessings that spring from violated rights." As provided by Congressional act, the honor of the nation demanded that one or more districts should be set aside for the occupation of the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains. A territorial government should be set up in each district. If a strong military government were needed in the beginning, it should be accepted. The governor should have integrity and his salary should be sufficient to place him above temptation. Congress would establish courts and other institutions best suited to the condition of the Indian tribes. Agriculture and the mechanic arts should be introduced as rapidly as possible. Schools should be established and the children required to attend. Common use of the English language would diminish the prejudices of tribe against tribe. "The annuities should consist exclusively of domestic animals, agricultural implements, clothing, and such subsistence only as is absolutely necessary to support them in the earliest stages of the enterprise." After some progress was made in their instruction, "each head of a family should be encouraged to select and improve a homestead." The women should be taught sewing, knitting, and weaving. All this work could be furthered by the influence and aid of missionary associations and benevolent societies whose representatives would come and live among the tribes.

Many of the bands might not willingly confine themselves to these districts but in a short time the buffalo would disappear and starvation would compel them to abandon their nomadic ways. In the meantime a new generation reared on the reservations would adapt to the white man's culture and would have a restraining influence upon those who preferred to remain warlike. Progress would be slow, but that was no excuse for shirking an attempt to solve the Indian problem. A quarter of a century was the estimate of the Commissioner's report.

The Commissioners recognized that an obstacle to peace was the unwillingness of frontier people and of railroad builders to respect the provisions of Indian treaties. They also understood that the reform of the Indian service required more than the establishment of two major reservations in the Plains region. They suggested a thorough revision of the Indian intercourse laws; the creation of a separate Indian Department and the extension of the Commission's powers so that they might con-

tinue to meet with those tribes professing peace and persuade them to come within the land reserves that had been selected. In addition, they recommended remodeling of the trading system; discontinuance of the practice of employing territorial governors as ex-officio superintendents; and inspection of agency business so that dishonest and incompetent personnel might be discovered and discharged.

By 1873, the recommendations had been adopted, with the exception of those having to do with revision of the intercourse laws, a separate Indian Department, and extension of the Commissioners' powers. It was tragic that the points which would have constituted to a large extent the inauguration of an enlightened Indian policy were rejected. A thorough revision of the intercourse laws would have involved a clear definition of the rights and duties of civilian and military personnel in the Indian service. Creation of a separate Indian Department would have fixed the responsibility for Indian administration upon a single individual in the Government and would have relieved the Secretary of the Interior of a work load which was already too great. It would have raised Indian matters to a higher level of prestige before both Congress and the Country. Extension of the Commission's powers to bring all the peaceful tribes within the proposed districts might have implied Congressional acceptance of the scheme for the control and their instruction. Certainly it would have carried with it an obligation to feed those who were confined. This would have entailed the appropriation of large sums of money and still larger sums if the entire program which the Commissioners had advocated were written into law, to say nothing of innumerable hours of committee work. Generally speaking, congressmen were unwilling to accept such responsibility.

Moreover, steps taken in both the House and Senate early in 1870 to provide a government for the Indian Territory were discouraged by the vociferous opposition of the Choctaws and the Cherokees. These tribes regarded territorial government as a curse which would impose the absolute rule of foreigners and make them the prey of politicians and land speculators. To stop this movement they borrowed a phrase from the Declaration of Independence and wrote that to displace the General Council of the Five Civilized Tribes by instituting a territorial government would violate not only the treaties concluded with them in 1866, but also "the laws of nature and of nature's God!"¹⁶

¹⁶ Resolution on Expediency of Establishing a Territorial Government over Certain Tribes. House Miscellaneous Document No. 21, Vol. 1, Consolidation of Indian Tribes, Senate Report No. 131, Memorial of the Choctaw Nation, Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 90: Petitions of the Cherokee Tribes, House Mis. Doc. No. 76, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess.

Intelligent recommendations without Congressional support were useless. Secretary Browning warned in his report for 1868 that the provisions in the treaties concluded by the Commissioners would not be worth the paper on which they were written unless Congress made sufficient appropriations for their execution. A year and a half later, Secretary Cox stated that the Government had defaulted on its obligations because the House of Representatives refused to be bound by those engagements. Colonel Stanley wrote from Dakota that the friendly Sioux at the Cheyenne and Grand River Agencies were anxious to farm and that their chiefs had inquired of him where all the provisions were which had been promised by the treaty concluded at Fort Rice two years earlier. From nearly every quarter, and especially with reference to the compacts made by the Peace Commissioners, there came reports that the Indians were dangerously unquiet and that they were upbraiding the Government for its breach of faith.¹⁷

During the spring and early summer of 1868, the Agent for the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho received supplies for the subsistence of his Indians, but later in the season provisions ran out and no more arrived. The treaty with the two tribes, like the one with the Kiowa and Comanche, allowed tribal hunting outside the bounds of their reservation south of the Arkansas River as long as the buffalo were numerous enough to justify the chase. The Peace Commissioners had promised to supply arms and ammunition for this purpose.¹⁸ When arms were not forthcoming in time of need, some of the wilder spirits among the Cheyenne and Arapaho were angered and when the belated rifles and cartridges were handed out by the Agent in August, they spent their anger by raiding the white settlements of the Saline Valley in Kansas. This was the last straw for General Sherman. He considered that the Cheyenne and Arapaho had violated the Treaty of Medicine Lodge and had begun outrages in a war without provocation. While he admitted that some of the Indians had not committed atrocities, the General declared that all of the Cheyennes and Arapahos were at war because the peaceable members had not restrained the hostile group and they had not turned the criminals over to the Agent as agreed. He maintained that the time had come to settle the question of Indian hostilities with a single strike. Never before had the government been in such an advantageous position to destroy or humble

¹⁷ Message on Indian Treaties, Senate Exec. Doc. No. 57, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 2, pp. 2-4; D. S. Stanley to E. S. Parker, February 20, 1870, Bur. Ind. Aff., Ltrs. Rec'd.

¹⁸ E. W. Wynkoop to S. F. Tappan, October 5, 1868, House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 2, p. 836. Further evidence that the Commissioners made such promises, though not included in the Treaties, is Stanley's letter cited above and the *New York Times*, October 16, 1868.

the marauding Indian bands. After allowing the peaceable members of the tribes a reasonable time to withdraw, he would solicit an order from the President, declaring all Indians residing outside the bounds of their reservations outlaws, and directing both soldiers and citizens to proceed against them as such.¹⁹ This was but a repetition of the plan which Sherman had advocated in November, 1866, proposing the establishment of two districts, one north of the Platte and west of the Missouri, and the other south of the Arkansas and east of Fort Union, into which the tribes must either go or perish. General Sherman's interest was to make the Central Plains safe for travel and for homestead settlement. His proposed strategy won the approval of General Grant.

Whether or not the Indians of the Southern Plains were given an opportunity to get within their reservations before the troops struck is of little importance. It was futile to ask starving people to reside at agencies which had no means for their subsistence. The Kiowa and Comanche, who late in September were still at peace, had been assembled on the Arkansas for several months awaiting the arrival of their annuities. They were destitute and the Agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes predicted that they could not avoid being involved in the hostilities. The Agent was right. The tribes were forced to hunt and the troops did not distinguish a friendly Indian from a hostile. In a short time the United States was at war with nearly all of the wild tribes of the Southern Plains.

In the meantime the members of the Peace Commission, with the exception of Senator Henderson, reconvened in Chicago and on October 9, 1868, adopted a set of resolutions which were sent to the President and to Congress. With General Sanborn voting on the side of the regular Army officers and with moral support from General Grant, who was present, the military had their way. They made several recommendations: Arrangements should be made at once to feed, clothe and protect all Indians of the Plains who currently resided or should in the future locate permanently on their respective reservations. Indian treaties should remain in force only in those cases where the tribes restricted themselves to the boundaries therein described. The government should cease to recognize the tribes as domestic, dependent nations except as it might be required to do so by treaties already in existence. Thereafter all Indians should be individually subject to and protected by the laws of the United States "except where . . . it is otherwise provided in . . . treaties." Those clauses in the treaties made at Medicine

¹⁹ Sherman letter, September 17, 1868, accompanying Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 2, pp. 536-7.

Lodge in 1867 which allowed the Indians to hunt outside of their reserves should be declared void. The Army should be employed to compel Indians to go upon reservations. And the Indian Bureau should be transferred to the War Department.²⁰

Colonel Tappan was the most vigorous opponent of the military. He introduced a counter resolution to the effect that only the guilty among the Cheyenne and Arapaho ought to be punished. He held that the United States was certainly not justified in declaring war upon the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches who appeared at that moment to be in flight. He maintained that the Indians had done nothing which warranted the annulment of their treaties, and that those who were peaceful should be protected at all hazards. Only Tappan voted in the affirmative on this; Commissioner Taylor stood with him in favor of an independent Indian Department. Still the advocates of the "kid glove" policy were overwhelmed by a vote of five to two. The Generals, including Grant, were of one mind. They sought a practical solution to the problem of ending hostilities. Questions of justice and morality which complicated it must be put aside. Grant spoke for them when he said, "that the settlers and emigrants must be protected, even if the extermination of every Indian tribe was necessary to secure such a result."²¹

By 1868, there were two major schools of thought about Indian assimilation. General Sherman was representative of the one which wanted to acculturate the nomads of the Plains at the point of the bayonet. Because the Indians must be forced to work, this military school held that they should be managed by those best qualified to use force. Hence, the Bureau of Indian Affairs belonged within the Department of War.²² Commissioner Taylor represented the humanitarian school which wanted to coax the Indians upon reservations and send Christian teachers to prepare them for life in Anglo-American society. Indian affairs should remain under the supervision of the Department of the Interior until a separate Indian Department were created.

After Grant had been elected, but before he took office, the representatives of seven yearly meetings of the Society of Friends met in Baltimore and prepared a memorial. It was based upon the most informative documents available, including the reports of the Joint Special Committee of Congress on the condition of the Indian tribes and of the Indian Peace Commission dated 1867 and 1868. The Friends maintained that

²⁰ Resolutions of the Peace Commission, House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 2, pp. 831-2.

²¹ *New York Times*, October 11, 13, 16, 1868.

²² Sherman to Generals Sheridan, Hazen, and Grierson, December 23, 1868, House Exec. Doc. No. 240, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 2, p. 177.

military supervision was not the answer. Though some of the ranking officers might have both the character and competence to administer Indian matters, the association of common soldiers with the natives would cancel all of their beneficial efforts. Instead of returning the Indian Bureau to the War Department, the Friends would give it a separate status as provided in a bill then before the Senate. By such a law, the tribes could be consolidated, civilized and governed. "Let the effort be made in good faith to promote their education, their industry, their morality. Invite the assistance of the philanthropic and Christian effort which has been so valuable an aid in the elevation of the freedmen, and render it possible for justice and good example to restore that confidence which has been lost by injustice and cruelty."²³

With the Memorial in hand, the Baltimore conference proceeded to Washington where the members met with various influential officials, but their outstanding achievement was an audience with General Grant on January 25, 1869. The President elect could have thought himself the object of a Quaker assault because on the following day he was visited by another group of Friends from Philadelphia. The result of this lobbying was that on February 15 Grant's *aide de camp*, Brevet Brigadier General E. S. Parker, addressed letters to both the Orthodox and Hicksite organizations, asking them to supply lists of names of persons whom they would endorse as suitable candidates for the office of Indian Agent. Parker also assured them that any efforts on their part to educate, Christianize or to improve the condition of the Indians would receive from General Grant all the encouragement and protection warranted by the laws of the United States.²⁴

What the Friends had won from Grant was a concession to conduct an experiment. While the General was very cordial and considerate of their views, he was not convinced nor did he intend to fill a large number of agency posts with Quakers. Both he and Parker, who became Commissioner of Indian Affairs, were too much in favor of military administration to allow such a conclusion. But neither had the Friends expected to be given the responsibility of selecting Agents. Benjamin Hallo-

²³ House Mis. Doc. No. 29, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 1. Evidence that Quaker reform effort was shifting from the Negro to the Indian after the Civil War is Jas. Harlan to O. H. Browning, November 2, 1867, enclosing Enoch Hoag to Harlan, October 28, 1867, and Memorial of Friends on Behalf of the Freedmen, December 14, 1865, with commentary by Hoag thereon, Bur. Ind. Aff., Ltrs. Rec'd.

²⁴ Rayner W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917* (Philadelphia, 1917), p. 167. Ely Parker was a Seneca Indian and the grandson of Chief Red Jacket of the Wolf Clan. See *Appendix* for biographical notes on Ely S. Parker.



(From original photo, Oklahoma Historical Society)
 Quaker Agents, U. S. Indian Agencies, 1872. Standing back row, left to right: I. T. Gibson, Osage; Dr. Roberts, Shawnee; Supt. Enoch Hoag; Jonathon Richards, Wichita-Caddo; John Hadley, Sac and Fox; Lawrie Tatum, Comanche-Kiowa. Seated front row, left to right: Hiram W. Jones, Quapaw; John W. Miles, Kickapoo; B. Darlington, Cheyenne-Arapaho; Mahlon Stubbs, Kaw; Joel Morris, Potawatomi.

well stated that Parker's letter had caused him more anxiety than anything affecting the Hicksite Society in years. He was concerned that no members of the Friends should be placed in the Indian service without some safeguard against degenerate influences. For this reason he visited Washington on April 5, and proposed that the Government assign an entire superintendency to his Society giving it authority to appoint all of the employees from the Superintendent down. Appointment of Agents and Superintendents would of course be subject to the approval of the President and to confirmation by the Senate. The Society would take care to choose men whose chief concern was the Indian's welfare rather than the promotion of sectarian interests. All would be under the supervision of an executive committee of judicious members of the Friends' Society who were to serve without compensation from the government. Both the President and the Secretary of the Interior, J. D. Cox, received the proposition favorably and it was agreed that the Hicksite Friends should assume control of the Northern Superintendency which embraced the whole of Nebraska. On the same basis the Orthodox group was given the Central Superintendency, including all of the Indian tribes in Kansas and the Indian Territory with the exception of the Five Civilized Tribes.²⁵

Grant had not been won over to the Quaker point of view for he filled most of the agency posts with military officers. In his first annual message, while commending the experiment with Quaker agents, he said that Indian affairs could be more economically, more efficiently and more honestly managed by the military than by civilians. The President was apparently more concerned about the welfare of a large surplus of military personnel left over from the Civil War than he was about the well-being of the Indians. Even after attaching sixty officers to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Army still had one hundred and fifty-six for whom no position could be found.²⁶

But Grant had said in his inaugural address that he would favor any course toward the Indians which lent itself to "their civilization and ultimate citizenship." About March 20, William Welsh and Samuel Hinman, an Episcopalian missionary, to the Santee Sioux, spoke at a meeting in Philadelphia which was attended by a number of eminent Quakers. At Welsh's suggestion, they appointed a joint committee of the two churches

²⁵ Parker's Plan to Establish Peace with the Indians, House Mis. Doc. No. 37, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 1, p. 1; Hallowell to Whipple, April 6, 1869, Whipple Papers, Box 6.

²⁶ Richardson, *Messages*, Vol. 7, pp. 38-9; Annual Report of the General of the Army, Sherman, House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 2 pp. 26-7.

which proceeded to Washington. In an interview with the President and Secretary Cox, the Committee requested that the appropriations necessary to carry out the recent treaty with the Sioux be administered by a board of five citizens appointed by the Chief Executive and authorized to act jointly with the Secretary of the Interior. At this moment, the two Houses of Congress had reached a stalemate over the appropriations needed to execute all the treaties made by the Peace Commissioners, which made the mission of the Church Committee doubly important. Committee members talked with the most influential leaders in both the House and the Senate, and asked for \$3,000,000 to be used toward keeping the Indians at peace and for promoting self-sustaining habits among them. In other than financial terms, they received far more than they sought. On April 10, the annual Indian appropriation bill became law. Congress had provided \$2,000,000 for the purpose designated by the churchmen, and had authorized the President to organize a board of ten commissioners selected for their intelligence and philanthropy to exercise joint control with the Secretary of the Interior in the disbursement of the funds. The commissioners were to serve without pay but would be reimbursed for their expenses.²⁷

The significance of this act is better understood when two facts are pointed out: All the members of the Board which it created were nominated by the various religious denominations, and one of their major functions was to advise the Government of needed changes in Indian policy. At a conference held in Washington on May 26, 1869, the Board was asked to conduct an investigation and to make recommendations concerning all the issues which troubled Indian affairs.²⁸ In every respect, this church appointed body was the "commission of men of high character" with no political ends to serve, which Bishop Whipple had advocated since 1862.

Grant's early policy of appointing army officers as Indian agents failed when Congress passed a bill on July 15, 1870 forbidding military personnel to hold civil office. Besides the constitutional issue, the motive was a return to political appointments. Grant, under tremendous pressure, might have yielded to the politicians, but with support from the Board of Commissioners he stood firm and decided in favor of their plea that the agencies in question be awarded to the other Christian denominations on terms similar to those held by the Quakers.²⁹

²⁷ Richardson, *Messages*, Vol. 7, p. 8; Welsh to Whipple, March 26, 1869, Whipple Papers, Box 6; 16 U. S. Stat., p. 40.

²⁸ A. C. Barstow to Senator Dawes, February 13, 1881, Henry L. Dawes Papers, Library of Congress; E. S. Parker to Members of Board, May 26, 1869, Bur. Ind. Aff., Ltrs. Sent.

²⁹ 16 U. S. Stat., p. 319; Vincent Colyer to Reverend Anthon, June 25, 1870, Board of Indian Commissioners, Letters Sent, National Archives.

Each denomination appointed an Executive Committee on Indian Affairs and all nominations to the Indian service from the Agent down were subject to the approval of these Committees. The Executive Committees corresponded with the personnel under their jurisdiction and occasionally visited the Indians assigned to them for purposes of inspection. Once a year they sent representatives to Washington for a meeting with the Board of Indian Commissioners. This afforded an opportunity to discuss general problems and through that body to make the government aware of needed changes in administration or policy.

After the use of army officers as Indian agents had been forbidden by Congress, the President seems to have become more favorably disposed toward the work of the church. He assured William Welsh of his determination not to yield an inch to political or personal considerations in producing a thorough reform of the Indian service and pledged that the missionary effort to "civilize and christianize" the tribes would be sustained to the full extent of his authority. Grant's promise was kept. While the politicians fought vigorously at times for the return of their "prerogative," they did not achieve their object until after the close of his second administration.³⁰

Once Grant allowed the church extensive official participation in Indian administration, the essential character of the "Peace Policy" was established. It was strictly an administrative policy because Congress had, in effect, responded to the Protestant demand for reform by unloading the whole Indian problem upon the churches. The \$2,000,000 appropriation of April 10, 1869 was made for the purpose of keeping the Indians at peace, of bringing them upon reservations, and of encouraging their efforts at self-support. The representatives of two Protestant churches had asked for a similar appropriation, and these same churchmen had requested the appointment of a commission to supervise the expenditure of the funds for the Sioux. By the law of April 10, the President was empowered to create the Commission, but its authority was made as broad as the Indian question. Thus the Commissioners who were nominated by the Protestant churches were given the assignment of working out the details of a new system. This was a responsibility which the Indian Committees of the House and the Senate should have assumed.

Both military and religious opinions were taken into consideration in making the new policy. One of the most important documents which the Board reviewed as they searched for

³⁰ Welsh to Whipple, February 17, 1870, Whipple Papers, Box 8; William Welsh, *Report of a Visit to the Sioux and Ponka Indians on the Missouri River* (Washington, 1872), p. 36.

a solution was a letter written by General Alfred Sully from Dakota Territory in 1864, wherein he suggested the protection of peaceable Indians near military posts and their instruction by missionaries in the academic and vocational arts.³¹ The plan finally adopted did constitute a concession to the views of Sherman and Grant. For the Indians who would not consent to go upon reservations, it meant war to the last man. The following order was issued on June 29, 1869 by General Philip H. Sheridan who commanded the Military Division of the Missouri which embraced the entire Plains region:³²

All Indians when on their proper reservations are under the exclusive control and jurisdiction of their agents. They will not be interfered with in any manner by military authority, except upon requisition of the special agent resident with them, his superintendent, or the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington. Outside the well defined limits of their reservations they are under the original and exclusive jurisdiction of military authority. . . . All Indians . . . who do not immediately remove to their reservations, will be . . . treated as hostile, wherever they may be found, and particularly if they are near settlements or the great lines of communication.

By November 1871, these instructions had been extended to include the Military Division of the Pacific as well,³³ and throughout the remainder of Grant's term in office they were the basic tenet of Indian administration. Indians who did not go willingly to the reservations would either be driven there by force or exterminated in the process. Once on the reservation, the Christian agents and teachers could help them assimilate the white man's culture.

This policy was suggested by the Board of Indian Commissioners. One of the "peace" agents stated that it was established upon the Board's recommendation and certainly the first chairman of that body was capable of advising such a course. In a report on the Sioux in 1872, William Welsh encouraged the building of the Northern Pacific Railway, "as a military necessity, enabling the War Department to bring the lawless Indians of the North into subjection, and thus aid effectively the religious bodies charged with bringing Christian civilization to bear upon . . ." them.³⁴

Because western public opinion was opposed to constructive Indian legislation, allowing the military and the church to proceed according to their respective ideas, one outside and the other within the reservations, was the best that could be done.

³¹ Sully to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Northwest, October 7, 1864, Bd. Ind. Comm., Ltrs. Rec'd.

³² General Order No. 8, War Records, National Archives.

³³ General Order No. 10, November 21st, *ibid.*

³⁴ J. H. Stout to Vincent Colyer, December 6, 1871, Bd. Ind. Comm., Ltrs. Rec'd.; Welsh, *Report*, p. 28.

Francis Walker, who left the Census Bureau to become Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1871 and who understood the critical situation resulting from the rapid movement of population into the Plains region, called the policy "shrewd" for several reasons. It would place conflict between troops and Indians in the light of disciplinary action rather than of war. It would reduce the number of hostile Indians whom the Army must subdue. The use of the military arm would involve no abandonment of the efforts on the reservations to promote self-sustaining habits, but rather would serve to cultivate among the less enterprising tribesmen, who might harbour thoughts of returning to their old ways, a growing respect for the Government's power. Most important of all to the national welfare, it would entail the least possible danger to settlers on the plains who were subject to attack in the event of an Indian uprising.³⁵

The "Peace Policy" was constructed from the more practical ideas of individuals opposed to one another. Sherman and Grant argued unrealistically that the Indians could best be instructed in the arts of western civilization under the supervision of the Army. Military men, especially of the lower ranks, generally lacked the moral character, competence, interest, and patience which were necessary. Tappan and Taylor were idealistic in thinking that the tribes could be brought upon the reservations by civil agents because rebellious bands were certain to resist. The rapid advance of frontier population meant that hostile Indians must be removed at once. The Army was capable of driving them upon the reservations. The church had men and women who were qualified to teach their children. Under the "Peace Policy," the Government approached the Indians of mountain and plain with a "Sharp's Carbine in one hand and a Bible in the other."

³⁵ Francis A. Walker, "The Indian Question," *North American Review* Vol. 116 (April, 1873), pp. 350-6.

APPENDIX

Ely S. Parker was a Seneca born on the Tonawanda Reservation, New York, in 1828, the son of Chief William Parker of the Wolf Clan and his wife, a descendant of a Huron (Wyandot) captive. His Seneca name was *Hasanoanda* ("Coming to the Front") but when he became the eighth chief of the tribe, his name was changed and he was henceforth known by the official title of *Deionim* (*Hoga Wen*—"It holds the door open"). He was educated in academic subjects, graduated in law and later graduated in civil engineering from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute as civil engineer. He was employed as an engineer in the building of the Erie Canal, was chief engineer for the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal, and later was engineer in the building of the Marine Hospital at Galena, Illinois, where he became a close friend of Ulysses S. Grant whose home was in Galena. Parker joined the Union Army at the beginning of the War between the States, and rendered distinguished service as Captain in the Vicksburg campaign (1862-3).

This led to his appointment as a member of General Grant's staff, subsequently serving as General Grant's secretary. Parker's excellent handwriting and command of expression prompted the General to entrust his Indian secretary with his personal and official correspondence. In this capacity, Parker engrossed the articles of capitulation at the surrender of Robert E. Lee at Appomattox on April 9, 1865. On this same day, Ely S. Parker was commissioned Brigadier General of Volunteers. He resigned from the Army in 1869, and was soon appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, by President Grant. After his retirement in 1871, Parker held several different positions under the City government of New York, and at the time of his death at Fairfield, Connecticut, August 31, 1905, he was connected with the police department. Ely S. Parker was a close friend of Lewis H. Morgan, the noted ethnologist, and was an efficient co-worker in Morgan's great, authoritative work *League of the Ho-de- sau- hee or Iroquois* published in 1851.—Ed.

INDIAN-WHITE CULTURAL RELATIONS IN
SOUTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA

By Charles S. Brant*

The Ghost Dance is a familiar phenomenon to many students of the Indians of western North America. A nativistic, revivalistic religious movement, it arose in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century from the widespread unrest engendered by the settlement of white people in traditional Indian territories and the sudden, rapid change in the aboriginal Indian cultures. Once in existence, the Ghost Dance spread quickly among the Indians of western North America and was accepted in varying degrees in different tribes. Many excellent studies of these and related instances of cultural revivalism have been made, and it is unnecessary here to enter into a discussion of the diffusion and practice of such movements.¹ The present study examines the reactions to the Ghost Dance by white people in a limited area, southwestern Oklahoma, for which certain illuminating documentary data are available.² This material presents an interesting chapter in the history of contacts between the Indians

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¹ The interested reader may consult the following: James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (14th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., 1896, Part 2); Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance Religion of the 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Seattle, Wash., Vol. 2, No. 2, 1927); A. H. Gayton, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South-Central California* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Berkeley, Calif., Vol. 28, No. 3, 1930.)

² The source materials on which this paper is based consist of a file of letters exchanged among missionaries, local Indian Service personnel and the Office of Indian Affairs during the period 1910-1918, presently in the writer's possession. He is indebted to Mr. Parker McKenzie of Anadarko for his alertness in salvaging this material many years ago and bringing it to his attention during the course of field work in the area in 1948. Thanks are due Mr. Wade Head, then General Superintendent of the Western Oklahoma Consolidated Indian Agency at Anadarko, for permission to utilize the material for research purposes. For the field work opportunity, of which this paper is a partial result, the writer acknowledges the assistance of the Viking Fund, now the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Professor Morris E. Opler made helpful suggestions in the initial draft of this paper.

and the white people in the region and provides some insight into the attitudes of the latter toward Indian culture. These historical data may also assist us in understanding some Indian attitudes toward the white people, their institutions and ideas, and perhaps have important implications for other peoples and places at the present time.

This story begins with a letter written in the summer of 1910 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by a missionary among the Kiowa Indians. After some preliminary remarks disavowing any intention to criticize the government, the informant tells of a renewal of old customs among the Kiowa: "There is now a great revival of the old ways. There were many years in which we had no wild and crazy dancing. For the last month there have been many Cheyenne Indians camping and dancing for money and horses and other presents. They will take away from this tribe not less than two thousand dollars worth of presents."³

The informant continues at length to decry gambling, drinking and idleness on the part of the Indians and to assail the revival of their ceremonies as antithetical to "all that we have done in the way of an uplift." Also singled out for attack is what he calls the eating of "mescal."⁴ The letter continues: "Out of your schools these boys go at sixteen years of age and never come back. But soon they learn to eat mescal and go in every evil way. Mescal is the greatest curse we have. I say it without abridgment. I know what I am saying."⁵ The recommendation is made to the government that:⁶

There is a medicine that will help all these conditions. . . . Pay the good industrious Indians and hold the money of the bad until he

³ Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., July 27, 1910. The reference is to the "Give Away", a ceremonial presentation of gifts to the visitors by the host group sponsoring a dance.

⁴ The reference to mescal is undoubtedly in error, and is another instance of the common confusion of the mescal bean with peyote. The former is a bright red, roughly oval-shaped bean that grows in pods on a shrub or small tree not over ten feet high, sometimes called Mountain Laurel. The bean is narcotic in effect when eaten. Peyote, by contrast, is a small, cactus-like plant, the top of which is cut off and dried before being eaten. In this form it is commonly called a peyote "button." During the course of field work in the area, Indian informants insisted vigorously upon the distinction, being aware of the charge commonly made by opponents of the peyote religion that they are mescal eaters, which they deny. It is true that a pre-peyote, mescal bean cult existed in the Southern Plains region, which may have resulted in the carry over of the term mescal and its indiscriminate application to peyote. This whole matter has been treated fully in Weston La Barre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, 1938, Vol. 19, pp. 14-15 and p. 126 ff.)

⁵ Letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., July 27, 1910.

⁶ *Ibid.*

quits his meanness. I would not give a red cent to the Indian that eats mescal supper. . . . If they entertained and gave presents to these roaming bands of Indians, no money. Hit their pocket books and they will fall in line. It is a sin to give any of these people money. . . . I love the Indian but hate to see him permitted to ruin himself. My words are ended.

This letter indicates the source of complaint from the white people, the alleged evils, and makes recommendations for remedial action that became important. It is interesting, parenthetically, to notice that practical, materialistic means are urged in order to accomplish ends deemed lofty and idealistic.

About one month later, the Superintendent of the Kiowa Indian School at Anadarko was directed by the Office of Indian Affairs to make a complete investigation of the complaints and to report his findings to Washington within two weeks. In September, the Superintendent made his report, the substance of which was that the charges were true, although to a lesser extent than the missionary informant had indicated. The Superintendent pointed out that he had made strong efforts to persuade the Indians to limit the duration of their "Give Away" dance during the summer, and to make their gifts small; moreover, he advised that no lease payments would be made until the visiting Indians had departed. Certain parts of the report are significant in pointing out variation from the attitudes of some other white persons:⁷

It must be understood, however, that the customs of a lifetime cannot be changed within a few years. . . . a semi-civilized people do not look at these matters as we do and it is up to us to educate them along this line. . . . Force is out of the question. . . .

It must be expected that the Indians, during July and August, will move about more or less as they become restless during these hot months when the drought and hot winds are cutting down their crops. . . . We, in uplifting the Indian, must realize that it can be accomplished by degrees—with better results generation after generation.

The school superintendent was seemingly aware that peoples of different cultures view things in varying frames of reference, that the behavior of the Indians is understandable in terms of conditions and that cultural change is not likely to be effected by sudden or vindictive measures.

At this point, a gap exists in the record and the letters resume in the late summer of 1913. It may be judged, however, from the context, that in the period for which there is no written information the complaints against Indian ceremonies continued and efforts were made to discourage the Indians from engaging in them.

⁷ Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., September 12, 1910.

The story takes up again with a request from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Superintendent of the Kiowa School to furnish detailed information regarding Indian dances and related activities, so that a decision can be made on the Superintendent's request that the Commissioner address "a strong letter" to certain individual Indians. This request, signed by the Second Assistant Commissioner, states further that "it is the aim of the Office to do away with all the old time ceremonial dances but these have not been totally prohibited anywhere, except the sun dance or dances under other names which partake of its characteristics."⁸

To supply the Commissioner with detailed information, the Superintendent asked three missionaries to send him written descriptions based on their personal experiences of the Ghost Dance among the Kiowa. The same was asked of a Mexican living among the Kiowa who had been captured by them in his boyhood. The report of the latter is distinguished from the others by its matter-of-fact tone and mild disapproval of the Ghost Dance. The accounts by the missionaries are emotional and angry. The missionary informant quoted earlier in this paper is sure he can write without "bias or prejudice," and proceeds to condemn the Ghost Dance in terms of its "material, intellectual and moral" harmfulness. After thoroughly denouncing the Indians who participate, he identifies his purpose with that of the administrator in the following postscript:⁹

Now my brother I have given you my thought freely. And I am not unconscious of the thought that I have played into your hands; and you could use this letter to kill my influence among this people and cause them to hate me. But I have more respect for you than to think you would do that. It would not be soldier like to sell this brother who is fighting for the same cause in another company. You have the facts but you can keep the name from the Indians.

Another missionary reveals that his objection to the Ghost Dance lies in the features which depart from Christianity:¹⁰

At first the worship in these dances was directed to the Indian's conception of the Supreme God and to God's son, without intermediary, but later they lapsed into a crude form of Spiritualism with some Indian—man or woman—but principally the "High Priest", to go off into a "trance", visit God, and bring back a message for the devotees of the cult.

It is unnecessary to quote further from these reports; the general tenor is the same throughout all of them: strong condemnation in moralistic terms and agreement with the government policy of discouraging, if not outlawing, the dances and ceremonies.

⁸ Letter to the Superintendent of the Kiowa Indian School, August 29, 1913.

⁹ Letter to the Superintendent of the Kiowa Indian Agency, May 20, 1914.

¹⁰ Letter to the Superintendent of the Kiowa Indian Agency, May 27, 1914.

By the summer of 1914 letters were sent by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to prominent Indians concerned with the Ghost Dance, as a means of dissuading them from its continuance. The Superintendent of the Kiowa Agency was authorized to continue to refuse permission to hold the dance. A lack of understanding of the meaning of revivalistic religion to the Indians is shown in the exhortation to the leader of the Kiowa Ghost Dance group: "There is no possibility of the return to the wild life with an abundance of buffalo and game; therefore the very basis of this so-called religion is without foundation."¹¹ The virtues embodied in the Protestant Ethic are offered instead: "The only hope for the success and material welfare of the Indians lies in work, honest hard work, just as the best men in the world have done, and the idea of waiting and dancing around until the return of the old days . . . is not only foolish but a hindrance to industry and thrift."¹²

Apparently, no success resulted from efforts to persuade the Indians to give up the Ghost Dance. On July 1, 1915, a letter was dispatched by the Superintendent of the Kiowa Indian Agency in Anadarko to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in which he stated that the Indians intended to hold the Ghost Dance on July 4th, and that the dance was held in the preceding year despite the explicit withholding of permission by the Government authorities. The letter also indicated that the Indians had sought legal advice concerning their right to hold the ceremony and had advised the agent that they intended to proceed with the dance despite refusal of permission. The superintendent stated that "moral suasion" had not succeeded and that he was "anxious to ascertain what effect the withholding of annuity would have on the leaders of the Ghost Dance faction." Here, again, is the threat of economic sanctions, a measure, it will be recalled, which was initially suggested by the missionary informant.

No reply came in sufficient time for the superintendent to act on the basis of higher authority in connection with the July 4th dance. In a later communication to Washington his action is disclosed:¹³

As the time was short and, as I failed to receive a reply from the Office when the Indians called upon me a second time to know what they could do, I stated to them, plainly, that I had requested authority from the Office to hold up the annuities of the leaders of the ghost dance faction, and as soon as I broached this plan to them, I saw that I had conquered. Then they immediately began to offer a compromise. The Indians were already on the ground and I advised them

¹¹ Letter to leader of the Kiowa Ghost Dance, July 6, 1914.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., August 1, 1915.

that if they would hold the picnic on the following days—Sunday and Monday, July 4th and 5th—and would immediately disperse on the morning of the 6th and would promise me that no dance of any description would be held, that they would be permitted to worship God in such manner as they saw fit.

In order to be on firm legal ground in the future, the agent stated his "request that the matter be carefully considered and that authority be given me now to extend to the Indians, next year, the promise that annuities will be withheld and, that I be given discretion as to what Indians the funds shall be withheld from in case it becomes necessary to carry out the plan to that extent."¹⁴

In the interval between this request and a reply, written expressions of opinion concerning dances and ceremonies were sent by individual Indians to the Indian Office in Washington. Unfortunately, the actual letters are missing from our documentary materials, but we may infer their general contents from the replies. The feeling of the Indians that their activities were not harmful, and their requests that they not be interfered with, were summarily dismissed, as seen in the following excerpts from two letters signed by the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs:¹⁵

The opinion of yourself and of many of the other Indians with respect to the Ghost Dance and certain other dances and customs is appreciated, but *the Office feels that it understands better than some of these old people what is best for the Indians as a whole* [emphasis by C.S.B.].

The Office wants the Indians to have only such things as are good for them. Some of the old dances are inconsistent with the civilization and industrial and moral development of the Indians.

In the summer of 1916, in a letter from the Commissioner to the Superintendent of the Kiowa Indian School, the Indian Office granted the request for economic sanctions against Ghost Dance participants by authorizing him to withhold annuity payments in such cases. The authorization was prefaced with the statement that a conclusion had been reached that the Ghost Dance "is a pernicious custom and inimical to the industrial, intellectual, and moral progress of the Indians." This decision opened a period of spying by Government authorities, treachery by individual Indians and general increase of tension in the Indian community.

Four days later, a letter was written by an informer among the Indians to the agent:¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Letter to leader of the Kiowa Ghost Dance, December 9, 1915, and letter to leader of the Kiowa Ghost Dance, February 21, 1916.

¹⁶ Letter to Superintendent of Kiowa Indian Agency, August 22, 1916.

Since I came home and had told some of these Indians about the letter which you have received some of them had told me that a big plan was demand for another big time which will take place at Old man Yellow Bird's three quarters, where there will be plenty grass, water and wood. they will invite the cheyennes including with some Kiowas whom were living along the Hog Creek. this dance association will begin the 25th of the next month. I am inform you this before time, so *I wish you not mention my name for fear the people might mob me.* [emphasis by C.S.B.]

There followed a quick exchange of telegrams between the agency and Washington in regard to including the "Give Away" dance under the provisions of the ruling relating to the Ghost Dance. Upon receiving this authority, the agent sent letters to agents in the Cheyenne jurisdiction asking that the Cheyenne be discouraged from attending the impending Kiowa dance. A letter of warning was sent to the Kiowa leaders, individual Indians were requested by mail to come to see the agent, and government farmers as well as Indian police were instructed to attend the dance and make note of the name and activities of each participant.

Nevertheless, between the summer and autumn of 1916, several "Give Away" dances were held among the Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache and Comanche, and the documentary materials indicate that similar measures were taken by the agent. The annuity payment of every participant was withheld. Upon later advice from Washington, the policy was instituted of permitting each Indian whose money was withheld to make application for payment, conditional upon signing an affidavit pledging himself to refrain from further native ceremonial activities. A large number, but by no means all, of the offenders filed such applications.

The foregoing account constitutes a portion of the historical record of Indian and white relations in Oklahoma, and is instructive in making clear the attitudes held in the past towards Indian culture, as well as the premises upon which it was sought to effect cultural change. The kind of thinking which is illustrated is understandable in the context of the prevailing outlook and knowledge of the period, and the circumstances of the situation.

Modern social science, particularly Cultural Anthropology, has since formulated a new and very different way of viewing native institutions. Today, there is recognition by those concerned with programs of planned change, if not by the public in general, that each culture must be understood in its own terms, that change is seldom effected hurriedly or by force, and that such programs, to be sound, must be devised and interpreted in ways that make them intelligible and desirable from the native point of view.

OKLAHOMA CITY, FROM PUBLIC LAND TO PRIVATE PROPERTY

By Dr. Berlin B. Chapman

PART THREE: THE DAY IN COURT¹

Oklahoma Territorial government was established by an act of Congress on May 2, 1890. Congress on May 14 made provision for entry of townsites by trustees appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.² Section 2 of the Act provided that any certificate or other paper evidence of claim duly issued by the authority recognized for such purpose by the people residing upon any townsite and subject to legal entry, should be taken as evidence of the occupancy by the holder thereof of the lot or lots therein described, except that where there was an adverse claim to said property, such certificate should be only *prima facie* evidence of the claim of occupancy of the holder.

The taxable inhabitants of "the town of Oklahoma City" petitioned the board of county commissioners to be incorporated as a village.³ On July 15, the commissioners of "County Second" incorporated the "Village of Oklahoma City." It was a rectangular tract of 400 acres comprised of South Oklahoma City, Oklahoma City proper, and 80 acres north of Fourth Street. The commissioners appointed a board of trustees consisting of D. W. Gibbs, T. J. Watson, Nelson Button, Sam Frist, and H. Overholser. On July 22, the trustees divided the city into four wards for the election of officers for a "city of the second class." Two days later they designated August 9 for the election of city officers.⁴ The election was "a clear victory for the Democrats."

¹ Previous articles in this series dealt with the administration of town lots under provisional government. It remains to be shown how townsite boards, local land offices, and courts authorized by Congress completed the transfer of the lands of Oklahoma City from federal ownership.

On December 5, 1889, Preston B. Plumb of Kansas introduced Senate Bill 653 authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to appoint townsite trustees for the awarding of lots. Section 2 of the bill concerns the official recognition to be given to certificates. Except for a phrase of four words, the language in Plumb's bill was incorporated verbatim in Section 2 of the Act of May 14, 1890.

² Act of May 14, 1890, 26 *Statutes*, 109; *Gen. Statutes of the State of Kan.* 1868, pp. 1074-1075; *King v. Thompson*, 3 Okla. 644 (1895).

³ The petition is in the Library of the U. S. Supreme Court, *Oklahoma City v. McMaster*, *Transcript of Record*, no. 137, p. 33. The typed list of names from which this printed list was made is in the office of the clerk of the court. A photostatic copy of the typed list is in the Oklahoma Historical Society, and appeared in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1958), pp. 92-99.

⁴ Certified copy of "Record of Proceedings" of mayor and council, 10 pages, NA (National Archives), GLO (General Land Office), box 140.

L. W.

Sec 2. In the execution of such trust
and for the purpose of the Commission
granted by said statute, ^{any} certificate
or other paper evidence of claim
duly issued by the ~~an~~ authority
recognized for such purpose by the
people residing upon or ~~within~~
townsite ~~of~~ the subject matter,
herein shall be taken as
evidence of the occupancy of
the ~~holder~~ thereof of the lot or lots
therein described except that
where ^{there is} an adverse claimant
to said property, ~~not~~ based upon
actual occupancy, such certifi-
cate shall only be ~~held~~ ^{prima}
facie evidence of the claim of the
~~holder~~ occupancy of the holder.

(National Archives, Washington, D. C.)

Senate Bill 653 (section 2, p. 2 ms.), introduced by U. S. Senator Preston B. Plumb, on December 5, 1889. Senator Plumb penned the knell of town-lot certificates in Oklahoma District.

Officers elected were W. J. Gault, mayor; W. W. Witten, police judge; T. M. Upshaw, city clerk; M. S. Miller, city treasurer; P. G. Burns, city engineer. Eight members were elected to the city council.

On September 3, Edgar N. Sweet, Levi E. Cole, and David H. Hammons, townsite board of trustees, entered the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 33 for the several use and benefit of the occupants thereof. Three days later they approved the "corrected plat" of the quarter section made by Charles Chamberlin.⁵

The trustees entered upon the difficult task of allotting the Oklahoma City townsite. There was the matter of determining who were the first legal settlers upon lots. Activities of town companies and of the provisional government were involved. On September 26, Attorney Henry H. Howard wrote:⁶

Suppose the case of a man who came to this territory hoping to better his condition with but a few dollars at his command; that he entered upon one or two town lots and expended what means he had in making improvements upon them; that he went to work to earn his living, and has barely been able to do so; that sometime after he made his entry and improvements a "committee" came along and "awarded" his lots to some individual who had no earthly claim to them; that afterwards a "city recorder" issued to this individual a "certificate" to such lots; that to again set up a claim to them is a violation of an "ordinance" and punishable by fine and imprisonment; that in hope of a restoration of his rights this honest poor man has remained here and continued to struggle for an existence for nearly eighteen months; that now he goes before the Board of Trustees and finds that the onus of proof is upon him; that before he can show that he has been plundered he must advance more money than he could raise by a mortgage upon both body and soul. Do you think that to be compelled to confront such a condition is in accord with our American institutions? The simple fact is, this man's poverty compels him to surrender the sole object for which he came to this country. Is it right? Many such instances could be cited.

⁵ The plat is in NA, Record Group 49. Portions of the townsite shown on the plat but not approved in 1890 include South Oklahoma City, or the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 4, and the 80 acres between Fourth Street and Seventh Street. Names of persons who applied for the respective lots in Oklahoma City proper are in NA, GLO, *Townsites, Records of Proceedings*, Vol. 172.

⁶ Howard to Noble, Sept. 26, 1890, in file of Frank McMaster v. Oklahoma City, NA, GLO, townsite box 126.

THE FRANK MCMASTER CASE

Although most of the settlers in Oklahoma City accepted the decisions of the arbitration committee as to lots and streets, there were several contests before townsite boards. The townsite papers processed in the settlement are in the National Archives and probably weigh more than twenty pounds. A leading case and one that illustrates conditions in the city involved Frank McMaster, editor of the *Evening Gazette* and the *Oklahoma Magazine*.

McMaster first crossed Indian Territory in 1882 at the age of 39. He lived in Kansas City, and saw "parts of the new country" on various trips made by David L. Payne and William L. Couch. On the afternoon of April 22, 1889, Louis O. Dick filed in the Guthrie land office an application for the establishment of the Oklahoma City townsite. That night McMaster came to Oklahoma City to stay in the region "so long as life would let me cling." The following morning he laid claim to lots 1 and 2 in the northeast corner of Block 24, according to the survey of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company, as shown on the Dick Plat. This was a tract bordering 50 feet on Broadway and 140 feet on Clarke Street.

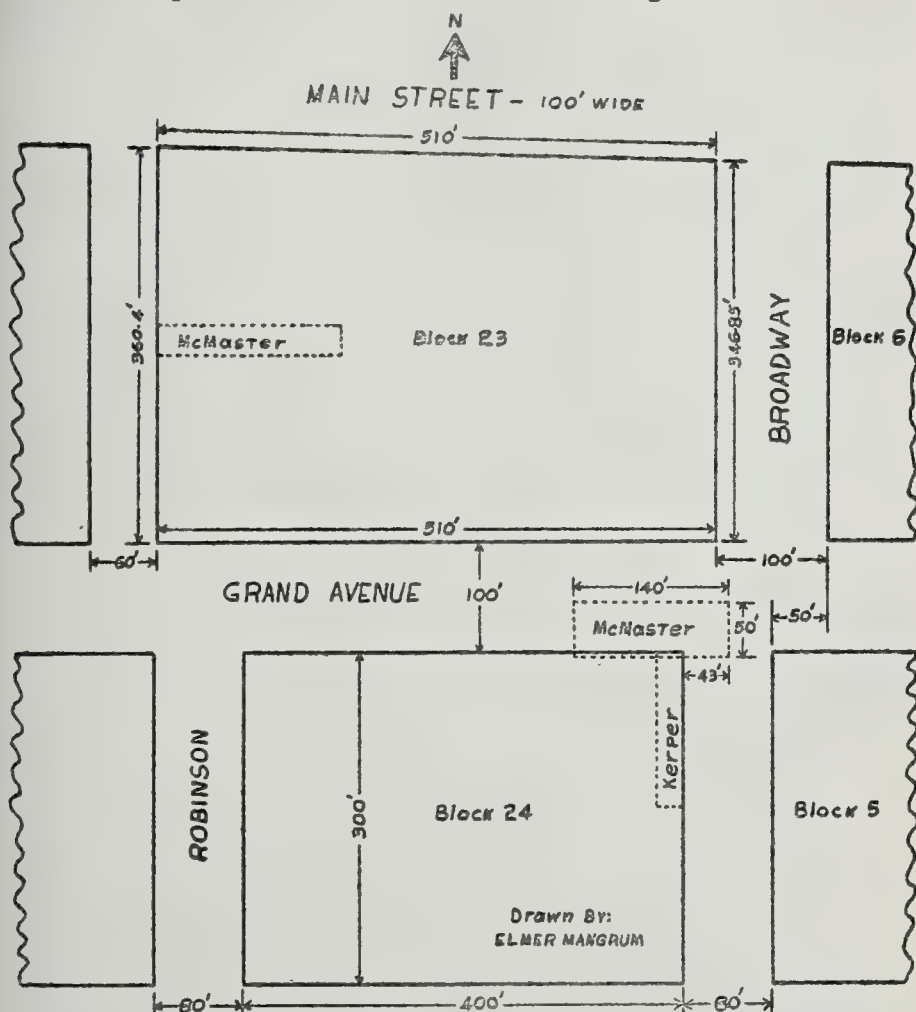
McMaster on April 23 placed a house on the lots and on that day or on the following day he affixed on it a sign "McMaster's Law Office." The house fronted east. It was 10 feet wide, 12 feet long, and 8 feet high. South of the lots McMaster placed two foundations. He said there was "difficulty" between the two town companies, and it was doubtful which survey would prevail. This caused uncertainty as to which direction lots would front, but McMaster watched developments and made "every effort to adjust himself to the surveys." James T. Hill claimed the corner lot north of McMaster's house. Hill said that about five days after the opening McMaster told him not to erect any buildings there for he intended to claim the lot before the awarding committee.

The citizens' survey prevailed. By it lots 1 and 2 extended into Broadway about 43 feet. Grand Avenue overlapped the lots so that McMaster could not claim more than a foothold of two or three feet in the northeast corner of Block 24. This was Lot 32, bordering 25 feet on Grand Avenue (successor to Clark Street) and 140 feet on Broadway. McMaster claimed the lot, and observed that the northern foundation, which was south of his house at the edge of Grand Avenue, "was never in the street at any time." He said both foundations were on Lot 32.

John W. Love on the afternoon of April 22 or soon thereafter laid claim to lot 32 or ground nearby. In the uncertainty as to which way lots would front, he claimed the ground in the northeast corner of block 24. McMaster did not see the subcommittee of the citizens' survey passing lot 32, but subsequently he learned they had awarded it to Love. Oscar H. Violet and McMaster were friends before coming to Oklahoma City, and Violet was a member of the subcommittee. Violet said that men having claims to lots were requested to come before the subcommittee, but "a number never went before them." If McMaster appeared there Violet did not remember it.

About May 13, Mayor William L. Couch went to McMaster to talk about moving the house, and McMaster promised that on

the following day he would place it on Lot 32, a suggestion agreeable to Couch. McMaster gave the following account of how the house was placed on the lot the next morning:⁷



Map of intersection of Broadway and Grand Avenue, explaining the issue in the McMaster case.

About 7 o'clock a United States deputy marshal, three city officers, and a sergeant and three soldiers with some teams and material for moving houses came on the ground, and the sergeant ordered me out of the house at that time. I had a trunk and a bed and a few law books, a sort of a law office, and he told me if I would not go out, he said that if I didn't go, he [had] orders to arrest me and take me to the guardhouse and have me put out of the Territory; and that his instruction was to move the house out of the street. I told the sergeant that I didn't recognize the authority of the city or that of the troops to compel me to move out of the building. He said it didn't make any difference; his orders were to put me out of the house, and if I made any resistance to put me out of the Territory and that if they

⁷ An excellent source is the testimony taken by the townsite board of trustees, Dec. 12, 1890, in *ibid*.

did put me out of the Territory I would not be allowed to come back. I then told him it was not necessary for them to use any physical force to put me out, and to preserve my rights I got out. He then ordered the soldiers to put me out. They then threw me out, and after piling my stuff on the corner, they pulled the building off.

McMasters never owned the house but he said there was an understanding that he was to buy it from L. E. Steele. It was sold to another party in December, 1889, for \$20. The house not only was a means by which McMaster asserted claim to lots 1 and 2, but he also received "assistance" in locating it on lot 32 to which he also laid claim. He felt that he conducted his contention for lots 1 and 2 in a manly manner. To have attempted further to occupy the lots would have been a quarrel with the bayonet, a defiance of the "statu quo" order, and of the Territorial Act of May 2, 1890.

When McMaster was ousted from the street he secured from John Wallace Lot 42 in the middle of Block 23 and located there. Lot 42 was one of the "wedge lots" on the east side of Robinson, on the "back end," or west side of the block. It had a frontage of 25 feet, and was one of the easternmost of the 19 wedge lots lying east and west between Main Street and Grand Avenue. Here McMaster owned and edited the daily *Oklahoma Gazette* (called *Evening Gazette* after July 24, 1889), the first issue of which appeared on May 21. With a vitrolic pen he denounced the Seminole Town and Improvement Company which was the dominant force in platting Oklahoma City and establishing its first government.⁸ He was at times aligned with the "Kickapoos," a group that disapproved of the activities of the company.

McMaster said he understood the "citizens adjustment committee" which joined the company's survey with that of the citizens' survey was instructed to use the additional number of lots between Main Street and Grand Avenue to give to parties who had lost their lots in changing of the original survey.⁹ Wallace, who had served as a member of the committee, related the matter thus in his testimony on December 12, 1890:

⁸ McMaster said he shipped to Oklahoma City the printing material "on which the first regular newspaper, The Gazette, was printed": Frank McMaster, "An '89er, How He Rushed and What For," *Sturms' Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. VIII (April, 1909), pp. 45-48. McMaster was such a man as could "never 'trim' his views to conform to public opinion," and preferred to "maintain his own attitude of thought rather than take the usual groove merely for the sake of being agreeable." A sketch of the life of McMaster and his photograph are in Hill, *History of the State of Oklahoma*, Vol. 2, pp. 116-118.

⁹ The committee appointed to adjust individual rights to property between the two surveys were William L. Couch, John Wallace, C. P. Walker, C. W. Price, M. V. Barney, and J. B. Wheeler. In the *Evening Gazette* in 1889 McMaster suggested that Grand Avenue be called "Stolen Avenue" because its creation had deprived and plundered many citizens of their lots without recompense.

We met together to adjust the difference between the two surveys where they met. And after we got that matter adjusted Mr. McMaster and Mr. Steele called on me to know how they would be effected by this adjustment. I went over with them to their little house they had down there in the center of Grand Avenue. . . . They called on me to know if this committee had any power to put them on lots. Well, I saw some members of the committee. There were some wedge lots made by that survey between Main Street and Grand Avenue, and we intended that parties who were surveyed in the street to put them on these lots. The people got on to it, and there was a dozen got on there and claimed that ground, and we were unable to do anything with them in that respect. We could not change any of the persons who were surveyed into the street on these lots; there was so much confusion. I had a lot where McMaster now lives. I sold him that lot for a small consideration at the time, as I supposed at the time. Gave it to him because he said he was a newspaper man, he wanted to build a house, wanted to start business and wanted to get his family. McMaster agreed then that I ask the mayor of the city and have his shack moved from out of the street, so that the city would [not] be responsible for an action for damages.

On September 3, 1890, Edgar N. Sweet, Levi E. Cole, and David H. Hammons, townsite board of trustees, entered a quarter section at Oklahoma City for the several use and benefit of the occupants thereof. This pertained to public lands covered by actual occupancy for purposes of trade and business. For more than a year Lot 1 and nearly all of Lot 2 claimed by McMaster had been included in Grand Avenue and Broadway and used exclusively as a highway, and not occupied by him. The trustees on September 6 approved the "corrected plat" of Oklahoma City made by Charles Chamberlin. On October 21 they issued McMaster a deed to Lot 42 in Block 23, a lot valued at \$600.

Love's rights to Lot 32 had succeeded to John F. Kerper. The trustees valued the lot at \$1,200. Henry Overholser said he held a bond and agreement that Kerper for \$2,000 would convey the lot to him after receiving a deed. According to Overholser at the end of April, 1889, in the vicinity of McMaster's house the street was "blocked" with houses and tents. On October 6, 1890, McMaster filed with the trustees an application for the lot, alleging that he was the original staker and settler and that he had been wrongfully ejected therefrom, but had always asserted his claim to the lot. He said that on or about April 25, 1889, he had in good faith occupied and taken full and undisputed possession of the lot. He had continued to be a resident and occupant of the townsite with a record which he asserted was better than that of those from whom Kerper derived claim. He based his occupancy on the location of the foundations south of the original site of his house. Wallace said: "Mr. McMaster and I had a conversation when he found out that Overholser had bought the lot. He said he hated to contest this lot, that Overholser had done so much for the city. He said he thought he

ought to have something out of it. Said he got left in the street."¹⁰

The townsite board of trustees held a hearing on December 12, 1890, at which 39 pages of testimony were taken. A week later Attorney J. L. Van Derwerker in a brief for McMaster said:

The court will consider the chaos in which we were born and the uncertain shadows in which we passed a long period of territorial existence. Oklahoma and Paradise are the only commonwealths to which law was a stranger and [in] which Satan was more powerful than the Creator. Paradise however knew no ruler, and Oklahoma was the sport of rulers. Marshals of every hue, military satraps of every rank, governments of the people by the people and for vagrant speculators of every character, and individuals who had no authority but presumption and lungs, dictated for today and ordered for tomorrow.

From the creation of the territory until the appointment of officers under the organic act, property was a plaything and remedial rights a mockery. No court with authority to subpoena a witness had an existence, and those with power to administer an oath were as distant as the twilight.

The so-called provisional governments were partnerships of private individuals and their administration a dishonest method of furthering personal ends. It is useless to consider why men did not assert themselves and vindicate their rights; men were ciphers and rights, fantasies. The men who violated the law in taking the first town of the territory, before the territory existed, dictated to individuals and administered upon their rights in the fraternity of lawbreakers and the fellowship of sooners.

Frank S. Fay had succeeded Cole as a trustee. Sweet and Fay by calculations given in evidence decided that the foundation nearest McMaster's house was not on lot 32; and they found that McMaster never initiated a claim to the lot and that any right or interest which he might have by reason of his settlement "was in the street known as Grand Avenue."¹¹ From the evidence as a whole it appeared to them that any right or interest which he "might have had, or still may have by reason of his settlement was in the street." In a decision on January 14, 1891, Sweet and Fay said:

Upon reviewing and considering the evidence in its entirety, we can not find that Frank McMaster ever at any time attempted to enter upon in person, occupy or improve the lot in question after the house he occupied had been removed from the street as an obstruction. On the contrary it appears that the contestant made no positive claim to the lot after it was found that the parcel of land he had claimed and occupied was wholly or nearly all located in the streets of Grand Avenue and Broadway.

¹⁰ There is a sketch of the life of Overholser in Hill, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 4-5; *National Cyclopedia of Amer. Biog.*, Vol. 17, pp. 23-24; "Overholser, Oklahoma's Grand Old Man," *Oklahoma Magazine* Vol. 5 (May, 1912), pp. 4-5.

¹¹ The decision of the trustees on January 14, 1891, and related papers are in NA, GLO, townsite box 126.

The continuous duress pleaded in the amended application of McMaster has not, in our opinion, been established. If the removal of the house and foundation from or near the lot in contest as a street obstruction or otherwise was unlawful, wrong and oppressive, as is ably argued in the brief made and filed in this case by McMaster; and if the contestant was prevented from entering upon and occupying the lot by the arbitrary authority of the provisional city government during its existence, or by unwarranted military intervention and interference, that does not excuse the contestant from failure to assert his right of possession, if he had any, by a personal entry upon the said lot after the said government had ceased to exist, and after military rule had been superseded by a civil government by the Organic Act of May 2, 1890. . . . We find therefore that if McMaster ever had any right in the lot in question—which has not been shown as hereinbefore recited—he slept on such right, and wholly abandoned the same. He has not established even a *prima facie* claim to Lot 32, Block 24, and would not, as we believe, be entitled to a deed therefor if there was no adverse claimant.

Hammons dissented but wrote no opinion. McMaster appealed the case to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, but waved appeal on September 15, 1892. On that day the trustees delivered a deed for the lot to Frank Dale.¹²

In the meantime, February 23, 1891, McMaster had applied to the trustees for the tract or parcel of land known as lots 1 and 2 in Block 24 on the Dick Plat of the Seminole Town and Improvement Company.¹³ With the application was filed a plat of the intersection of Grand Avenue and Broadway drawn by Chamberlin. This plat superimposes the "corrected plat" approved by the trustees upon the Dick Plat. It shows lots 1 and 2 forming a rectangle about 53 feet south of the north border of Grand Avenue. The rectangle is designated as 50 feet wide, of which 46.8 feet are in the south half of Grand Avenue.

McMaster protested action of the trustees in deeding the parcel of ground to the municipal government of Oklahoma City, and asked that it be set off and allotted to him and that he might receive a deed therefor. He explained that his settlement and occupancy of the ground was prior to any claim of the same by the "so-called city government for use as public streets." He said that certain committees, pretended government, and military authorities had unlawfully interfered with him and by force ousted him of the possession of the ground. He added: "Said assumed government was never recognized by the people inhabiting and occupying said townsite." He asserted the right to a patent, stating that if Oklahoma City desired to use or obtain the land "let her exercise her right of

¹² The lot was awarded to Kerper and the deed was delivered to Dale; BLM. (Bureau of Land Management), *Oklahoma City Tract Book*, p. 14.

¹³ McMaster's application and other papers concerning lots 1 and 2 are in NA, GLO, townsite box 144.

eminent domain in the proper courts.” In a decision the board of trustees said:¹⁴

.... Were it not for the fact that the survey and plat of Oklahoma City as approved by this board recognizes the parcel of ground in controversy as being dedicated to Oklahoma City for its use and benefit for street purposes, and hence not generally open for individual and actual occupancy for townsite purposes, and had it not been thus dedicated it would in the opinion of this board have been its duty to award and deed the same to the applicant.

It appeared to the Board that there was “no question as to the vested right” of McMaster to the parcel of ground, but the Board also found it had no jurisdiction to award it to him. The Board was not authorized to make a deed to any portion of a street.¹⁵

An appeal to the Commissioner of the General Land Office was filed on April 18, 1891, and three days later McMaster applied to the Board of Trustees for a deed to lots 1 and 2. In 1893 G. B. Stone, Frank M. Gault, Charles F. Colcord, and J. L. Wilkins said that the amount in controversy between the parties, exclusive of costs and interests, was more than \$5,000.¹⁶ The Commissioner in 1894 affirmed the decision of the townsite board. Two years later the Secretary of the Interior left little doubt of his views when he said in a Guthrie case:¹⁷

The power of Congress to dispose of the public domain being a constitutional power, one who merely settled upon it of his own motion, without proceeding through the proper land office does not thereby acquire any vested right which will estop Congress from dedicating any part of it to public use, as for a street in a town, but such right is subordinate to this power of dedication from its inception and is taken subject to it.

In 1897 the Secretary affirmed the decision of the General Land Office in the McMaster case. On September 22, 1899,

¹⁴ The decision of the trustees, not dated, is in box 144, *loc. cit.* The trustees were Sweet, Hammons, and William Knight.

¹⁵ J. F. McGrath et al., 20 L. D. 542 (1895). As for the board of trustees not having jurisdiction, counsel for McMaster said: “They might **lay** out any streets through grounds already built upon by brick buildings, and then proceed to deed only the lots made by them which might be in an actual street not claimed by anyone, and then under this ruling the trustees could not give the occupants a hearing who might have their buildings in a *trustee surveyed street*.” Council emphasized the words “lots, blocks, or grounds” as used in the instructions of the Secretary of the Interior to the trustees in the circular of June 18, 1890; 10 L. D. 666.

A leading case is that of Dillian Dyer who at Oklahoma City on April 22, 1889, selected land which became part of Broadway just south of Grand Avenue. She was among those whose “lots were surveyed into the streets”; Act. Com. W. M. Stone to Sweet, March 28, 1891, NA GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 5, pp. 263-266.

¹⁶ *Oklahoma City v. McMaster*, 196 U. S. 529 (1905). The affidavits of Stone et al., dated October 6, 1893, are in the Library of the U. S. Supreme Court, *Transcript of Record*, no 137, pp. 4-7.

¹⁷ *Avery et al. v. Freeman et al.*, 22 L. D. 505 (1896).

McMaster brought suit in the district court of Oklahoma County to recover lots 1 and 2 and damages for wrongful detention thereof. The suit was taken to Canadian County on a change of venue.

The role of John H. Burford in the McMaster case is of interest. As register of the Oklahoma City land office he issued the final certificate to the townsite board of trustees on September 3, 1890. As judge of the District Court in Canadian County, he made a finding of fact relative to lots 1 and 2, and on October 13, 1893, he issued an order directing that the trustees and their successors execute and deliver to McMaster a trustees' deed for the parcel of land in question.¹⁸

The Supreme Court of the Territory of Oklahoma held that McMaster was an occupying claimant as was recognized by the land laws of the United States, and that the trustees held the land he claimed in trust for him.¹⁹ "The government, by the conveyance by patent," said the court, "vested the title of this land in the trustees, for the express purpose of having the title conveyed to those who were entitled to claim as occupying claimants." The Court held that as McMaster on "the 22d day of April, 1889," had legally entered upon the land he claimed, and was occupying it in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Department of the Interior, his interest and rights in the land attached at that time. The Court did not intend that this opinion should be at variance with the doctrine laid down in the Beamer case, and it observed that the facts in the two cases were different.²⁰ As for McMaster the Court said that:

When he had complied with the rules and regulations of the Land Department he was entitled to a deed; that he had a vested interest in these lots, and that any other occupying claimant, or any number of occupying claimants, who made up the town site, at that time or subsequent, had no right to so change the plat as to take from him his interest in said lots, and put them into a public street or highway,

¹⁸ The finding of fact and the order are in *Transcript of Record, loc. cit.*, pp. 36-38.

¹⁹ *City of Oklahoma City v. McMaster*, 73 Pac. 1012 (1903). Burford was chief justice of the court but took no part in the case. Justice J. L. Pancoast wrote a dissenting opinion.

²⁰ At Guthrie on April 22, 1889, F. A. Morrison settled upon a portion of land, was in actual and undisputed possession of it, and on April 23 sold his rights to Henry C. Beamer for the sum of \$100. Beamer had peaceable and undisputed possession of the land, fenced it, and erected a hut. On May 13, the mayor and councilmen adopted a plat which placed the land within Third Street where the same opened into Harrison Avenue. Beamer refused to abandon the land and on May 20 the police removed him and prevented his repeated efforts to occupy it. The Supreme Court of the Territory of Oklahoma held that Beamer had not acquired such vested rights or interests in the land as would prevent it being appropriated for the use of streets necessary to the laying out of the city.—*City of Guthrie v. Beamer*, 41 Pac. 647 (1895). A history of the case is in the *Guthrie Daily Leader*, April 16, 1957.

without his consent. Such a proceeding would be in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and would be taking private property for public use, without compensation. The town-site trustees would have no right to deprive him of any property that he might have by virtue of his prior settlement in these lots, and devote it to street purposes, without his consent and without compensation.

The Supreme Court of the United States held that there was no unconditional vesting of title to the land chosen by McMaster on "the 22d of April" by tacit agreement of some of the settlers, even though a map were made showing him in possession of a lot not in any public street of the city. The Court said:

The agreement upon the plat or map was liable to alteration; there was no absolute right to any particular lot, as it was subject to future survey. It was all in the air. When thereafter, the trustees, under the statue, made a survey of the land into streets, etc., or approved a survey already made by which the plaintiff's lot was placed in the public street of the city, it was his misfortune, when all had taken their chances, that he should draw a blank. The approval of a survey by the trustees, which placed this lot in a public street of the city, gives to the city the right to the possession of it, and to keep it open as such public street.

The Court also noted that as McMaster was not an occupant of the land at the time the trustees made entry for the lands of the townsite, nor when the conveyance was made to the trustees by the government, he was not one of the parties included in the act of May 14, 1890, which directed the entry for the townsites to be made by the trustees "for the several use and benefit of the occupants thereof." The Court was unable to see any real difference in the principle governing the McMaster case and the Beamer case, and said the Court, "we think the Beamer case was rightly decided."

Thus ended a controversy over lots 1 and 2 which for sixteen years had been a part of Grand Avenue and Broadway. The final decision quieted expression of grievances by others whose lots were lost in the compromise that established Grand Avenue. McMaster in 1901 had moved to Lawton. Twenty years after he placed the hut upon lots 1 and 2 he still considered the '89ers at Oklahoma City "a fair-minded crowd," but the Seminole Town and Improvement Company hardly came within that pale.²¹ He wrote: "So long as a government was absent there was neither a spoken wish for its coming nor a valid reason shown for giving it a life. In fact the men who came to Oklahoma as officeholders each gave birth to an evil and paternity to a strife." He saw in Oklahoma "the home of every living good that can bless the mortal or crown its ending with immortality." He also said: "He who saw it first loves it best, and that love grows stronger as the years go by. In all the lands

²¹ Frank McMaster, "An '89er, How He Rushed and What For," *Sturms' Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. VIII (April, 1909), pp. 45-48; Lewis N. Hornbeck, "Through Wichita Mountains with McMaster," *ibid.*, (May, 1909), pp. 34-40.

Benjamin Harrison
President of the United States of America.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:

Know ye that, reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, diligence, and discretion of *John H. Burford*
of *Warrfordsville, Indiana,*

I have nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint him to be

Register of the Land Office
at *Oklahoma, in the Territory of Oklahoma,*

and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfill the duties of that office according to law: And to have and to hold the said office, with all the rights and emoluments thereto legally appertaining, unto him, the said

John H. Burford,
during the term of *four* years from the *date hereof*
unless this commission be sooner revoked by the President of the United States for the time being.

In testimony whereof I have caused these letters to be made Patent, and the Seal of the Department of the Interior to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, the
ninth day of *July*
in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred
and *ninety*, and of the Independence
of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA the one hundred
and *fifteenth*.

Benj. Harrison

BY THE PRESIDENT:

John W. Noble.

Secretary of the Interior.

(National Archives, Washington, D. C.)
Commission of John H. Burford, first Registrar of the
Oklahoma City Land Office

this earth can give to man, to gladden life and fit for death, none can be found of greater worth to bring contentment to the days of living, or better strength to meet the journey's end."

THE CALVIN A. CALHOUN CASE

Because the southern end of Oklahoma district was fertile country it was vigorously contested by settlers. In the Territorial Act of May 2, 1890, Congress authorized the President to establish a land office there, and one in the Public Land Strip. The first register of the Oklahoma City land office was John H. Burford of Crawfordsville, Indiana, home state of President Benjamin Harrison. The first receiver of public monies of the office was John Carroll Delaney, who was born in Ireland. In the Civil War, he served in Company "I", 107 Regiment, Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, and at Antietam on September 17, 1862, he was wounded in the right leg above the knee.

On May 7, 1890, Senator Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania took Delaney to see President Harrison in regard to securing for him an appointment as register or receiver of the land office to be opened in Oklahoma district.²² In a letter to the President the same day Quay spoke of indorsements of Delaney which reflected his "high character in both civil and military life." On the same day Quay reminded Noble of the President's desire that "Capt. Delaney's case be brought specially to his attention when the appointments for Oklahoma are in order." Noble on May 9 penned this note relative to Quay's letters: "Let this be annexed to blank nomination for Receiver of Land Office on Public Land Strip."

In 1888 Burford, age thirty-six, was a member of the State Central Committee and was a vigorous and effective champion for Harrison in the presidential campaign.²³ On March 13, 1889, within ten days after Harrison became President, Burford wrote to him in regard to securing an appointment to certain positions including a "Territorial Judgeship." Burford said: "I have made many personal sacrifices in the past four years in politics to the detriment of my private business, and want to get back some of my losses."²⁴

On June 4, 1890, Elijah W. Halford, Private Secretary of the President, informed Noble that Burford had accepted from Governor George W. Steele (also from Indiana) the office of

²² Quay to the President, May 7, 1890, NA, Int. Dept., Appt. Div., box 403; Quay to Noble, May 7, 1890, *ibid.*

²³ There is a sketch of Burford's life in J. B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, vol. 4, pp 1446-1447; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, No. 3 (June, 1923), p. 254; and in *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. 14, p. 432.

²⁴ NA, Justice Dept., Burford's appt. file.

probate judge of Beaver City, but that Burford was anticipating an appointment to one of the offices in the new land district when it should be established. By an executive order of June 6, Harrison set apart the Oklahoma City land district with an office to be located at Oklahoma City. The north border of the land district was an east and west line just south of Edmond.²⁵

On June 11, Commissioner Lewis A. Groff issued a public notice concerning the establishment of the Oklahoma City land district.²⁶ On the same day Noble appointed Burford as register of the land office and Delaney as the receiver.²⁷ The office was opened on September 1. On that day Adam Jacob Reiter filed homestead entry No. 1 for a quarter section eight miles southwest of Oklahoma City; he proved up in 1898. Cash entry No. 1 was made by Frank Casey on September 2 for excess acreage taken with his homestead just south of Mustang. On September 3, the Oklahoma townsitc commissioners made a cash entry by paying \$200 for the southeast quarter of section thirty-three as the neucleus of Oklahoma City.²⁸ Dora Sides of El Reno was the first woman to make homestead entry at the land office. She entered a tract of 25 acres on September 3. Her entry was contested and on February 8, 1893, it was canceled for the reason that she had not resided upon, cultivated, or improved the tract for more than six months in the preceding year.²⁹ Rachael S. Walters on September 11, 1890, filed soldier's declaratory statement No. 1 for a quarter section three mliies southeast of Edmond, and she proved up in 1897.³⁰

²⁵ Acting Com. W. M. Stone suggested that the lands of Oklahoma District south of this line be included in the Oklahoma City land district; Stone to Sec. Int., April 30, 1890, NA, GLO, *Letters to Secretary*, vol. 15, pp. 196-198.

On September 18, 1891, President Harrison issued a proclamation by which the line was extended to the Creek country as the dividing line between the northern portion of the Sac and Fox lands opened, which portion was attached to the Eastern land district at Guthrie, and the southern portion which was attached to the Oklahoma City land district; proclamation, *Ann. Rpt., Gen. Land Office, 1892*, pp. 93-107.

²⁶ The notice is in *ibid.*, 1890, p. 158. An engrossed copy is in NA, GLO, *Land Office Circulars, 1865-1906*.

²⁷ Delaney was commissioned by President Harrison on June 23, and Buford on July 9. The commissions are in NA, Int. Dept., Appt. Div., *Register of Executive Appointments Confirmed*, Vol. 9, pp. 493; 503.

²⁸ Testimony and other papers are in NA, GLO, Oklahoma City, Cash Entry No. 2.

²⁹ David H. Sides *v.* Dora Sides, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 306, p. 272.

³⁰ Nine soldier's declaratory statements were filed prior to the opening of the Sac and Fox Reservation on September 22, 1891, but on that day 106 were filed. In the land office a total of 21,521 homestead entries and 962 soldier's declaratory statements were filed. The office issued 7,732 final certificates, and there were 3,210 cash entries. The abstracts of the land office in the National Archives comprise 14 volumes and extend to March 31, 1904.

Two months after Burford and Delaney opened the land office they conducted a hearing in the case of Calvin A. Calhoun, who came to Oklahoma City from St. Joseph, Missouri. Calhoun was an honorably discharged soldier of the Union Army. In 1888 he worked as a carpenter for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company on their line through Oklahoma district and was acquainted with the land in the vicinity of Oklahoma Station. On April 20, 1889, he went from Arkansas City to Oklahoma Station to "meet another party." He arrived after dark, stayed all night, and left for Arkansas City the next day at 8:30 a. m. He said the trip had no relation to land, and no advantage over others was gained thereby because he needed no additional information and secured none. He said he came by train on April 22, stopped at Guthrie and remained there until the next day when he made homestead entry for 148 acres in the northwest quarter of section three on the eastern border of South Oklahoma City.³¹

About half the land had a good stand of timber, and there were valuable deposits of clay and sand. On the eastern border of his claim was Lot 10 comprising 16 acres on the south side of the North Canadian, separated by the river from the remaining 132 acres. Calhoun would have filed on another tract if this one had been taken already. He claimed that in all general respects he was qualified to take a homestead under the act of March 2, 1889, and Section 2304 of the *Revised Statutes*.

It appears that "immediately after 12 o'clock," noon, on April 22, Calhoun's son, age 30, was erecting a tent on the land designated. Counsel for Calhoun contended there was no evidence that Calhoun knew his son was there, or that his son opposed settlement on the land by Theodore E. Echelberger. Secretary Hoke Smith understood by the evidence that Calhoun on April 22 "went with his son directly to the tent which his son had erected on the land"; that Calhoun left "his son in charge of the tent and the land" while he returned to Guthrie to make homestead entry.³²

On January 25, 1890, one Linthicum filed a contest against lot no. 10 alleging that the land covered by Calhoun's entry was on both sides of a meandering stream, and hence the entry thereof could not properly be allowed. The General Land Office on

In the Oklahoma State Library are the *Homestead Entries* of the Oklahoma City land office, 3 volumes. There is a *Record of Patents Delivered*, and a ledger listing the final certificates from 6981-7732. The cash entries are in a volume entitled *Oklahoma City, Abstract of Land Sold*.

There is an excellent article by Veder B. Paine on "The Public Land Practice," in *Oklahoma Magazine*. Vol. 3 (Jan., 1895), pp. 166-178.

³¹ Calhoun's homestead application, including his non-sooner affidavit, is in NA, GLO, Guthrie, Canceled Homestead Entries. No. 19.

³² Smith to Com. Gen. Land Office, July 12, 1894, NA, Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent*, Vol. 164, pp. 39-41.

February 17 suspended the entry accordingly. Calhoun received a notice like that addressed to Hattie Fuhrer a week earlier, requiring him to relinquish land on one side of the river within thirty days, or have the homestead entry canceled. In the dilemma Calhoun signed a relinquishment to Lot No. 10.³³ His entry for the lot was canceled on March 18 and on the same day Oscar H. Violet made homestead entry for the land. There is little doubt that Calhoun sold the relinquishment to Violet. Calhoun on March 26 transmitted to Secretary John W. Noble the following petition signed by 57 persons.³⁴

We the undersigned petitioners, citizens of Oklahoma Territory respectfully call your attention to the fact that a very large percent of the good claims in this Territory are illegally occupied by contestants it having been a common practice for contestants to take possession of land upon which they filed contests frequently 5 or 6 settling upon one homestead making it impossible for the legal occupant to keep up fences or do anything in the line of farming. This is a deplorable state of affairs, no benefit to the contestant, and a serious damage to those who are legally entitled to peaceable possession and use of the land. Our courts are 200 miles away and the expense too great for us to apply to them for relief. We have waited patiently in hope of a Territorial government until the planting season is at hand and now

³³ BLM, *Okla. Tract Book*, Vol. 2, p. 121. A copy of Calhoun's relinquishment, dated March 17, 1890, is in the Library of the U. S. Supreme Court, *Calhoun v. Violet, Transcript of Record*, Vol. 10, No. 180, p. 13.

Lewis A. Groff, Commissioner of the General Land Office, assumed that tracts were not contiguous if separated by a meandered stream, and wrongly applied the assumption to the North Canadian River. Letters were sent to the land offices at Guthrie and Kingfisher suspending a chain of homestead entries along the river. Some homesteads astride the river were held by claims too weak to endure questioning and were relinquished or lost to the claimants. Other claimants like William H. Cunningham charged that Groff's demand was contrary to law and beyond his power and jurisdiction. Hattie Fuhrer who had a homestead northeast of present Yukon brought a test case of the matter and won it; Hattie Fuhrer 12 L. D. 556 (1891); Olaf Landgren, *Copp's Land-Owner*, Vol. 11, p. 255; James Shanley, 5 L. D. 641 (1887); Groff to register and receiver, Guthrie, land office, Feb. 17, 1890, NA, GLO, "C" *Letter Book*, Oregon and Washington, Vol. 60, pp. 325-328; Asst. Com. Stone to register and receiver, Guthrie land office, June 16, 1890, *ibid.*, Vol. 64, pp. 260-263.

³⁴ The petition and letter of transmittal are in NA, GLO, 40813-1890. The petitioners were John C. Adams, Vincent Anderson, John A. J. Bangness, Joel W. Brown, W. L. Browning, Calvin A. Calhoun, George W. Chenoweth, Samuel Crocker, William H. Cunningham, Abner D. Daubin, John Einerson, Luke Ellison, Fletcher M. Fariss, Joseph T. Fariss, James Gallagher, John Gayman, William W. Green, James A. Hanna, James H. Hebard, L. F. Hutchinson, Ambrose F. Jackson, Asa Jones, James B. Jones, Jesse H. Jones, John R. Jones, Charles H. Keller, Harvey H. Lechner, William J. McClure, Bartley McDermott, William J. Morris, D. L. Myers, Daniel J. O'Dell, Loyd A. Orme, Colonel Parker, Malcome J. Pearing, Edward D. Phillips, Ira N. Phillips, Isaac C. Renfro, William T. Renfro, Louis A. Rockwood, Louis Rockwood, J. Henry Saunders, W. Spratt Scott, John M. Shannon, Walter H. Shannon, Henry B. Shepherd, Tommy D. Smith, H. S. Summers, Phillip M. Tackwell, Zach W. Taylor, Lewis Thomas, Luman C. Woodruff, Katie A. Woodruff, Lewis Walch, Martin W. Weeks, Lewelle Winningham, Joseph C. Wynns. The petitioners lived within ten miles of the limits of present Oklahoma City.

something must be done, and that quickly. Therefore we request that the military be used for the purpose of removing intruders who are illegally occupying claims. Your petitioners hold the original filing and possession of the lots of land opposite their names. Trusting you will give this matter immediate attention we are most truly and prayerfully the friends of good government and civil liberty.

In transmitting the petition, Calhoun said that nearly all the homesteads near towns and along creek and river bottoms were occupied by contestants who as a rule made no improvements but simply stayed in the way of the parties who had the filing and as a rule made the improvements. Calhoun said there were four contestants on his claim:

.... one living in a tent right in the middle of my plowed and cleared land which I want to plant. Another one has a blacksmith shop near one corner of the claim also on my plowed land. I of course will be compelled to fence around him if I cannot get him off. Another one has commenced to make garden on the land which I have paid for breaking. If I fence them in they will cut my fence and so the trouble goes on. We could secure the names of nearly all the entrymen in the country by taking time but time is the important factor in this case and we have secured those claimants who are located immediately around and near the City."

In a reply on June 4, Acting Commissioner William M. Stone said that the General Land Office had no jurisdiction over such matters as requested by the petition, and could afford the entrymen no relief.³⁵

In the meantime contests had arisen. On May 21, 1889, Echelberger contested the homestead entry on the ground that Calhoun was a sooner. James M. McCornack on May 27, 1890, filed a contest against Calhoun and Echelberger alleging that they were disqualified as homesteaders because they had entered Oklahoma district during the prohibitory period. Thomas J. Bailey filed a contest on June 29 averring that he was the first legally qualified settler on the land and was entitled to it.

On October 30 all the contestants for the remaining 132 acres were duly heard before the register and receiver of the local land office. Echelberger admitted that he was on the land in question just prior to April 22, 1889. He said he had given Bailey permission to remain on the land, and it was understood that Bailey would not claim it. The land office decided that Calhoun and Echelberger were disqualified from taking land because they had gone into Oklahoma district before the time fixed by law, and that McCornack was entitled to enter the tract of 132 acres. Other claims to the land were rejected.³⁶

³⁵ Stone to Calhoun, June 4, 1890, NA, GLO, "C" *Letter Book*, Oregon and Washington, Vol. 64, p. 44.

³⁶ "An Important Case," *Okla. Daily Journal*, June 14, 1891. In the local courts, interested mostly in preserving the peace, there was extensive and interesting litigation between contestants for land. This is illustrated by the following cases in the District Court of Oklahoma County: No. 21, Calhoun v. Bailey; No. 37, Calhoun v. Echelberger; No. 48, Calhoun v. McCornack.

Echelberger appealed the case to the General Land Office.³⁷ His motive may have been commendable but the effect of his action was to delay the cancellation of Calhoun's entry and permit further occupation or exploitation of the land. One may properly ask if he was rewarded for this procedure.

Acting Commissioner Stone found that Bailey had "residence by sufferance." McCornack and his family apparently had resided on the land since January 1, 1890. Stone said that Calhoun's entry was not made in good faith, and that the matter of making a home on the land or the taking of it for that purpose was one only of secondary consideration. The General Land Office had no objection to settlers selling stone from their homesteads for building purposes if the parties acted in good faith and did not thereby materially injure the land.³⁸ Stone said of Calhoun as a "sooner":

He had a map of the land in this locality, and was familiar with the topography of the country, and the value of lands thereabouts. The evidence shows that he intended, if possible, to enter this particular tract of land, took the first train into the Territory after 12 m., April 22, 1889, did not go near the land, but went directly to the local office and made the entry, aforesaid, for this land. His son in the meantime, who was in the Territory in violation of law, before 12 m., April 22, 1889, went upon the land in controversy soon after the above time, erected a tent, made settlement, met his father, the entryman, at the depot upon his return from the local land office, escorted him to his tent on the land where they jointly took up their residence. Calhoun adopted the acts of settlement of his son as far as possible; they have continued to reside on the land without the son setting up title thereto, and they jointly, in the nature of a partnership, and soon after April 23, 1889, leased six acres of the land for a brick yard with permission to use the deposits of clay on the land; made an arrangement to dispose of the timber on the tract and allowed a saw mill to be erected on the land; also leased tracts of land for the erection of an ice house, oil tanks, etc. About 80,000 feet of timber, nearly all the valuable timber on the land, was soon sold and removed, also a considerable amount of cordwood and building blocks and sand has been disposed of. A preponderance of the evidence before me shows that entryman Calhoun was bent upon a speculative intent to get every dollar he could out of this land.

Calhoun's homestead entry for the 132 acres was canceled as of December 12, 1893, and on July 31, 1894, the General Land Office allowed McCornack to make entry for the lands. McCornack proved up in 1898.³⁹

³⁷ Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, Jan. 9, 1892, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, Vol. 269, pp. 162-168. This is the case of Echelberger v. Calhoun, McCornack, and Bailey. See also Echelberger v. Calhoun, Nov. 22, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Copy Book*, Vol. 276, pp. 249-252.

³⁸ Stone to L. H. Barlow, July 25, 1889, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., xi(2724), p. 103.

³⁹ BLM, *Okla. Tract Book*, Vol. 2, p. 121; Okla. State Library, Okla. City land office, *Homestead Entries*, Vol. 2, p. 22.

The Acting Secretary of the Interior held in the Hattie Fuhrer case in 1891 that the order of the General Land Office under which homesteaders felt compelled to relinquish lots along the North Canadian River was erroneous and should not have been issued. On May 15, 1893, Calhoun filed an application to be reinstated in his homestead entry for Lot 10. Violet on December 29 proved up and received a final certificate for the lot. Secretary Hoke Smith on July 12, 1894, said that Calhoun's own testimony was fatal to his right to make entry of the land or to acquire any right thereto.

The next year Calhoun began court action to secure a decree declaring that Violet held the legal title to Lot 10 in trust for him, and for his use and benefit.⁴⁰ Amos Green and Son, attorneys for Calhoun, stressed the great similarity between the case of their client and that of James B. Jones who was held to be a qualified entryman.⁴¹ Counsel said that it seemed heathenish to cancel the homestead entry:

This young man was trying to assist his old father to get himself a home. For the courts to condemn his generous conduct by taking the father's home from him and giving it to the worst boodler in the gang of a half dozen greedy contestants; and one too who was and is yet in collusion with one of our citizen speculators who has furnished the money to push the contest through to a successful conclusion.

The United States Supreme Court would not, in the absence of fraud, re-examine a question of pure fact, but considered itself bound by the facts as decided by the Land Department in the course of regular proceedings, had in lawful administration of public lands. The court held that the fact that Calhoun had entered Oklahoma district prior to the legal time of entry had been "conclusively determined." The court further held that with regard to honorably discharged Union soldiers and sailors, the provisions of the act of March 2, 1889, were intended to give them equal right with others to acquire a homestead within the territory described by the act, but did not operate to relieve them from the general restriction as to going into the territory imposed upon all persons by the provisions of the law.

The Interior Department refused to refund to Calhoun the sum he paid as fees and commissions in making homestead entry because the entry did not fail "by reason of any fault or error upon the part of the Government."⁴²

⁴⁰ Calhoun v. Violet, 47 Pac 480 (1896); on appeal, 173 U. S. 60 (1898); cf. Lee v. Johnson, 116 U. S. 48 (1885).

⁴¹ The brief for Calhoun is in the Library of the U. S. Supreme Court, Calhoun v. Violet. *File Copies of Briefs*, Vol. 11, No. 180. A reading of the brief is necessary for a clear understanding of the case. See *Appendix*.

⁴² Act. Com. W. A. Richards to Calhoun, Aug. 16. 1900. NA,GLO, "M" Letter Book, Vol. 96, p. 45; Act. Sec. F. L. Campbell to Com. Gen. Land Office, Sent. 15. 1900. NA. Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent*, Vol. 254, pp. 381-382; Falk Steinhardt, 25 L. D. 210 (1897); Edward H. Stanford, 26 L. D. 3 (1898).

On April 23, 1889, the day Calhoun made homestead entry, he and others filed a declaratory statement for the west half of section four as North Guthrie. On January 13, 1891, Stone said this "was essentially a speculative scheme and a fraud, no municipal improvements of any kind having been placed upon the land and no preparations of any kind having been made for such improvements. The members of the pretended town organization and all others interested in the scheme lived elsewhere."⁴³ At a hearing of the case all parties admitted that there was not then and never had been a single town-lot occupant upon the land. Although Calhoun lost the homestead he claimed and a townsite he made entry for at Guthrie, he lived on homestead lands a few years, probably at no financial loss.

When the Calhoun case came before the Oklahoma City land office, the practice of perjury there in land matters was notorious. Edwin W. Stone said it was "as dense as fog," and Burford waged a vigorous and effective fight against it.⁴⁴

The Frank M. Gault case may be cited as one concerning perjury and purchased testimony in which "money came by thousands." Gault claimed a quarter section at Oklahoma City between what is now Fourth Street and Tenth Avenue, east of Walker Street. The case came to trial at the Oklahoma City land office on July 13, 1891. Commissioner William M. Stone noted that it had "some eight hundred pages of closely and badly type-written testimony."⁴⁵ A Mrs. Wolf testified that she saw Gault at Oklahoma City on April 20, 1889, and she received \$25 for her testimony; but she refused to identify him when asked to do so by the receiver of the land office. William Rose, a colored man, gave similar testimony against Gault. He claimed to have known Gault for three years but when asked to select him out of a crowd across the street he designated another man. Those who study the testimony can only hope that the truth, the whole truth was told in the Calhoun case. Perhaps in land cases the trend from truth was expedited in the era of provisional government

⁴³ Stone to register and receiver of Guthrie land office, Jan. 13, 1891, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, Vol. 5, pp. 35-76 b; B. B. Chapman, "Guthrie From Public Land to Private Property," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1955), pp. 63-86.

⁴⁴ See Burford's description in his letter to Secretary John W. Noble, Nov. 22, 1890, NA, Int. Dept., 10540 Lands and R. R Div. 1890.

⁴⁵ For a review of the Gault case, see Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, Feb. 17, 1893, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, Vol. 307, pp. 500-511.

When the Higgins case was before the townsite board, Gault on September 5, 1894, signed an affidavit stating that Ed Rose and Thomas P. King were "professional witnesses having no fixed home or occupation, and manage to exist from revenue procured from making affidavits before the Local Land Office, . . . and they are generally regarded in the community in which they live as notorious perjurers and worthless vagabonds." The affidavit is in the Higgins case file, NA, GLO, townsite box 144.

when false swearing of affidavits was not perjury, because Recorder John A. Blackburn had only local power to administer an oath.

THE COUCH CLIQUE

“It was the Boomers broke the cup,
Whence cattle barons long did sup,
And ope’d this land! And no damned pup
Can bark at us.”⁴⁶

At the death of David L. Payne on November 28, 1884, William Lewis Couch became the leader or captain of the “boomers.” He was the eldest child of Meshach H. Couch and Mary Bryan Couch, born November 20, 1850, in the northwest corner of North Carolina. The 1870 census lists William as the eldest of seven children. He farmed in Kansas and was a dealer in livestock. A few weeks after he succeeded Payne, he led the boomers to Stillwater on their last serious raid into Oklahoma district.

Meshach H. Couch came to Indian Territory about 1881. In 1884 at the age of 56, he entered upon the northwest quarter of section four at present Oklahoma City, surveyed the same, and was removed by military authority. He was in the vicinity of the tract prior to noon on April 22, 1889, and at noon on that day he stepped from the right of way of the railroad and within half a minute initiated his settlement on the tract. He contended that his occupation of the land in 1884 was a legal segregation of the same, and that he was a qualified homestead entryman. A century of preemption in American history gave support to his contention, but a new era had come.

By one minute after the land opening Thomas Wright initiated settlement on the tract Couch claimed. Wright had come into Oklahoma district during the prohibited period and obtained employment in hauling freight for the government contractor and the military authorities. It seems just to concede that he was lawfully in Oklahoma district. He asserted that it was his intention to go to the border of the district and make the race for a homestead but that he was peremptorily prohibited by the military authorities. His contention, not well substantiated with evidence, was that the military officers took possession of his team for the purpose of hauling wood. The soldiers loaded the wagons and Wright drove the team.

Edward Orne (or Orme) left his home in Arkansas on April 17. He arrived at Oklahoma Station on April 22 at 2:15 and made settlement on the tract occupied by Couch and Wright.

⁴⁶ Ira N. Terrill, *Purgatory Made of a Paradise*, p. 15.

All three established residences there. On April 25, Couch made homestead entry for the land. It was bordered on the north by the claim of William L. Couch, and on the south it touched claims of Joseph Couch and Meshach Q. Couch. Thus the homesteads of Meschach H. Couch and his sons trailed almost half the border line of Oklahoma City and South Oklahoma City. The Couch country was a valuable acquisition and the family tried to retain it.

On May 2, at the Guthrie land office G. W. Patrick made application to enter the townsite of South Oklahoma City and to include therein the tract occupied by Meshach H. Couch, Wright, and Orne. Wright on May 19 filed an affidavit of contest against the homestead entry of Couch, alleging prior settlement and charging Couch with soonering. On June 3, Orne filed an affidavit of contest charging Couch and Wright with soonering. Other contests were filed by Frank S. Phelps, Anson Wall, Nathan N. Miller, and Kate E. May. Mrs. May claimed that her husband, Samuel D. May, who died on April 23, had on the previous day made the first legal settlement upon the land.

The Oklahoma land office began a hearing on the case in July, 1891, and in December concluded that Orne was not a sooner, that he had established the charges contained in his affidavit of contest, and that he should be awarded the right to enter the tract. The decision was affirmed by Acting Commissioner Stone in 1892 and by Secretary Noble in 1893.⁴⁷ Orne received a final certificate for the land in 1897. Noble said:

Even if we should admit, for the sake of argument, that Wright was under duress on the 22nd of April, I cannot concede, that under the law, he would be a qualified claimant of the land. . . . There is no pretense, but that for weeks after the proclamation was issued, Wright was at full liberty to go out of the limits of the Territory. If he elected to remain therein, he must take the consequences of his action, and it must be held, that he could not take advantage of his presence near the land, to anticipate the settlement of others.

On April 22, 1889, about 2:00 p. m. people direct from the borders of Oklahoma district began to stake off lots on the east half of Section thirty-three, designated as the townsite of Oklahoma City. The quarter section bordering the townsite on the southwest was occupied by William Lewis Couch. He was recognized as the prior settler, one who not only was on the land at the time of the opening, but had already resided there a considerable time as was evidenced by his quite valuable improvements. Im-

⁴⁷ Stone to register and receiver of Oklahoma land office, July 11, 1892, NA, GLO. *Townsites*, vol. 9, pp. 276-282; *South Oklahoma v. Couch et al.*, 16 L. D. 132 (1893); 47 L. D. 8 (1893); 18 L. D. 135 (1894). M. H. Couch's homestead application, including his non-sooner affidavit, is in NA, GLO, Guthrie, Canceled Homestead Entries, No. 97. See Notes and Documents in this number of *The Chronicles*, p. 502, for letter of Meshach H. Couch to Harden Holbrook dated in 1885, written from Douglas, Butler County, Kansas.

mediately at noon on April 22, John C. Adams went upon the tract Couch claimed and effected settlement. In the afternoon a great many people seeking lots went upon the tract with a view to making location thereon, evidently thinking that they were within the limits of the townsite. Immediately upon being informed by Couch, Adams, and others that they were upon an agricultural selection, the lot seekers withdrew to the townsite or to the quarter section adjoining it on the south known as South Oklahoma City. The tract Couch and Adams claimed touched both townsites and is near the center of present Oklahoma City.

At the Guthrie land office on April 23 at 10:15 a. m., Adams made homestead entry for the quarter section.⁴⁸ The next day Couch made application to enter the land, and on April 27, he filed an affidavit of contest against Adams' entry. Many others tried to acquire the coveted homestead or an interest in it. Most interesting among them was Dr. Robert W. Higgins who on April 22 had made a twelve-mile run from the eastern border of Oklahoma district. During the hour preceding the Run, Higgins drove his team across the eastern line of the district a quarter of a mile "where there was water, and a lot of horses and men," watered his horses, and returned to the boundary line where he waited until noon. About two hours later he reached the quarter section and immediately settled upon it. He filed an affidavit of contest alleging the disqualification of Adams and Couch. John M. Dawson filed affidavits of contest alleging the disqualification of Adams, Couch, and Higgins.

The quarter section was coveted by townsite claimants who wanted to establish West Oklahoma there. By June 5, troops on three occasions were used to remove "town-site parties or jumpers" from the land. On August 17 J. W. Davis et al. as townsite claimants filed a contest against Adams' entry, and claimed superior rights to the other claimants and contestants. Couch resigned as mayor on November 11 to maintain residence on his claim. On April 21, 1890, he died on the claim from wounds received in a gun fight with Adams. A month later townsite claimants renewed their activities. *The Evening Gazette* on May 22 said:

An organized body of men numbering about one hundred quietly went out to the claim west of the city last night and staked off into town lots the already platted ground of West Oklahoma. There was no noise, no disturbance of any kind, but on the other hand the invasion so called was characterized by the utmost good order. A great many people in the city knew nothing of it, for if they had, there would have been a thousand people on the ground instead of a hundred. The I. X.

⁴⁸ The application of Adams, including his non-sooner affidavit, is in NA, GLO, Guthrie, Canceled Homestead Entries, no. 9. At an uncertain date T. J. Finley filed a townsite application for the tract as West Oklahoma City.

L. store yesterday afternoon presented a lively appearance and the secretary and treasurer of the West Oklahoma townsite company were kept busy receiving the Almighty dollars and issuing certificates to lots. When the news was passed this morning of the invasion last night a great stream of humanity flowed toward the above mentioned office of the West Oklahoma officers and again they did a rattling trade in lots.

The staking of the townsite last night was merely for the purpose of clinching a legal point. The case is set for the 25th of the present month and it is the opinion of leading attorneys that the townsite company will win and that easily. If such proves to be the case a great many people will be greatly benefited in this city in the way of having good lots cheap. They are almost without money and without price. The funny part of it is that Dr. Higgins says his claim was staked off into town lots last night. Mr. Dawson through his factotum, Col. Glasgow, says it was his claim. Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Couch and Mrs. Weymicke say it was theirs. Now, the question is who does it belong to? If some sage could answer that question it would greatly relieve a suffering public. Col. Glasgow made a rush for the Military camp, this morning and implored that mighty peace preserver and justice dispenser part of the government to stretch forth its mighty arms and save the claim from the bloated lot stakers. Lieut. Wilhelm, the commanding officer, walked out to the disputed land of corn, cotton and contestants with Col. Glasgow and after viewing the scene in a tranquil manner, stated that he was powerless in the premises. Col. Glasgow sadly faced toward Missouri and sighed for its refreshing breezes while the lots kept on going, going, going, at one dollar each.

Townsite Board No. 2 on September 25 filed a petition of intervention in the controversy to secure the quarter section. In October, Cynthia E. Couch, widow of Couch, filed a homestead application and initiated a contest against the entry of Adams.

Adams took the matter into the District Court of Oklahoma County where he sought ejectment proceedings against Cynthia E. Couch and others, and the payment of \$500 in damages.⁴⁹ The case in 1891 came before the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory which refused to exercise jurisdiction prior to the time when the United States had parted with the title. The court said

⁴⁹ The wife of Adams, Alice Adams, was his agent in an effort to retain the land. She charged that on January 13, 1891, Davis in an attempt to take possession of the land, damaged and destroyed improvements on it, and that his trespass was constant and continuous. On the same day John G. Clark, District Judge of Oklahoma County, issued an injunction restraining Davis and his agents from further damaging the improvements, and from attempting to oust Adams from possession of the land. Davis replied that on April 22, 1889, before any valid adverse rights had attached to the land, about 200 qualified townsite settlers had settled upon and occupied it for townsite purposes; that subsequently thereto Couch, Higgins, and others laid claim to the land as a homestead, and by force, fraud, violence, and intimidation by themselves and their agents had driven the townsite settlers from it, or had subjected them to danger of great bodily harm. Davis asserted that Adams was a sooner, and requested that an injunction be issued restraining him from interfering with the townsite settlers on the land. A useful source is *General Index, District Court, Oklahoma County, August, 1890, to October, 1898*, Vols. 1 and 2. See also *Adams v. Couch*, 26 Pac. 1009.

that Congress intended to invest in the Land Department exclusive jurisdiction of all questions relating to the sale and disposition of the public lands up to the time of the issuing of a patent. In some instances a homesteader might secure in the court relief against a mere intruder or trespasser, but the court would take no action which would make the register and receiver of a land office mere clerks in determining a contest between adverse claimants.

The Oklahoma City land office conducted a hearing in which hundreds of pages of testimony were taken, and in their decision on August 2, 1892, awarded the land to Dawson. Commissioner Silas W. Lamoreux reviewed the case on April 27, 1893, three weeks after the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision in the case of *Smith v. Townsend*.⁵⁰ He agreed that Dawson had the preference right of entry. He said that Cynthia E. Couch had no rights whatsoever as the widow of Couch, and that her application and affidavit were filed long after the intervention of valid rights by others. Since "some time in 1890" Adams had been under judicial duress. Lamoreux said: "Higgins wilfully violated the law by entering the territory unlawfully prior to the hour of opening. I do not think he can be heard to say that he gained no advantage by such entry. I think he was clearly disqualified and so hold." Lamoreux differentiated between Higgins and Frederick W. Kittrell who had unwittingly entered upon Oklahoma district during the prohibited period.

In a decision on June 29, 1894, Secretary Hoke Smith observed that Higgins took land far from the lake where he watered his horses on April 22, 1889, and said that the facts in the case did not bring him within the spirit of the prohibition of the act of Congress and the proclamation of the President.⁵¹ In accordance with this decision the entry made by Adams was canceled on February 21, 1895. Higgins entered the land in March and proved up the next year.

Rachael Anna Haines was the common-law wife of David L. Payne and the mother of his son, George. She entered Oklahoma district in 1882 and 1884 with Payne's "boomers," and in 1885 with William L. Couch's colony. In each instance she was removed by the military authorities. About April 15, 1889, she came to Oklahoma Station where she was employed by Couch on

⁵⁰ Berlin B. Chapman, "The Legal Sooners of 1889 in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (Winter, 1957-1958), pp. 382-415; Lamoreux to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, April 27, 1893, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, Vol. 11, pp. 1-21; cf. *Donnell v. Kittrell*, 15 L. D. 580 (1892).

⁵¹ *Higgins et al v. Adams*, 18 L. D. 598; BLM, *Okla. Tract Book*, Vol. 2, p. 143.

Section 33 as a cook for his railroad graders.⁵² At noon on April 22, she was within Oklahoma district, but her movements on that day are not stated in the record of her case. On April 25 "her residence commenced" in the southwest corner of Section 3, a half mile from Section 33. At the Guthrie land office that day she made homestead entry for 144 acres, 19 of which were on the west or left bank of the North Canadian river. She continued to reside upon the land and improve it.

On July 26, Belle Caldwell filed an affidavit of contest alleging that Mrs. Haines had entered upon and occupied lands in Oklahoma district before the hour of noon on April 22. The General Land Office on June 14, 1890, suspended the homestead entry because it embraced lands on both sides of a meandering stream.⁵³ On this matter the General Land Office was following a policy of questionable propriety. Mrs. Haines on October 1 relinquished her claim to the nineteen acres on the left bank of the river. On the same day the tract was entered by Hiram D. Miller who subsequently proved up.

Mrs. Haines was the loser at every hearing concerning her homestead entry. Acting Commissioner Stone said that in entering Oklahoma district she did not even have the excuse that she was a cook for the graders because such employment commenced after she unlawfully entered the territory.⁵⁴ He had no doubt that she entered Oklahoma district for the purpose of taking a homestead, for she had in prior years entered it three times for that purpose. When reference was had to the case of Taft v. Chapin and the comment made that Mrs. Haines had waited a sufficient time for others to settle or file on the land, Stone differentiated between the cases (including the doctrine in the case of Ransom Payne) and observed that the tract Mrs. Haines occupied was valuable and centrally located.

Twice the Haines case came before Secretary Hoke Smith.⁵⁵

⁵² It appears that William L. Couch had a contract in building a side track for the railroad at Oklahoma Station. His father and three brothers were among those engaged in the work. In Part One of this series it was explained that after Congress on March 2, 1889, provided for the land opening, the Santa Fe greatly increased the side tracks at the station and improved the depot facilities. There is a picture of "Mother Haines," in *Oklahoma Magazine*, vol. 11 (April, 1899), p. 142. See also Dan W. Peery, "Captain David L. Payne," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (December, 1935), pp. 438-456.

⁵³ Stone to register and receiver, Guthrie land office, June 14, 1890, NA, GLO, "C," *Letter Book, Oregon and Washington*, Vol. 64, pp. 233-235.

⁵⁴ Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, Oct. 10, 1892; NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 289, pp 1-6. See Taft v. Chapin, 14 L. D. 593 (1892); Turner v. Cartwright, 17 L. D. 414 (1893); Payne v. Foster et al., 33 Pac. 424 (1893).

⁵⁵ Caldwell v. Haines. April 5, 1894, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., Vol. 285, pp. 122-123; on review, Oct. 10, 1894, Vol. 295, pp. 187-189; NA, GLO, Guthrie, Canceled Homestead Entry, No. 98.

Oklahoma City

Oklahoma Territory

In the W & Land Office Oklahoma
City - Oklahoma Territory

I hereby relinquish with all
my rights title and interest in
all the lots contained therein
Section 33 Town 12 N. R. 3 E.

Elbow (11) Range 113 This was (10)

Rachel A. Haines

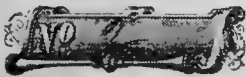
Subscribed & acknowledged before me this 1st
day of Oct 1890.

J. C. Delaney
Recd

Relinquishment of land at Oklahoma City by
Rachel A. Haines, October 1, 1890

[4-1890]

X-5 F



Land Office at Oklahoma City, O.T.

Sept. 3rd

1890.

It is hereby certified that, in pursuance of law, Edgar M. Lusk, Levi E. Lusk, David H. Haysman
Comprising Board No. 2, Townsite Trustees for Oklahoma City, in Territory
of Oklahoma

on this day purchased of
the Register of this Office for the use and benefit of the inhabitants
thereof according to their respective interests

the South East quarter (1/4)

of Section No.

33

Township No. 12 - North of Range No. 3 - West

of the Indian Territory

Meridian, containing 160 acres, at the rate of One

dollar and 25 cents per acre, amounting to Two Hundred dollars

for which the said Townsite Trustees

have made payment in full as required by law.

Now, therefore, be it known that, on presentation of this certificate to the COMMISSIONER OF THE
GENERAL LAND OFFICE, the said Townsite Trustees
shall be entitled to receive a Patent for the lot above described.

Jas. H. Burford, Register.

See note attached. J.H.H.

He noted that the case of *Taft v. Chapin* had been overruled by the case of *Turner v. Cartwright*, and that the Haines case came within the rule laid down in the latter case. Mrs. Haines' homestead entry was canceled November 14, 1894, and Belle Caldwell proved up on the land two years later. On May 22, 1909, Mrs. Haines made homestead entry for 160 acres in southern Washington on the Columbia River near the present site of Roosevelt. She died in 1912 in poverty, and her homestead entry was canceled in 1917. She lived to see the twilight of the homestead era, for the land she left in Washington did not attract another homesteader for thirty years.⁵⁶

On April 24, 1889, Meshach Q. Couch made homestead entry for the southeast quarter of section four which bordered South Oklahoma City. He had made settlement on the tract in 1884, cultivated more than an acre of it in corn, and had begun the erection of a log house before he was compelled to abandon the site by authority of the federal government. He expected to reclaim the tract when the territory was opened to settlement. During the years before 1889 Couch was in Oklahoma district buying cattle and working on ranches, so that he was thoroughly familiar with the region.

About April 15, 1889, he came to Oklahoma Station where he worked on the railroad in the employment of his brother. Apparently he did not visit the tract he desired to homestead. On April 21, he went to the Pottawatomie country on the border of Oklahoma district from which he entered the race on horseback at noon on April 22. He reached the tract he desired about 1:30 p. m. and did acts of settlement. He worked for the railroad company after the land opening.

In June Robert J. Lee filed an affidavit of contest against Couch's homestead entry. H. George Kuhlman on June 23, 1891, filed an affidavit alleging the disqualifications of both Couch and Lee for having entered Oklahoma district during the prohibited period. A year later Acting Commissioner Stone said: "If Couch was in fact a sooner, and took advantage of his entrance into the Territory, the arms of the law, after a thorough investigation, have failed to develop the fact."⁵⁷

Kuhlman on May 25, 1893, filed in the local land office a relinquishment by Couch and an application to make homestead

⁵⁶ BLM, *Wash. Tract Book*, Vol. 69, p. 76.

⁵⁷ Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, July 23, 1892, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 277, pp. 264-287. The decision of Burford and Delaney, register and receiver of the Oklahoma City land office, is in *Okla. Times-Journal*, Jan. 8, 1892.

entry for the land. On January 13, 1894, Lee filed an affidavit in the office alleging that he was a settler on the land at the time Kuhlman filed the relinquishment. If this were true, Lee's rights would have attached instantly on May 25, 1893.⁵⁸ A hearing was ordered. The decline in Lee's position came in the case of Aaron B. Jones *v.* Ernest L. Lawrence in which Lee had testified on July 1, 1892, that he was not in Oklahoma district during the prohibited period. Lee was convicted of perjury. Kuhlman commuted the homestead entry to cash on September 30, 1897. Couch made a second homestead entry for a quarter section at the eastern end of the Oklahoma Panhandle in 1900 and proved up five years later.

At noon on April 22, 1889, John M. Couch was on the track of the Santa Fe railroad, a half mile south of the tract that became the South Oklahoma City townsite. He was ten miles from the nearest exterior border of Oklahoma district. At noon, he stepped from the railroad upon a tract of 149 acres, of which 48 acres were north of the North Canadian River and 101 acres were south of it. At Guthrie on April 25, he made homestead entry for the land.

On May 23, David C. Pryor filed an affidavit of contest against the entry, alleging that Couch was illegally within Oklahoma district prior to the opening. He asked that the entry be canceled as to the portion north of the river, thereby waiving his claim to any other portion of the land. Although it was not required of Pryor at that time to file an application to make homestead entry, he filed such application for the portion north of the river. Edward S. England was then residing upon and claiming the portion of the land south of the river.

Within three months Couch had other rivals who were Jerome Monk, James A. Robinson, James Thompson, Hugh L. Ewing, and finally England who on August 6 filed an affidavit of contest against Couch. England claimed he had settled on the land south of the river on May 19, prior to any legal settlement made thereon by Couch. In 1891 England filed a disclaimer to the portion north of the river.

In a decision on February 20, 1895, the Oklahoma City land office said that action by Pryor necessarily worked a cancellation of the whole of Couch's homestead entry, and observed that he might be entitled to the preference right to the whole of the land embraced in the entry. Assistant Commissioner E. F. Best

⁵⁸ Lee *v.* Kuhlman, Nov. 12, 1896, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., vol. 344, pp. 368-379; *ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1896, vol. 347, pp. 144-145; 24 L. D. 400 (1897); NA, GLO, Guthrie, Canceled Homestead Entries, No. 40.

held that for the portion south of the river, England's settlement was good as against all the world, except only the entryman and the government.⁵⁹

With the northern portion safely in the bag, Pryor asserted claim to the southern portion and declared that England was a trespasser. Four times the case came before Secretary Cornelius N. Bliss who agreed that England should have the portion south of the river.⁶⁰ Bliss said that Pryor had stood by and saw England improving the land without a word of protest. England had relied on the statements Pryor had made under oath in 1889 as to the land he wished to enter. Couch's homestead entry was canceled on August 12, 1898. England proved up on the portion he claimed before the end of the year, and Pryor proved up on the northern part in 1900.

Charles B. Couch on April 25, 1889, made homestead entry for a quarter section a mile southwest of the South Oklahoma City townsite. On December 23, 1890, the entry was canceled by relinquishment and on the same day Martha Boyd made homestead entry for it. It seemed to Acting Commissioner W. M. Stone that the relinquishment was the result of contests initiated against the entry within five months after it was made.⁶¹ Martha Boyd made cash entry for the land on May 1, 1893.

Joseph Couch on April 25, 1889, made homestead entry for a tract of 147 acres just southwest of the South Oklahoma City townsite. Of the tract 81 acres were north of the North Canadian River and 66 acres were south of it. Commissioner S. M. Stockslager on the day after the entry stated that it was wrong to allow entries of tracts separated by a meandered stream.⁶² On June 19 Frank A. Hill filed a contest against Couch alleging entrance into Oklahoma district during the prohibitory period. John Chase on July 1 filed a contest alleging that an erroneous filing was allowed to Couch because the land was on both sides of a meandering stream. James K. Chase on November 11 filed a contest alleging prior settlement on the land.

⁵⁹ Best to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, Jan. 28, 1896, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, Vol. 435, pp. 90-97; Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, Sept. 30, 1892 *ibid.*, Vol. 287, pp. 145-146. Couch's homestead application, including his non-sooner affidavit, is in *ibid.*, Guthrie Canceled Homestead Entries, No. 94.

⁶⁰ Pryor et al. v. Couch, 25 L. D. 488 (1897); 27 L. D. pp. 30, 339, 568 (1898).

⁶¹ Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, April 27, 1891, NA GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, Vol. 194, pp. 320-321.

⁶² Tel. from Stockslager to Frank D. Hobbs, April 26, 1889, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 17 p. 305; see also Act. Com. Stone to McKennon and Boles, July 6, 1889, *Ann. Rpt., Sec., Int., 1889, H. Ex. Docs., 51 Cong. 1 sess., xi(2724), p. 102.*

Upon examination of the plats in the General Land Office, Commissioner Lewis A. Groff found that the land Couch entered was on both sides of a meandering stream. For this reason he suspended the entry on June 27, 1890, and allowed Couch thirty days to decide which portion of his claim he would relinquish, so that the land remaining would be confined to one side of the stream.⁶³ The alternative was to relinquish the entire entry in which case an application to make a second entry for a specific tract would receive due consideration.

Couch tried to appeal from the action of the General Land Office but learned from Assistant Commissioner Stone that "an appeal will not lie from the action of this office suspending an entry."⁶⁴ On September 25, the entry was held for cancellation for illegality because the tracts embraced therein were on both sides of a meandering stream. Couch could appeal to the Secretary of the Interior on this action and he did. However, on July 13, 1891, before a decision was reached, Couch relinquished the portion north of the river, and on that day James B. Wheeler made homestead entry for it. Couch's entry remained suspended for four months or longer. On February 18, 1892, Couch relinquished the portion south of the river and on that day Thomas C. Ladd made homestead entry for it. Wheeler commuted his entry to cash in 1892, and Ladd in 1893.

The Couch group consisting of Meshach H., Meshach Q., John M., Charles B., Joseph, and Rachael Anna Haines may be considered as a unit. On April 24-25, 1889, each of them made homestead entry for a tract in the vicinity of Oklahoma City. The first of them to lose all hold on the tract entered was Charles B. Couch on December 23, 1890; the last was John M. Couch on August 12, 1898. Thomas A. Couch contested a homestead entry for a tract south of present Fourth Street and west of Western Avenue, but did not secure the land.⁶⁵

The judicial processes of the Couch era were as substantial as those in the usual American effort to attain justice. However, as one in the National Archives relives the boomer activities of the Couch family and the pioneer days when they settled at Oklahoma City, he may be permitted to dissent from judicial decisions meted out to them. Should he do so, he will be in

⁶³ Groff to register and receiver, Guthrie land office, June 27, 1890, "C" *Letter Book*, Oregon and Washington, Vol. 64, pp. 447-449.

⁶⁴ Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, Sept. 25, 1890, *ibid.*, vol. 66, pp. 140-142; same to same, Nov. 16, 1891, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 231, pp. 480-485; Asst. Sec. George Chandler to Commissioner Gen. Land Office, Aug. 1, 1891, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Copy Book, Decisions*, Vol. 224, pp. 48-49.

⁶⁵ See decision of John H. Burford and John C. Delaney, register and receiver, the Oklahoma City land office, in the *Oklahoma Times-Journal*, Feb. 26, 1892.

agreement with a contemporary historian who said that William L. Couch "ought to have had a choice of all the claims in Oklahoma, with no one to say him nay."⁶⁶ He died of wounds received in a gun fight with a homestead rival, John C. Adams, and was buried on his claim on the first anniversary of the Run of 1889.⁶⁷

A SLICE FOR THE CITY

Reference has been made to the act of May 14, 1890, whereby entry for townsites should be made by three trustees appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. The act provided that all unclaimed lots, or lots not otherwise disposed of as provided for in the act, should be sold under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior for the benefit of the municipal government of the town, or the same or any part thereof might be reserved for public use as sites for public buildings, or for the purpose of parks, if in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior such reservation would be for the public interest.

The impatience of Oklahoma City to secure a slice in the division of lands involved the southeast corner of Block 23 at the intersection of Grand Avenue and Broadway. Here were lots 40 and 41 occupied by P. J. [Joe] Hill and James T. Hill, known in partnership as Hill Brothers. In a trial before a jury the brothers proved that they settled there on April 22, 1889. They had exclusive possession of the lots, and erected valuable build-

⁶⁶ Marion Tuttle Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*, p. 97. Dan W. Peery, who was well acquainted with the old Boomers, said that many of them were good citizens and should have had some reward for the work they did in opening the country to settlement. He thought that in making the run for homes many of them were the victims of bad advice.

⁶⁷ The writer is indebted to Sidney Clarke III for use of the register of names listed here. He is among the Oklahoma State University students who have been my greatest source of inspiration and encouragement in the study of Oklahoma history. Dr. LeRoy Fischer recently secured the Clarke Papers for the Oklahoma State University Library.

Sidney Clarke left among a wealth of historical materials at Shawnee, Oklahoma, a *Register of Payne's Oklahoma Colony, 1894*. It includes the following persons who apparently lived in the vicinity of Oklahoma City: Capt. Anderson, Miss Ada Anderson, Miss Anderson, Miss Annie Anderson, Charles Ball, E. J. Ball, E. O. Ball, Mrs. E. O. Ball, Henry Ball, Carl J. Blanchard, Mrs. C. J. Blanchard, Ed Bowman, E. W. Bowman, Mrs. R. A. Bowman, Dr. Bradford, Coley Bruce, James Bruce, John Bruce, Roland Burnette, Sidney Clarke, Mrs. Sidney Clarke, Ira Couch, Joseph Couch, John M. Couch, M. H. Couch, Mrs. C. E. Couch, Mrs. Mary Couch, M. Q. Couch, T. A. Couch, Samul Crocker, Stephen Crocker, Mrs. W. H. Cunningham, Ed. A. DeTar, Mrs. E. A. DeTar, T. W. Echelbarger, John P. Ellis, John R. Furlong, George W. Haines, Mrs. R. A. Haines, James W. Johnston, Asa Jones, Mrs. Flora Jones, John S. Koller, Capt. Maitt, Dr. McElwain, Mrs. Dr. McElwain, Thomas W. Miner, George Moses, Danl. J. Odell, W. H. McPherson, Mrs. W. H. McPherson, Charles Renfro, Thurston Renfro, Will T. Renfro, Dell Rockwood, Lewis Rockwood, H. E. Smith, Franklin Springer, James Stinson, Lum C. Woodruff, Frank Woodruff.

ings there. Some of the rooms were rented to tenants. The building on the corner they used themselves in operating a saloon and billiard hall, for which business they were licensed by the city.

The law of Oklahoma Territory forbade a dealer in intoxicating liquors to have or keep any gambling table, billiard or pool table in the room where liquors were sold.⁶⁸ It was the duty of liquor sellers to keep the windows and doors of their places of business unobstructed by screens, blinds, or other articles. The sheriff should upon view or information, and with or without a warrant, apprehend any persons committing any of these violations, and seize all such liquors and other articles of traffic, and the utensils or furniture used in the business and convey them before a justice of the peace or district judge within the county in which the offense was committed.

The board of townsite trustees found the Hill Brothers to be sooners, and the brothers appealed the case to the Commissioner of the General Land Office. On October 18, 1893, the trustees deeded the two lots to Oklahoma City.⁶⁹ The sheriff of Oklahoma County and city officers took unified action. On October 31 about 5 a. m. the sheriff possessed of warrants, with a number of deputies, and the chief of police, with some special policemen, and a member of the city council went to the premises. The Hill Brothers were charged with operating a gambling business, keeping blinds at the windows of the saloon, and with keeping a billiard table in a room where liquors were sold.

The sheriff and his deputies arrested the brothers and proceeded to remove all the furniture and fixtures from the building. The brothers claimed that the city marshall and policemen assisted the sheriff in the arrests and seizure of property. In executing the warrants, the sheriff left the building vacant and unoccupied, and city officials promptly located in it. The police judge took the upper room where the gambling had been conducted, and held police court there; the city council shortly thereafter moved its chambers into the room. Thus the city took possession of the building, and also collected rents from the tenants occupying the remainder of the property.

Within an hour and a half after the arrest, the Hill Brothers were released from custody, but were refused admittance into the premises. There was little doubt that they were operating a

⁶⁸ BLM, *Oklahoma City Tract Book*, p. 13; *Statutes of Okla.*, 1893, secs. 3165-3169; *City of Oklahoma City v. Hill*, 4 Okla. 521 (1896); 6 Okla. 114 (1897).

⁶⁹ When the appeal was taken to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, it was the duty of the townsite board to decline to issue a deed to Oklahoma City until the appeal was disposed of; *McDaid v. Oklahoma, ex rel. Smith*, 150 U. S. 209 (1893).

business not entirely within the confines of the Territorial law, and at least one of them pleaded guilty to charges named in the warrants. Property removed by the sheriff was held about sixty days. The Commissioner of the General Land Office and the Secretary of the Interior found that the Hill Brothers were sooners.⁷⁰ On March 28, 1895, the Secretary of the Interior noted that Oklahoma City had "no other lands on which to erect such public buildings," and awarded the lots to the city for public use.

For the damages and loss of property the Hill Brothers brought suit against Oklahoma City in the sum of \$35,000. The Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory found that they were entitled to a judgment of \$6,186.67. In reaching this conclusion the court said that pending the appeal the townsite trustees were not empowered to issue the deed on October 18, 1893, and that it was void. Of the Hill Brothers as plaintiffs, and of the act of Congress of March 2, 1889, the court said:

While . . . the plaintiffs could . . . never acquire any title to these lots from the government, nor any right in or to the land, it cannot be maintained that their possession under their claim as townsite occupants gave them no right to hold that possession as against a stranger who had no title or right of possession, and such the city was; for, as we have seen, its deed of October 18, 1893, was void, and it had no other claim to the lots, and no other right of possession, until its application to have the lots set aside to the city for public use as a site for public buildings was sustained, on March 28, 1895. And while by virtue of this act of Congress the plaintiffs could acquire no title or right to these lots, they did, until their disqualification was established, have some right of possession there. They had settled upon the lots. They had reduced the lots to their own sole and exclusive possession. They had erected lasting, substantial, and valuable improvements upon the lots; and they were, by themselves and their tenants, at the moment of their disposition, in the actual and peaceable possession of them, using them for business purposes. And they were asserting a right to acquire title to these lots under a law of the United States, and that claim was undisposed of.

The law gives a settler upon and occupier of lots on a government townsite the right to hold possession of his occupancy against the forcible intrusion of all other persons, and although he may, by reason of his disqualification as an entryman, never be able to acquire any rights to the lots beyond that which his mere naked possession gives him, this is sufficient to protect him from forcible intrusion from any and all other persons, and to give him a right of action for damages against any person who may exclude him therefrom without title or right paramount to that which the naked and peaceable possession gives the occupant. . . .

It is true, the law declares that one who enters upon and occupies these lands in violation of law shall never be permitted to enter or acquire any right to the lands, but it is not attempted to determine in

⁷⁰Kelly et al. v. Hill, 20 L. D. 268 (1895): Act. Com. Edward A. Bowers to townsite trustees of Oklahoma City. May 4. 1894, NA, GLO, "G" *Letter Book*, Vol. 14, pp. 182-186. A second trustees' deed to Oklahoma City for the lots was executed on August 1, 1895.

advance who are and who are not disqualified under this law. Each and every person may occupy the lands, and when he is occupying them peaceably he is presumed to be occupying them lawfully, and this presumption obtains in his favor until it is overcome by proof; and until this disqualification is established, although he may be an illegal occupant, he has, by virtue of his peaceable possession and his claim of right to occupy it, all the rights of a legal occupant. And although he might, after it had been held that his occupancy was in violation of law, be defeated of his right to obtain redress of one who had, without lawful process, deprived him of the use of his possession, this certainly could not be accomplished by a mere trespasser.

It has been explained that by authority of President Harrison a quarter section on April 20, 1889, was designated as the Military Reservation at Oklahoma Station. Oklahoma City was laid out along its western border, and soon made known its desire to have the reservation for the use and benefit of its free public schools as soon as the land was no longer needed for military purposes. A rifle range was on the lower part of the reservation. In the northwest quarter of the tract were four sets of officers' quarters, one frame and three picket barracks, guardhouse, hospital, quartermaster and commissary storehouses, and canteen.⁷¹ The buildings were of temporary character, mostly of logs.

Redfield Proctor, Secretary of War, was of the opinion that legislation providing that the land eventually become the property of Oklahoma City should be deferred until the reservation was no longer needed for military purposes.⁷² In 1892 the Department of Agriculture wanted the reservation, at least a part of it, including a building, set apart for the use of the weather bureau. Congressional committees observed that in Oklahoma City no lots were reserved for school buildings, and that there were no public schools there for about eighteen months after settlement.⁷³

On September 28 Lewis A. Grant, Acting Secretary of War, said that the reservation was no longer required as a shipping point or needed for military purposes. He recommended that it be transferred and turned over to the Secretary of the Interior for disposition under the act of July 5, 1884.⁷⁴ Harrison approved the recommendation on September 29, 1892. A memorial by the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce was addressed to Congress requesting that the quarter section be given

⁷¹ Statement by Capt. D. F. Stiles, Feb. 5, 1891, *H. Reports*, 52 Cong. 1 sess., v(3045), No. 1020, p. 2.

⁷² Proctor to Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, Feb. 27, 1891, *ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

⁷³ *S. Reports*, 52 Cong. 2 sess., ii(3073), No. 1338.

⁷⁴ 23 *Statutes*, 103; Grant to the President, Sept. 28, 1892, NA, War Dept., Quartermaster Gen. Office, 40539-1893, box 440; S. B. Elkins, Sec. of War, to Sec. Int., Sept. 30, 1892, NA, GLO, Military Reservations, box 113; *General Orders and Circulars*, Adj. General's Office, 1892, No. 69.

to Oklahoma City for school purposes.⁷⁵ It was noted that the tract had been made "valuable by the building of Oklahoma City." Congress by an act of August 8, 1894, granted most of the quarter section to the city in trust for the use and benefit of its "public free schools."⁷⁶

A NOD TO SOUTH OKLAHOMA CITY

South Oklahoma City comprised a quarter section that bordered Oklahoma City proper on Reno Avenue. In 1888 George E. Thornton, a United States deputy marshal, located on the tract. He had a house and other improvements there prior to the passage of the act of Congress opening Oklahoma district to settlement. On April 22, 1889, he was residing on the land, engaged in the occupation of hauling government freight occasionally from the railroad station to Fort Reno, and also acting as a deputy marshal. At one minute after noon on that day he asserted a homestead claim to the quarter section by driving stakes and posting notices thereon of his claim.

Edward A. DeTar was a brother-in-law of William L. Couch, and a former member of Payne's Oklahoma Colony. About April 15, DeTar entered Oklahoma district and was employed by Couch as a grader on a side track of the railroad at Oklahoma Station. Shortly before noon on April 22 the work was abandoned or suspended for several days. DeTar said that within four hours after the land opening he was plowing on the quarter section claimed by Thornton. Two days later at the Guthrie land office DeTar filed an application to enter the tract as a homestead. He erected a house on the land and resided there a few years.

On April 22 about 2:15 p.m., a northbound train carrying an estimated 1,500 persons stopped at the east side of the tract in controversy. Immediately the people went upon the land and commenced the work of staking, marking out and claiming lots for townsite purposes. The crowd was composed largely of Texans. Such was the group that organized the South Oklahoma City townsite.

On April 22 at 3:15 p.m., Louis O. Dick filed in the Guthrie land office an application for an Oklahoma City townsite which included the north half of the townsite of South Oklahoma City. Dick stated that the lands had been "settled upon and occupied as a townsite." The next day the land office refused to accept

⁷⁵ The memorial is in the *Evening Oklahoman*, Feb. 17, 1894.

⁷⁶ 28 Statutes, 264; "Military Reservation at Oklahoma City," *H. Reports*, 53 Cong. 2 sess., ii(3270), no. 525. For a description of the reservation and a photograph of it taken in 1889, see "The Military Reservation," *The Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. 2 (Nov. 1894), p. 40.

Thornton's homestead application, because of the townsite application.

The survey of South Oklahoma City was begun on April 23, and on April 30, Mayor G. W. Patrick approved the plat.⁷⁷ At the Guthrie land office on May 2 he made application to enter the tract as a townsite. On August 6 Acting Commissioner W. M. Stone said that in view of Dick's sworn statement that the lands were already settled upon and occupied as a townsite, they were in a state of reservation from disposal under the homestead laws.

The *Evening Gazette* on Dec. 27, 1889, said that the city fathers of South Oklahoma City would have a conclave on December 28 when it was supposed a resolution would be passed declaring all lots vacant if the recently assessed lot tax was not forthcoming by January 4. The newspaper said:

The aggregate of this city assessment is \$600, but the city has only succeeded in obtaining about \$100 of it. The money is being raised to fight in the courts the contest on the townsite. It is the opinion of a great many residents of the south town that the \$100 already paid is about all that can be collected. Hence the above prospective resolution.

James L. Brown estimated \$4,000 was collected for certificates, and described the situation as follows:⁷⁸

In South Oklahoma one set of certificates were issued and sold. When all were sold that could be, then the city canceled all certificates held by non-residents, or on lots not improved, and for \$5.50 per lot issued new certificates to new parties. This new deal took in about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the city. Again in turn all these first and second lot alike, were canceled and lots awarded to the original stakers or their assigns. So it goes.

In accordance with the direction of the General Land Office, John I. Dille and Cassius M. Barnes, register and receiver of the Guthrie land office, conducted a hearing, and their decision appeared in the *Oklahoma City Daily Times*, July 20, 1890.⁷⁹ At that time, 1,200 people occupied the tract, and their improvements were valued at \$94,413. Only the early decisions including that of the General Land Office in the case of *Blanchard v. Cook and White* were available to Dille and Barnes. They referred to the case of the Townsite of *Kingfisher v. John H. Wood and William D. Fossett*.⁸⁰ They noted that the King-

⁷⁷ The plat is in NA, GLO, townsite box 140: see also Bunky, *The First Eight Months of Oklahoma City*, pp. 20-23; 100-103.

⁷⁸ J. L. Brown to I. S. Struble et al., Dec. 30, 1889, NA, Leg. Sec., HR, 51A-F39.5 Oklahoma (or Indian Territory). Brown was a partisan, and clearly described conditions as he observed them. His remarks at times were perhaps more readable than reliable —Cf. Part Two, footnotes 12 and 41 of this series.

⁷⁹ An abstract of the decision is in L. B. Hill, *History of the State of Oklahoma*, vol. 1, pp. 263-267.

⁸⁰ B. B. Chapman, "The Legal Sooners of 1889 in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (Winter, 1957-1958), pp. 382-415.

fisher land office held that "in accordance with the views expressed" by Commissioner Strother M. Stockslager to Senator John J. Ingalls in the letter of April 12, 1889, that Wood was a "legally qualified entryman." Dille and Barnes concluded that "Thornton was as lawfully and as properly within the territory at the time of the passage of the act of March 2, as was either Wood or [John G.] Chapin, and in view of the foregoing decisions Thornton has lawfully acquired a prior right to all other claimants to the quarter section claimed by him."

On September 24, 1890, Dille and Barnes granted a new hearing and a new trial, and the cause was transferred to the Oklahoma City land office. On October 1, Secretary John W. Noble gave the famous decision in the case of Townsite of Kingfisher v. John H. Wood and William D. Fossett in which Wood was held to be disqualified to take a homestead because he had taken advantage of his position to seize upon the land in controversy.

This decision made the matter easy for John H. Burford and John Carroll Delaney, register and receiver of the Oklahoma City land office. On January 16, 1891, they concluded that Thornton made the first settlement upon the tract, but that he was disqualified from acquiring any right or title thereto because he had soonered.⁸¹ They found that DeTar not only had soonered, but that he did not initiate a settlement upon the tract until after Thornton and the townsite settlers had occupied it. Burford and Delaney found that the townsite claimants and occupants were the first and prior legal settlers and occupants of the tract, and that they had continued their settlement, occupancy, and improvement for purposes of trade and business since 2:10 p. m. on April 22, 1889. Noble agreed that Thornton was disqualified as a homesteader because he had taken advantage of his presence on the land prior to the hour of opening.⁸²

On December 2, 1891, South Oklahoma City was entered as a townsite by trustees Charles J. Jones, Angelo C. Scott, and Moses Neal. According to Scott there were "no disputes about surveys." The "Plat of South Oklahoma Addition to Okla-

⁸¹ The opinion of Jan. 16, 1891, is in NA, GLO, Townsite Trustees, Board no. 2, Oklahoma City v. George E. Thornton, and Edward A. DeTar, townsite box 140. A few months later Thornton was killed in performing his duties as a deputy marshal; J. Y. Bryce, "Old Timers Swap Yarns as Part of Celebration," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (June, 1926), pp. 153-155.

⁸² Oklahoma City Townsite v. Thornton et al., 13 L. D. 409 (1891); Act. Com. W. M. Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, June 8, 1891, NA, GLO, "G" Letter Book, Vol. 6, pp. 63-76; Scott, *The Story of Oklahoma City*, pp. 108-109. Stone thought that DeTar's "so called employment as a 'grader' was a mere subterfuge and was used by him as an instrument for the purpose of securing an unfair advantage over others."

homa City'' was approved by the trustees on December 7.⁸³ Streets of South Oklahoma City were surveyed straight east and west. The north and south streets did not meet squarely the north and south streets of the citizens' survey, but causes jogs on the north and south sides of Reno Avenue. South Oklahoma City merits a fuller account than space in this study permits. In the General Land Office files in the National Archives are no less than a thousand pages of testimony and other papers concerning the founding of the south town on the banks of the North Canadian.

CONCLUSION

When Congress by purchase in 1889 extinguished the rights of the Creeks and Seminoles to certain lands including Oklahoma district, the pressure of the Boomers on the border of Kansas was so urgent that Congress and the President provided for the opening of the district on April 22. There was retained the archaic policy of giving settlement rights to those who first occupied the lands after the legal opening. A well known point in the district was Oklahoma Station, served by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad and a post office for more than a year. It lay in a fertile region and had other facilities for growing into a capital city.

The Seminole Town and Improvement Company embarked on a competitive business venture, not on a philanthropic operation. In the vicinity of Oklahoma City were hundreds of sooners seeking gain, while town companies and prospective organizations of settlers were willing to take such action as would satiate their greed. Legal sooners under the label of internal revenue collectors, deputy marshals, government-employed teamsters, and railway employees were among competitors for lands.

The Seminole Town and Improvement Company owed their success to a well-planned organization which in the excitement of the land opening operated with smooth-running efficiency. Their sooner plat of Oklahoma City was prepared prior to the land opening, and at the hour of opening, if not before, Charles Chamberlin headed the survey by laying off Main Street across the townsite.

While these sooners initiated the survey, another sooner, Mark S. Cohn, filed in the Guthrie land office an application to

⁸³ The plat is in NA, RG 49. The journal of the trustees is in *Townsites, Records of Proceedings*, NA, GLO, Vol. 171. It extends from November 16, 1891, to January 31, 1894, and comprises 313 pages. A record of assessments on lots, contest cases, and lots awarded is in *ibid.*, Vol. 173. The finance record is in *ibid.*, vols. 174 and 175. The *South Oklahoma Tract Book* is in BLM, Vol. 59 in the townsite series.

reserve Guthrie proper as a townsite, and with it he filed the first non-sooner affidavit in Oklahoma history. At 3:15 p. m. Louis O. Dick filed in the office an application to reserve Oklahoma City as a townsite, and his affidavit was no less notorious than the one filed by Cohn. It is probable that the applicants owed more to connivance than to good fortune in gaining admittance into the land office. Yet, it was desirable that the heart of the two urban regions should not be shadowed by homestead entries, and that end was attained.

The citizens' movement, backed by the Oklahoma Town Company, established two rows of blocks across the townsite of Oklahoma City,—South of Grand Avenue, and then compromised with the Seminole Town and Improvement Company so that the two surveys were united, and historically marked by jogs in streets crossing Grand Avenue. The citizens' survey used awarding committees to summarily determine who should occupy lots they surveyed.

A provisional government was established in Oklahoma City, in which the Seminole Town and Improvement Company exercised a pronounced influence. There was less commotion in opening streets in Oklahoma City than in Guthrie, and for this the company may well claim some credit. Arbitrary power operating on a consistent basis understood by the public, and possessing force to carry out its decisions promptly, was preferred to slow-moving democracy. A metropolis sprang up on the prairie, and the inhabitants demanded leadership that would move on with the show. There was considerable grumbling in none too well organized fashion. While the Seminole Town and Improvement Company was too selfish to merit much honor, it retained popular devotion until the foundation of Oklahoma City was laid.

For eight months the provisional government determined successful occupants in lot contests, and issued lot certificates. Rapid growth of the city on the pattern of the Dick plat made continued conformance to the plat desirable. The reforms of Mayor Andrew Jackson Beale were too late and too severe. In late December when there was animated dissension between Beale and the majority of the city council, and cavalrymen from Fort Reno rode into Oklahoma City, Attorney General W. H. H. Miller issued the famous "statu quo" order which virtually prevented provisional city governments in Oklahoma district from taking further action in determining the rightful owners of lots.

The Couch clique around Oklahoma City had been a prominent part of the boomer vanguard that promoted the opening of Oklahoma district. In the division of lands they acquired little material reward for their pioneer labors, but they are enshrined in the realm of history and pageantry.

For a year Oklahoma district had no organized government, and as the year drew to a close the question of giving recognition to lot certificates issued by provisional city governments was carried to congress. The act of May 14, 1890, provided that in contest cases lot certificates should be accepted by townsite boards as bona fide evidence of claim of occupancy only. Doubtless there was an influential hand from Oklahoma City in writing this provision of the law.

Townsite boards appointed by the Secretary of the Interior reviewed the work of the provisional government of Oklahoma City in awarding town lots, and seems to have confirmed most of the work. There was considerable financial adjustment among contestants, with attorneys easing compromises. The Oklahoma City Land Office opened on September 1, 1890. There homesteaders applied for land entries, filed relinquishments, contested settlement rights (some were tempted to engage in seemingly justified perjury), and successful homesteaders received final certificates. In the vicinity a few land cases reached the Supreme Court of the United States. In some cases the losers, like Calvin A. Calhoun, probably suffered no great financial loss by the venture into Oklahoma. In the founding of Oklahoma City there was no factor more important than the common effort of good citizens to secure a home in a growing city, one that promptly demanded the capital and eventually secured it.

Appendix

For five months preceding the opening of Oklahoma district, James B. Jones resided in the Pottawatomie country on a ranch which he had leased from an Indian. Throughout the five months he went back and forth to Oklahoma Station from his residence for his mail and to purchase provisions and other goods and for railroad accommodations, there being no other point available to him. In January, 1888, he selected a quarter section near present Jones, northeast of Oklahoma City, as a site for his future home and built the foundation of a house there, intending to claim the land as soon as it should be open for entry. The tract was located about three miles from his residence and about one mile northwest of the usual route traveled by him on trips to Oklahoma Station. The night before the opening he spent at the ranch and he remained without the limits of Oklahoma district until the opening of the lands, at which time he promptly settled upon the tract he had chosen, and in due time made a homestead entry therefor.

Thus he was, before the passage of the act of March 2, 1889, familiar with the tract in question and with the vicinity roundabout it. In regard to whether he had entered upon and occupied lands during the inhibitory period, Secretary Hoke Smith said of Jones: "His periodical visits to Oklahoma City, which was at once his post office, his most convenient and accessible railway station, and his market town, do not appear to have brought him any advantage over other persons seeking lands in the Territory, and his entrance therein upon the missions and for the purposes indicated by the evidence, it having been made affirmatively to appear that he reaped no advantage therefrom, should not, in my opinion, be held to disqualify him."

—*Cornutt v. Jones*, 21 L. D. 40 (1895); Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office Oct. 12, 1892, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book* Vol. 289, pp. 277-282.

In this case Smith modified the doctrine in *Turner v. Cartwright* (17 L. D. 414), and in *Laughlin v. Martin* (18 L. D. 112); and the Department of the Interior went back to the more liberal rulings of Secretary Noble. A line of reasoning like that in *Cornutt v. Jones* was followed by Smith in the case of *Fuller v. Gault et al.*, 21 L. D. 176 (1895). Cf. footnote 41.

THE YUCHI: CHILDREN OF THE SUN

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

The Yuchi are designated members of the Creek Confederacy by ethnologists, historians and the United States Indian Office although some members of the tribe are determined to be rated as a separate nation.

Dr. John R. Swanton, the recognized authority concerning the Creek Indians, has declared that the earliest name of the Yuchi, or Chisca, is given on the basis of information in very early Spanish documents, published and unpublished. Dr. Swanton makes this comment:¹

One reason for the general misunderstanding of the place of the Yuchi in aboriginal history was the fact that the language was generally considered very difficult by other peoples and few learned it, and, although not necessarily resulting from that circumstances, it so happened that they were known to different tribes by different names, never apparently by the term Tsoyaha, "Offspring of the sun," which they apply to themselves.

Dr. Frank G. Speck in his study of the Yuchi has made these observations:²

Calling themselves "Sun Offspring," the Yuchi believe in reality that they derive their origin from the Sun, who figures in their mythology as an important being of the super-natural world. He appears as their culture hero after the creation of the tribal ancestor The name Yuchi (*Yu'tci*), however, is commonly known and used by themselves and the whites and has spread among neighboring Indians as the designation of the tribe. It is presumably a demonstrative signifying "being far away" or "at a distance" in reference to human beings in a state of settlement (*yu*', "at a distance," *tci*, "sitting down").

It is possible, in attempting an explanation of the origin of the name, that the reply "*Yu'tci*" was given by some Indian of the tribe in answer to a stranger's inquiry, "Where do you come from?" which was a common mode of salutation in the Southeast. The reply may have been mistaken for a tribal name and retained as such. Similar instances of mistaken analogy have occurred at various times in connection with the Indians of this continent, and as the Yuchi interpreters themselves favor this explanation it has seemed advisable at least to make note of it.

¹ John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, *Bulletin* 73; Washington, 1922), p. 287.

² Frank G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians* (Univ. of Pennsylvania, Anthropological Publications, VOL. I, No. 1; Philadelphia, 1909), p. 13. Further reference the name *Yuchi* and their own pronunciation of *Tsoyaha* as nearly *Choyaha* is given by Muriel H. Wright in *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), p. 264.

In the almost universal sign language of the Plains the sign for the Yuchi is the right hand raised level with the head with the index finger pointing upward; a demonstration indicating affiliation with the sun.

It is known that more than one band of Yuchi lived in the southeastern region covered by the early Spanish documents. Swanton has stated:³

The Yuchi have attracted considerable attention owing to the fact that they were one of the very few small groups in the eastern part of North America having an independent stock language. Their isolation in this respect, added to the absence of a migration legend among them and their own claims, have led to a belief that they were the most ancient inhabitants of the extreme southeastern parts of the present United States. . . . but the event proves how little the most plausible theory may amount to in the absence of adequate information. Strong evidence has now come to light that these people, far from being aboriginal inhabitants of the country later associated with them, had occupied it within the historic period.

The Yuchi were visited by early explorers and although there was no certainty that De Soto met them he did send two soldiers to see the Chisca province which was evidently in the rough country in the eastern part of the present Tennessee.⁴ Because of local colonial wars some of the Yuchi removed from the southern Appalachian Highlands and in 1656 part of the tribe settled on the James River, Virginia where they defeated the colonists. The Yuchi were not heard of in Virginia after this battle.⁵ In the course of time, they separated into distinct channels: "A portion of them remained in the north [Tennessee], a second body settled not far from the Choctawhatchee River in western Florida, and two or three others established themselves on and near the Savannah River [Georgia]."⁶

Swanton points out a reference to "the Uche or Round Town people," in the South Carolina archives. He also notes that a legend on the *American Atlas* by Thomas Jeffery (London, 1776), at a point on the Savannah River several miles above Augusta reads: "Hughchees or Hogoloos Old Town deserted in 1715." Swanton goes on to say that "The form Hughchee is somewhat unusual, but is confirmed as actually intended for Yuchi by numerous references to this island as "Uchee Island" in the Georgia Colonial Documents and elsewhere, as well as the existence of a "Uchee Creek" which flows into the Savannah at this point."⁷

In about 1729, most of the Yuchi gathered in a settlement on the Chattahoochee river under the protection of the Creek

³ Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁵ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 266

⁶ Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 287, 288.

Confederacy. Very little is heard of the tribe until about 1791 when William Bartram, the botanist, visited this region in his wide travels in search of botanical specimens. He joined a party of "adventurers for West Florida, and after encountering many dangers, they came to the banks of the 'Chata Uche River' " opposite the Yuchi town. When they had unloaded their horses, the Indians from the town came over in large canoes and gave their assistance in ferrying over the merchandise. They then drove all the horses together and swam them across the river. Bartram gives this description:⁸

The Uche town is situated in a low ground immediately bordering on the river; it is the largest, most compact, and best situated Indian town I ever saw; the habitations are largely and neatly built; the walls of the houses are constructed of a wooden frame, then lathed and plastered inside and out with a reddish well-tempered clay or mortar, which gives them the appearance of red brick walls; and these houses are neatly covered or roofed with Cypress bark or shingles of that tree. The town appeared to be populous and thriving, full of youth and young children. I suppose the number of inhabitants, men, women and children, might amount to one thousand or fifteen hundred, as it is said they are able to muster five hundred gunmen or warriors. Their own national language is altogether or radically different from the Creek or Muscogulge tongue, and is called Savannah or Savanuca tongue; I was told by the traders it was the same with, or a dialect of the Shawanese. They are in a confederacy with the Creeks, but do not mix with them; and on account of their numbers and strength, are of importance enough to excite and draw upon them the jealousy of the whole Muscogulge confederacy, and are usually at variance, yet are wise enough to unite against a common enemy, to support the interest and glory of the Creek confederacy.

Chief Ellick of the Kasihta, Creek tribal division, had married a Yuchi and he induced some of his wife's tribesmen to join his settlement on the Chattahoochee in 1729. This became the largest of the Yuchi towns, and it was known as "Uchee" among the traders and was the town visited by Bartram.⁹ Benjamin Hawkins of North Carolina, U.S. Commissioner to the Creeks in 1785 and later left this account of the Yuchi:¹⁰

In the year 1729, an old chief of Cussetah [Creek], called by the white people Captain Ellick, married three Uchee women, and brought them to Cussetah, which was greatly disliked by his townspeople;

⁸ William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida* Philadelphia. 1791) pp. 386-7. With reference to Bartram's statement here that the Yuchi was a dialect of the Shawnee, Swanton (*op. cit.*, p. 309) states: "Of course the Shawnee and Yuchi languages are radically distinct. Bartram was led into the error of supposing a relation to subsist between them by the fact that the two tribes were on very intimate terms, were mixed together, and both spoke languages quite different from the Creeks."

⁹ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

¹⁰ Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 310. For extended historical notes on the Yuchi tribe, see Albert S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians* (Brinton's Library of Aboriginal Literature, No. IV; Philadelphia, 1884), pp. 17-24.

their opposition determined him to move from Cussetah; he went down opposite where the town now is, and settled with his three brothers, two of whom had Uchee wives; he, after this, collected all the Uchees, gave them the land where their town now is, and there they settled.

These people are more civil and orderly than their neighbors; their women are more chaste, and the men better hunters; they retain all their original customs and laws, and have adopted none of the Creeks; they have some worm [rail] fences in and about their town, but a very few peach trees.

They have lately begun to settle out in villages, and are industrious, compared with their neighbors; the men take part in the labors of the women, and are more constant in their attachment to their women than is usual among red people.

James Seagrove, United States Agent to the Creeks, did not visit the tribe for two years after his appointment (1792) but kept in touch with the Creek chiefs "through an honest intelligent man, named Timothy Barnard, who had long resided among the red People." Timothy Barnard, a British subject and a man of affairs, married a Yuchi and acquired great influence in Indian affairs. He was the first white settler in Macon County, Georgia, where his home on Flint River was well known before his death in 1820. He was the father of three sons by his Yuchi wife—Timpoochee, Michee and Cosenna. Timpoochee was carefully instructed by his mother in her dialect. His grandson, Timothy Barnard (II), was prominent in the Creek Nation after the removal to the Indian Territory, and was active in the alignment with the Confederate States during the Civil War.¹¹

A great grandson of Cosenna Barnard (sometimes found as "Barnett") was the Reverend Noah G. Gregory who served as representative from his native Yuchi town in the Creek Nation, Indian Territory, and gave the data about 1890 for the following sketch of his tribe which he called "Euchee":¹²

Among the American Indian tribes that have lost their individuality and become merged in the more powerful aboriginal nations, the Euchee is the most distinctive in its language and customs. Before the War of the Rebellion, this tribe was known to have existed in the Southeastern States, and to have been both numerous and powerful, till conquered by the Creeks upward of a century ago. . . . But the Euchees of the present day indignantly refute this assertion, and go so far as to deny their conquest by the Creeks. . . . However this may be, the Euchees now form a very considerable body politic in the Creek Nation, sending five representatives to the general council. That the Euchees were essentially a distinct tribe from any and all others is proven, not only by their language (which has no resemblance whatsoever to any tongue spoken on the Western Continent) but by their customs and personal appearance. Differing from other aboriginal tribes many of these people have grey eyes, while the com-

¹¹ Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Birmingham, 1900), pp. 336, 433; Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 311; Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-7.

¹² H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory: Its Chiefs, Legislators and Leading Men* (Saint Louis, 1892), pp. 22-25.

plexion is several shades lighter than the full-bloods of other nations. The shape of the face also appears to differ slightly and the women are in many instances very beautiful.

The Euchees are remarkable even to the present day for their undaunted bravery; they are stubborn and unyielding in the extreme. Their unconquerable spirit is a strong argument against the assertion that they were made slaves by the Creeks. Had such really been the case, it is not improbable that they would have destroyed themselves in preference to accepting the humiliation of serfdom.

The Euchees have been friendly to the white settlers from an early period. We find them allied with the United States soldiers in 1814 in the war against the Creeks, and led on by their celebrated leader, Timpoochee Barnett [for Barnard]. Barnett was the son of a Euchee woman, his father being a Scotchman of gentle blood named Timothy Barnett. Timpoochee acquired a high reputation for skill and bravery, having taken an active part in many battles in the South during the late war.

The Euchees are among the most superstitious of the Indian tribes, and to the present day [1890] the majority believe implicitly in witchcraft. The witch, in their imagination, most frequently takes the shape or form of the night-owl or night-hawk, and in the silence of the night plucks the heart from its victim, which dies the next day. Originally, the Euchees were sun worshippers. At the present they have no religious observances. Their town chief, Copaychunnie, is a predestinarian, and is strongly prejudiced against the Bible and the Christian doctrine. He believes that a tree without fruit is useless, and as such he looks upon Christianity, whose followers set such a wicked example to the unlettered sons of the forest.

Swanton in his ethnological study of the culture of the southeastern Indian tribes states that information on the Yuchi makes it certain that "not long before white contact they must have had a distinctive culture corresponding with their distinctive language." However, there is not enough recorded on their customs and practices before they became a part of the Creek confederacy to prove an independent status for the tribe. Characteristic features of the culture of the Yuchi, aside from their speech, "were their tradition of a solar origin and the solar cult that went with it." Also, there was a division of the males of the tribe into two societies, in which the line of descent was from father to son. There was an extensive use of the bull snake as a motive in their art.¹³ The Yuchi were once noted for their pottery made by the women. The men made clay pipes. Some of the Yuchi living many years ago near the old Wetumka school (near present Wetumka, Oklahoma) used to make pottery of blue and brownish yellow clay.¹⁴

¹³ John R. Swanton, *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy* (Bureau of Amer. Ethnol., 42nd Annual Report; Washington, 1928), pp. 126, 193, 712. The Yuchi "towns" (or clans) were: Deer, Bear, Wolf, Wind, Skunk, Panther, Wildcat, Alligator, Fish, Beaver and Bird (*ibid.*, p. 125).

¹⁴ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

A report in 1894 states that at this time there were more than 600 Yuchi residing on the Arkansas River in Northeastern Indian Territory, usually classed as Creek Indians. There had been some intermarriage between the two tribes but the Yuchi were even yet "jealous of their name and tenacious of their position as a tribe." They had their own separate settlements in the Creek Nation, and spoke their own language.¹⁵

Speculation as to the origin of the Yuchi has continued for years. A scholarly historical sketch published in 1951 stated in part:¹⁶

Are the remnants of the mysterious Yuchi Indians, . . . survivors of that friendly race of native Americans who greeted Christopher Columbus when he first made landings in the New World?

Are these . . . Yuchi Indians descendants of the Lucayans who, as some authorities believe, may have found sanctuary in . . . Androa Island, 100 miles off the Florida coast, after fleeing from the "fire stick" of Columbus . . .

More mystery surrounds the background and origin of these Yuchi than any other tribe of American Indians. . . . In an ancient Spanish chronicle, by Fontenanda, the Lucayans of the Bahamas were called Yucayos; and that the Indian name for the "Columbus Indians" is Yuchi. . . .

SAMUEL W. BROWN, SR.

CHIEF OF THE YUCHI TRIBE

A prominent member of the Yuchi in the Creek Nation, after the removal to the Indian Territory, was Chief Samuel W. Brown, Sr., who was born in Van Buren, Arkansas, in June, 1843. He was the eldest son of S. W. Williams, a lieutenant in the United States Army.¹⁷ Brown's mother called Suttah was a sister of Chief Tissoso of the Yuchi. She was the granddaughter of Cosenna Barnard (or "Cussine Barnett"), a prominent leader among the Yuchi.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Report of the Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed* (Washington, 1894), pp. 22-25. "A report from Chief S. W. Brown, who represents the Yuchi on the Creek Tribal Council, stated that there were 1,216 Yuchi in Oklahoma in 1949" (Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 265).

¹⁶ Herbert Hollander in *The Seattle Times*, October 7, 1951, p. 10.

¹⁷ Biography, "Samuel W. Brown," in O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-93.

¹⁸ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 267. Notes from Dorothy Jean Brown, granddaughter of Chief S. W. Brown, Sr., state that her great-grandmother, Suttah, was also known as "Polly" or "Satty," whose name is listed on the 1832 Creek census between the names of Margaret Barnard and Harriet Barnard. (This name appears "Scittarsharthlenay" as noted, in Creek Census roll for the town of "Euche on the waters of the Chatahouchee," in *Doc. 512* on the "Emigration of the Indians," 1831-33, Vol. IV, p. 358.—Published at Washington, 1835.—Ed.) Chief S. W. Brown's mother Polly had two sons other than he. One was named William F. Gordon, and the other was kidnapped by an Osage while a small boy, adopted into the tribe and enrolled as an Osage. After the death of Chief S. W. Brown,

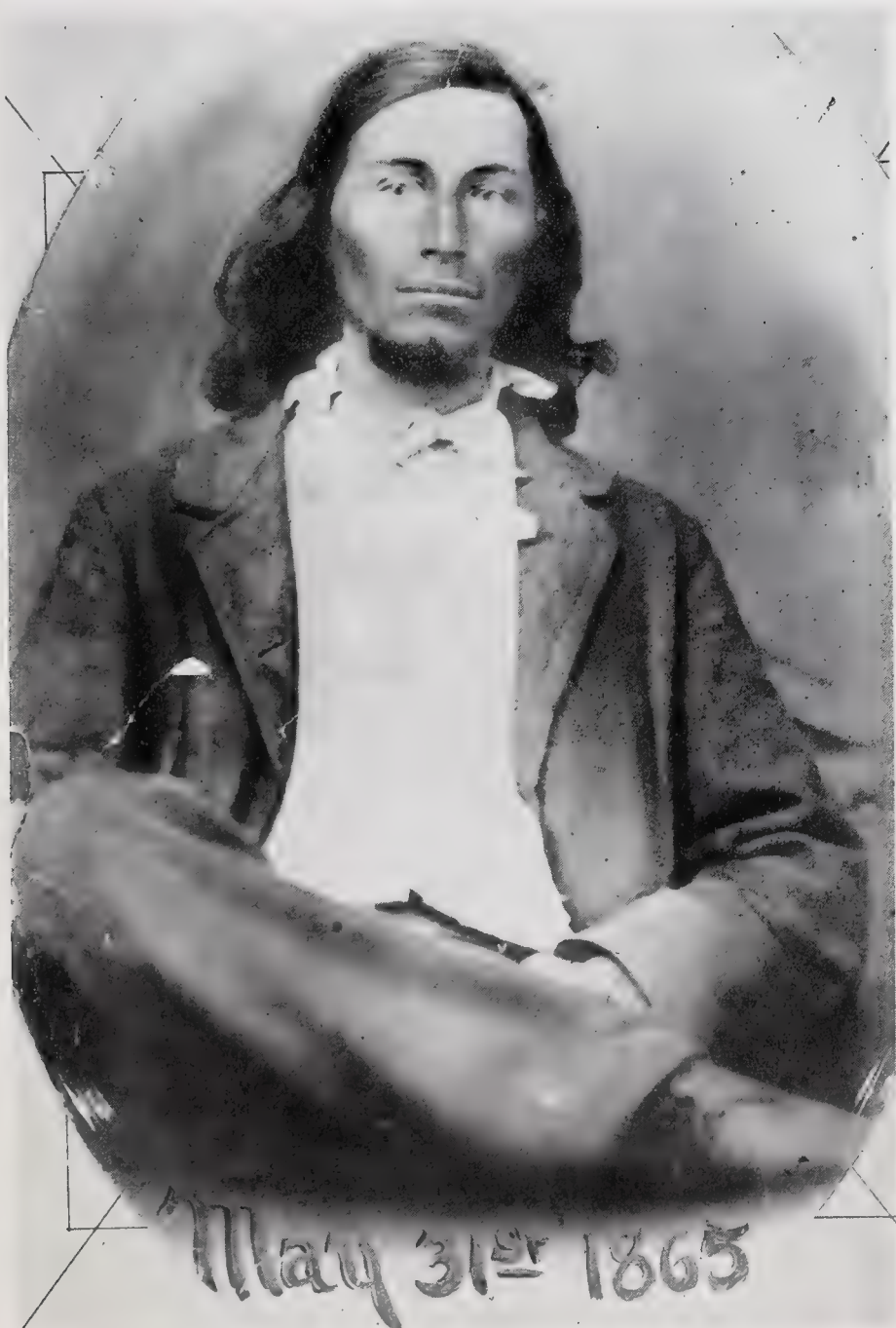
The subject of this sketch obtained his name from the trustee of the school which he attended—S. C. Brown, a prominent Indian who took an interest in the boy. After attending the neighborhood school for a short time, Sam went to Tallahassee Mission in the Creek Nation. He remained in school at Tallahassee for six or seven years but finally left, owing to ill health, and went to New Mexico in 1860, with a cattleman named Warfield. When Samuel Brown returned to the Creek Nation, he found his country in a state of great excitement owing to the Civil War, his own relatives and many of the Yuchi having gone north to Kansas with Opothleyahola's followers. Young Brown joined the Confederate forces for self protection and remained until 1863 when he, too, left for the North and joined the Federal Army.¹⁹ In describing his experiences in the Civil War many years later, he declared: "We had some pretty good scrapping. We were supposed to be Infantry, called Company K, Indian Home Guard, but always had horses. We were always fighters."²⁰

Samuel W. Brown returned to the Creek Nation, Indian Territory, in 1886, and married Miss Neosho Parthena Porter in September of this same year. She was the daughter of Mr. Hiram Harvey Porter of New York and Mrs. Porter who before her marriage was Miss Rachel McKellop of Scottish and Indian descent. Mr. and Mrs. Brown became the parents of five chil-

Sr., the Osage chief Paul Red Eagle sent for Chief S. W. Brown, Jr. (father of Dorothy Jean Brown) and told the story of this adopted Osage boy. His Osage name was *Tsa-pah-ke-ah* (also spelled *Sah-pe-ke-ah*), and he became a prominent member of the Osage, serving on delegations representing the tribe. He died never knowing his brothers, in 1910. His Osage roll number was 511, Allotment No. 485. His son's name was *Kah-shin-kah*, or James Black, now deceased. The other son of Polly — William Frederick Gordon — was born in 1856, and died in 1896. He was the father of the late Willie Tiger, prominent Yuchi who lived near Kellyville and was enrolled under his Yuchi name of *Co-co-tah-loney*, Creek Roll No. 7007 (died winter of 1958).

¹⁹ Muster Roll of Co. K, First Regiment Indian Infantry Home Guards, Union Army, shows *Jon-neh*, Captain of Co. K. Most of the names given on this roll are Indian names— 1 captain, 1 1st lieutenant, 1 2nd lieutenant, 5 sergeants, 8 corporals, 75 privates—, showing a total of 88 names (92 on last muster). Among these enlisted men, *Samuel Brown* is given as a private, age 21 years, joined the service and enrolled June 1, 1863, in the field for a period of 3 years, and mustered in the same day. The discharge of Co. K, Captain *Jon-neh*, is given under S.O., No. 110, Hdqrs, Dept. of Ark., May 8, 1865; the Muster-Out Roll examined by W. A. Phillips, Col. 3rd Indian Infantry Home Guards, A.C.M. Indian Brigade, at Ft. Gibson, Cherokee Nation, 7 May 1865 (Photostat) of Muster rolls of First Regt., Indian Infantry Home Guards, Union Army, from National Archives, Washington, D.C., in Union Memorial Hall collections, Oklahoma Historical Society).—Ed.

²⁰ Evelyn Hughes Shumard, special interview with Chief S. W. Brown, Sr., from Sapulpa, in *Tulsa Daily World* July 21, 1929.



(Photo from old enlarged picture in Oklahoma Historical Society)
SAMUEL W. BROWN, SR.
Chief of the Yuchi, 1867-1916

dren: Madison H., Rachel S., Celestia Annie, Samuel W., Jr. and Neosho.²¹

In 1867, Samuel W. Brown became chief of the Yuchi for they still held themselves as a distinctive tribe. Their "town," or community, was in the Northwestern part of the Creek Nation where they spoke their own language among themselves and observed traditional ceremonials in their own square grounds. At the same time, the Yuchi were regularly organized as citizens of the Creek Nation and had a part in the Creek government. Chief Brown was prominent among the leaders in the Nation. In the same year that he became chief of the Yuchi (1867), he was elected to represent his home "town" in the House of Kings (Senate) in the Creek National Council (legislature), in which position he served by re-election for several different terms up into the 1890's. He was elected in this period for one term as a member of the House of Warriors, or lower House, in the Creek Council. During 1880-1882, he and William McCombs were superintendents of the Creek national schools. Before this, Chief Brown had been appointed and served as district judge about three years in the Nation. He was treasurer of the Creek nation from 1883 to 1887.²²

Among several cattle ranches in operation in the early 1880's, in the region of Wealaka Mission (site near present Leonard, Tulsa County), were ranches owned by Chief Brown and by Pleasant Porter who was later noted as Principal Chief of the Creek Nation.²³ By 1890, Chief Brown was a man of property having 700 head of cattle, 60 stock horses and mules; about 200 acres of land under fence, a comfortable house, garden and orchard. At this time, Chief Brown and his wife belonged to the Baptist Church, and they saw to it that their children attended the best schools in the Nation. Described as a man of "gentlemanly appearance . . . chief of the Euchee band—a tribe remarkable for its distinctiveness."²⁴ Chief Brown remained close to his people and always observed the old Yuchi religious and social ceremonials. His homeplace on his ranch

²¹ O'Beirne, *op cit.*, p. 189. Rachel McKellop Brown, wife of Chief S. W. Brown, Sr., was the sister of Susan McKellop who married John Denton, a Cherokee, and they were the parents of Lilah Denton Lindsey of Tulsa (Ref., Mrs. J. O. Misch, "Lilah D. Lindsey," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 [Summer, 1955], pp. 193-201). For Affidavit of David M. Hodge with reference to the McKellop family, see *Appendix* at the end of this article.

²² O'Beirne, *op cit.*, p. 189.

²³ Pleasant Porter spent five years in the Presbyterian mission at Tullahassee where he became acquainted with Sam Brown whom he accompanied on a cattle drive to New Mexico.—John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Pleasant Porter," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (September, 1931), p. 322; also notes by Dorothy Jean Brown from S. W. Brown, Sr., and S. W. Brown, Jr.

²⁴ O'Beirne, *op cit.*, p. 189.

where he lived for over forty-five years was about one and a half miles west of present Jenks in Tulsa County. His permanent residence was a large dwelling erected about 1885-6.²⁵

Jeremiah Curtin, the celebrated linguist and philologist, spent some time in the home of Chief and Mrs. Brown while he was doing research in the Indian Territory in 1883-84. Curtin afterward wrote about his experience of looking for a boarding place for himself and his wife:²⁶

The only possible one was at an unfinished house in a clump of trees, the home of Sam Brown, a half breed Yuchi. Both Brown and his wife had been educated at the mission; they spoke English, and he was willing to assist me in learning Yuchi. The Yuchi tribe live about six miles from Wealaka. Mr. Brown sent for an old man reputed to be wise, and before evening I had the creation story of the Yuchis, the children of the Sun. As the house was unfinished, the rooms were cold and untidy. At times as many as a dozen Indians sat huddled around the little stove in my room, an unkempt crowd. . . .

I stayed about a month at Wealaka. I took down a large vocabulary, studied the grammar, and obtained a few valuable myths. When ready to leave, I found considerable trouble in getting started. There was no stage; the mail was brought either in a light wagon, or by a man on horseback. At last I hired an American, by the name of Kinney, to take us to Muskogee in his freight wagon. In the Indian country, all the travelling is done on horseback.

A busy trading center grew up at Wealaka which was established as a post office on April 8, 1880, with W. T. Davis as postmaster.²⁷ In this same year Tallahassee Mission, a large boarding school in the Creek Nation located north of present Muskogee, was accidentally destroyed by fire, and citizens west near Wealaka planned a new school in their growing community.²⁸ The Creek Council provided the establishment of the school, and a handsome three-story brick building was completed in 1881, called Wealaka Mission. The Reverend Robert Loughridge was superintendent of this Creek national school from 1881-1884.²⁹ The site of the Mission was in a beautiful location on high ground overlooking the valley of a bend in the Arkansas

²⁵ Merle Woodson, "Sam Brown—Last of the Euchee Guardsmen," *Tulsa Daily World*, February 1, 1931, Magazine Section, p. 5.

²⁶ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Jeremiah Curtin in Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 345-56.

²⁷ George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 234.

²⁸ Angie Debo, *Tulsa: From Creek Town to Oil Capital* (Norman, 1943), p. 46.

²⁹ "Autobiographical Sketch of Rev. Robert McGill Loughridge, D. D., Missionary to the Muskogee Indians," O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 480. (*The English and Muskogee Dictionary* [1914], by Rev. R. M. Loughridge and David M. Hodge of the Creek Mission, lists the Creek [or Muskokeel] word *Uelauke*, pronounced nearly *Wealaka*, with the meaning of "flood" or "high water." —Ed.)

River. "Jeff" Davis had come into this country after the Civil War and built his home and a store at this location. Pleasant Porter whose ranch was in the vicinity called the place "Fairview," and it is reported that it was known locally for a time by this name, but it is given as "Wealaka" in the records when established as a post office in 1880.³⁰ The location of the Davis store was chosen as the site of the new school, and he was paid \$600.00 for this location. At the time, Chief Samuel W. Brown, Sr., bought out the Davis store, and also bought the old neighborhood school building less than a half-mile southeast, often called "Mrs. Turner's school." Chief Brown put a new square front on the building and a large lean-to porch on the south and kept his store here. This was a good business location for the wagon road to Muskogee ran right in front of the building which faced east.³¹ Chief Brown was always proud that he was appointed postmaster at Wealaka by the Post Office Department in the early 1880's, and he kept his "sheepskin" (or certificate) for the rest of his life to prove his appointment and service. Chief Brown was trustee of Wealaka Boarding School in 1892 to 1894, and also in 1896.³²

Though Samuel W. Brown, Sr., was chief of the Yuchi and held many high offices in the Creek Nation, he took greatest pride in the fact that he was responsible for the founding of the "Euchee Boarding School" which was built on the east side of Sapulpa and first opened for Yuchi boys and girls in 1894. Chief Brown in his last years pointed to this school saying that he looked on it as the monument to his life's work. He said that he had fought for three years in the National Council for the establishment of this school, and after the appropriation was made, he selected the site and had the building erected. Others who were instrumental in securing the establishment of the school were

³⁰ The late William Porter, son of Chief Pleasant Porter, stated: "I remember the first store and post office in our vicinity. The old road from Old Broken Arrow to Muskogee crossed the southeastern part of our land The pole ferry across the Arkansas run by 'Grube' Childers was a quarter of a mile north, down by the hill. The legal description of our land may help locate this — the Northwest quarter of the Southeast quarter of Section 21, Township 17, Range 14. Soon after the War a man by the name of Jeff Davis took up a bit of land southwest of us facing the trail on the height a quarter of a mile south of the ferry. Here he had his home and a little store. The Euchee community was five miles south and with other settlers coming in a post office seemed necessary. So my father named the place Fairview; it was a commanding site with low valleys to the south, and east the Concharta Mountains in the distance. The post office was established in the store of Jeff Davis."— *Indian and Pioneer History* (Foreman Collection), Vol. 40, pp. 239-40, in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-41.

³² Shumard, *op. cit.*, in *Tulsa Daily World*, July 21, 1929: "School Department, Muskogee Nation, Teacher's Report." # 37081, as of November 10, 1894, in Indian Archives Oklahoma Historical Society.

Noah Gregory, Henry Land and William Sapulpa, all of whom served as superintendent at different times.³³ Gregory was the first superintendent, and Chief Brown later served as superintendent. Brown was justified in his pride of the institution described as follows:³⁴

The school is approached today through an avenue of beautiful flowering catalpa trees. The buildings are in excellent repair, all snowy white. The grounds are well landscaped with nicely trimmed hedges and brilliant flower beds. Through the grounds, where the grass is cut just as it should be, run graveled driveways. The native blackjacks have been supplemented with other trees that flourish in this climate.

A herd of thoroughbred Holstein cows graze in a pasture adjoining these grounds, while the garden, the orchard and vineyards may be seen in the rear.

Supt. O. A. Wright came to the school this year (1929) from the southern part of the state. Many buildings have been added and great improvement made since Mr. Wright was in Sapulpa 23 years ago. Even then there had been changes since Noah Gregory, first superintendent, took charge when the school was opened 10 years before.

This was when the woodland surrounding the school looked like an Indian village toward opening in September and again at closing around the first of June. Parents came, drove their ponies for miles and camped for several days before starting back.

Mr. Brown rode all over the nation persuading parents to send their children for education, and carried away a little boy behind him on his horse to the school It is as a horseman that the old-timers

³³ Noah G. Gregory was a son of Joseph Gregory, a white man and Lucinda Simms, who was one-half Yuchi and a granddaughter of Cosena Barnard ("Cosienna Barnett"). Noah Gregory became the youngest member of the House of Kings in the National Council in 1887, and he was elected to the House of Warriors in 1891 (see O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-13; and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 268).

Henry J. Land attended Tullahassee Mission and assisted young Samuel W. Robertson print *Our Monthly* at the Mission. He was born at Choska in 1859, the son of a white minister of the Baptist Church, Rev. Land and his Creek Indian wife. He attended Park College, Missouri, taught in the Creek schools and translated many laws of the Creek Nation (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* [Norman, 1936], pp. 245-6.)

William A. Sapulpa, born 1861, was the son of *Sapulpa* (died, 1887) of the Creek Nation. He attended Tullahassee Mission and Wooster University in Ohio (O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 239). He (William Sapulpa) gave the history of his father found in *Indian and Pioneer History*, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 101, pp. 38-44. William Sapulpa stated that his parents were full blood Creek, and his father had no other name than *Sapulpa*. The father, *Sapulpa*, established a store on Pole Cat Creek near the present site of the City of Sapulpa in 1850. He was in the Confederate Army in the Civil War and fought at the Battle of Honey Springs (1863). He built a new double-log house about a half mile from his first house after the War, and kept a store here. His place became known as "Sapulpa Station" on the stage line road. When the Frisco R. R. built to this point in 1886, it was the end of the track for a time, and the town that sprang up there was the beginning of the present City of Sapulpa. Thus the City perpetuates the name of its first settler, the full blood Creek leader, *Sapulpa*, who had a very interesting life. He had a son named James (or "Jim"), brother of William.

³⁴ Shumard, *op. cit.*, in *Tulsa Daily World*, July 21, 1929.

always think of him. For many years he was a familiar figure throughout the Creek Nation on his white pony. He continued to ride his pony until 1920 when he suffered a dislocated hip from helping to push an auto out of the mud, since he has had to depend upon an automobile to carry him around, and uses crutches in walking.

During the time that Chief Samuel W. Brown, Sr., served on the Board of Education in the Creek Nation, two orphan homes were established: one for Indian children near Okmulgee and the other for Negro children on Pecan Creek. Even in his advanced years, Chief Brown of the Yuchi was keenly interested in Indian government and tribal affairs. He was considered an authority on Indian tribal matters, especially on the Yuchi. He had much data in what he called his "book of figures," and his wonderful memory enabled him to tell many stories relating to Indian life and legend. One time in an interview that was later published, Chief Brown related that the campaign of his neighbor and friend, Pleasant Porter who was elected Principal Chief of the Creek Nation in 1899, was much like the elections of white people elsewhere, with "conventions, big speeches and everything." This published interview continues:³⁵

Porter had a big two-day barbecue in a grove in the eastern part of Sapulpa, just south of the high school, for campaign purposes, just a little while before the election.

Other men who took part in this campaign were Moty Tiger, Joe Bruner, Henry Land and Jim and Will Sapulpa. One well-known warrior, Buck Trot, had such a hilarious time with the aid of fire-water that they had to tie him down at some distance so that the speeches might be heard. Families came and camped and there was much excitement. The women took little interest in the proceedings, but they kept the "sofke" pot boiling. "Indian women don't vote," remarked Chief Brown. "They cook." Indian boys attained their majority at 18. They voted at specified places by word of mouth and their vote was recorded by clerks.

Yuchi Chief S. W. Brown has been described "a dedicated man, an advisor to many of the chiefs of the Muskogee [Creek] Nation":³⁶

While treasurer of that nation, he spent over \$14,000.00 of his own money, aiding the Indian government, and although the National Council approved repayment of this money and the Chief recommended it be paid, he finally received only half of the amount due him. I have documents of proof, including copies of the letters and approval of the Council. . . . His ledgers are full of unpaid accounts. He never refused an Indian or a white man in his store. . . .

A friend of Chief Brown for many years—Peter Veichman of Ardmore, Oklahoma—declared that the Chief was well informed concerning the history of "Euchee Tribe":³⁷

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Notes from Dorothy Jean Brown.

³⁷ *Indian and Pioneer History, loc. cit.*, Vol. 11, p. 72.

In a little book which he always carried in his pocket, he kept a record of all the dates of birth of each member, the dates of all marriages, and the names; also, any other dates of any importance. Anyone wishing to obtain information about the tribe always went to Brown. When asked about a member, his first remarks were usually, "Let's see, they were a cousin of mine." Then to his pocket after the little book, in order to tell when and where they were born, who were married and when, and the names of members of the particular family.

Yuchi Chief Brown, Sr., maintained his home near Jenks where he kept "the trophies of his long eventful life," for he lived to the age of ninety-two years. One who knew him well described him as a low, heavy set man with a fair complexion. In 1916, he gave over the chieftaincy to his son, Samuel William Brown, Jr., who in his turn was a leader of the Yuchi for many years.³⁸ The father and the son worked together for the best interests of their people, and the last few years of the old Chief's life was spent in the home of his son at Sapulpa, his death occurring there on February 20, 1935. Two funerals were held for him. The Indian tribal funeral lasted all day at the Little Cussetah Church three miles northeast of Sapulpa.³⁹ There were all day services of burial ceremonies and feasting, and the leading men of four tribes paid him homage: Creek, Yuchi, Cherokee and Osage. As he was a veteran of the Union Army, members of the Grand Army of the Republic organization attended these rites. The next day another funeral was held in Sapulpa where he is buried.

SAMUEL WILLIAM BROWN, JR.

Yuchi Chief Samuel William Brown, Jr., was born a few miles west of the City of Muskogee on June 9, 1879.⁴⁰ Oklahoma lost one of her interesting and picturesque citizens when he died on December 31, 1957. Owing to his age and frail health he had spent much of his time in recent years with his daughter at Mathis, Texas, and he passed to his reward in that town.

Deeply interested and well informed on world affairs, it was difficult to realize that Chief Brown was advanced in years. He was always faultlessly dressed, and his handsome white hat, custom made boots and the silver chain with its Indian pendant at his collar set him apart from the ordinary men seen on the streets. During a call of the Chief in the home of the writer, she could not resist speaking of the beautiful boots worn by him.

³⁸ Woodson, *op. cit.*, in *Tulsa Daily World*, February 1, 1931.

³⁹ *Indian and Pioneer History*, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 72.

⁴⁰ "I have in his own handwriting this exact information: 'Samuel W. Brown, Jr. Roll No. 2963 Enrolled ½ blood. My enrollment record should have shown 6/8 of Indian blood. Born June 9, 1879. My Record shows Age 19, 1899. My right birth date is June 9, 1879.' " —Note from Jewell Brown Caton. Pleasanton, Texas, to the Editor of *The Chronicles*.



SAMUEL WILLIAM BROWN, JR.
Chief of the Yuchi, 1916-1958

The black leather uppers were decorated in dogwood blossoms, and the Chief related that after he ordered the boots according to that design, he received a long distance call from his boot-maker in Texas, asking "What is dogwood?" The disgusted Yuchi chief enquired, "Have you no encyclopedia in Texas?"

Chief Brown was always willing to co-operate in every project for the betterment of the Indians. He had a pleasing manner, and he responded cordially to any interest shown concerning his people, but a hint that his tribe was not an independent group instantly brought resentment. He had absorbed countless annals of the Yuchi from his father, Chief Samuel W. Brown, who told him of the previous location of their tribesmen in so graphic a manner that he was able to recognize various places when he visited Georgia a short time before his death.

He declared that the Yuchi had inhabited Georgia for a thousand years and spoke of living in an area of the east coast now submerged: "The civilization did not come to the red man from the Teutonic world; it came with the Eucheas long before the white man landed in the western Hemisphere. Thousands of years ago, they came from the west from the Pacific islands." Brown also knew a tradition that the Indians had come from famous Easter Island whence they fled because of warnings the island would be destroyed by fire because they had not adopted the culture of fire.⁴¹

Chief Samuel William Brown, Jr., was married to Miss Mattie May Payne, a daughter of Alexander Payne of Kentucky who had made the run into Oklahoma and established a claim to citizenship. Mattie Payne Brown was born December 20, 1886, and died November 19, 1950. Of this union were born: Juanita, Samuel Wayne, Alice V., Jewel Virginia and Dorothy Jean.

It was customary for the students at the Yuchi Boarding School near Sapulpa to visit the home of Chief Brown on Sunday after church services. A long line formed to greet Brown and receive a little gift from him. Mrs. Brown usually cooked a tubful of chickens on special occasions so as to feed all the visitors.

Although Chief Brown became a wealthy man during the time that he was engaged in oil operations, he left a comparatively small estate. Many stories could be told of the young people he assisted in getting started after they left school, fre-

⁴¹ *Sapulpa Daily Herald*, Monday, January 6, 1958, p. 1, cols. 1-5. This remarkable interview with Chief Brown, Jr., bears the byline of R. P. Matthews, Publisher *Sapulpa Herald*. The paper reproduced an interesting picture of Chief Brown in full Indian costume, accompanied by Richard Wood, son of Lord and Lady Halifax of England on their visit to Sapulpa, March 17, 1945.

quently with funds and wise advice. It was recounted to the writer that a young man who arrived in Sapulpa with his law diploma and two dollars was standing on a street corner looking very uncertain when the Chief accosted him to learn if he could be of help. When the young man explained his situation, the chief rented an office, secured suitable furniture for it and thus gave a start to a man who became a noted attorney in Indian Territory. It was such acts which depleted the financial standing of Brown but have left memories of him among countless people that will be told generation after generation about one of the "Children of the Sun."

Chief Brown was well posted on the oil history of Oklahoma and his recollections of the discovery during the close of 1905 of the Glenn Pool, fifteen miles southeast of Tulsa and seven miles east of Sapulpa, form an interesting chapter on that world famous field. "To the end of 1949, the Glennpool had yielded a gross output of 238,541,000 barrels."⁴²

Chief Brown had been a resident of Sapulpa since statehood, and he had been chief of the Yuchi since 1916 when he accepted the chieftainship from his father, Chief Samuel W. Brown, Sr. As chief of the Yuchi, the son represented his tribesmen on all occasions when their affairs were being considered by the Indian Office, and his dignity and keen intelligence never failed to impress the nation's officials. Upon inquiry at the United States Indian office in Muskogee, the following reply concerning the status of the Yuchi was received:⁴³

The members of the Yuchi (Euchee) Tribe of Indians have a claim pending before the U. S. Court of Appeals. In June, 1955, the Indian Claims Commission handed down an adverse decision in the Yuchi (Euchee) claim.⁴⁴ However, appeal was made by the Claim's attorney

⁴² *Tulsa Daily World*, Sunday, November 26, 1950, Part 2, p. 34, Cols. 5-7.

⁴³ Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee Area Office, Marie L. Hayes, Tribal Affairs Officer, April 14, 1958. Reference to the number of Yuchi is: "A report from Chief S. W. Brown who represents the Yuchi on the Creek Tribal Council, stated that there were 1,216 Yuchi in Oklahoma in 1949." [Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 265]

⁴⁴ Note from Jewel Brown Caton, daughter of Yuchi Chief William Samuel Brown, Jr., to the Editor of *The Chronicles* states that recognition was given Chief Brown by the United States Government to file a separate suit relating to former land claims of the Yuchi. Chief Brown wanted to establish the "God given birthright and heritage" of the Yuchi, separate from the Muskogee (Creeks). After recognizing the Yuchi, the United States officials reversed this action, and again consolidated the Yuchi with the Creeks. Chief Brown, Jr., strongly protested this reversal on the part of the Government.—Notes from Jewel Caton Brown to the Editor of *The Chronicles*.

After the death of Chief William S. Brown, Jr., the writer, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, received a letter dated April 14, 1958, from the Muskogee Area Indian Office, Muskogee, stating: "Insofar as the records of this office are concerned we have no information to the effect that a new chief of the Yuchi (Euchee) has been selected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of S. W. Brown, Jr."

to the Court of Appeals in July, 1955. . . . Insofar as the records of this office indicate this appeal is still pending.

This separate claim or suit was brought by former chief, S. W. Brown, for the tribesmen and was recognized by the United States government.

News of the death of Chief Brown in Texas was telegraphed throughout Oklahoma. Funeral services, largely attended, were held at Little Cusseta Indian Church and burial was in South Heights Cemetery at Sapulpa with traditional Indian ritual performed at graveside services.

*Appendix*⁴⁵

Affidavit

United States of America
Indian Territory
Northern Judicial District.

} ss.

Before E. G. Tollett, Jr., U. S. Commissioner within and for the above named district and territory.

David M. Hodge, of Tulsa, Indian Territory, being by me first duly sworn deposes and says that he is a citizen of the Creek Nation of Indians by blood, that he was born in Choska Creek Nation in 1841.

Affiant further says that David McKellop, was his grand father, and that Susan Perryman McKellop, his wife was his grand mother, and that she was the sister of Samuel Perryman, Moses Perryman, Lewis Perryman, Christa Perryman, James Perryman, John Perryman and Henry Perryman, all of whom come from the old nation in Georgia to this country with the first Creek immigration.

Affiant further says that the children of Davis McKellop, and Susan Perryman McKellop, his wife, were [1] Nancy McKellop, who married Nathanel (sic) Hodge, a white man, by whom she had the following children, to-wit: Milton Hodge, Altana Hodge, David M. Hodge, the affiant herein, Electa Hodge, Alvin T. Hodge, Elam B. Hodge, Laura Hodge, Joanna Hodge and Nathanel Hodge; and [2] James McKellop, the father of Albert P. McKellop, Muskogee McKellop, Thomas J. McKellop, Joseph M. McKellop, and Almorina McKellop, and Benjamin McKellop., and Robert McKellop, father of Mrs. Jennetta Tiger-Jack., and [3] Rachel McKellop, who married Harvey Porter, by whom she had the following children, to-wit: Hiram Porter and Neoshoe (sic) Porter; and [4] Susan McKellop, who married John Denton, a Cherokee, by whom she had Mrs. Lilah D. Lindsey, of Tulsa, Indian Territory

Affiant further says that according to the statements of his mother, his grand father and grand mother (McKellop) died while he was but a mere child, the former about the year 1841, while affiant was but a very young baby, and the latter about the year 1845.

⁴⁵ Punctuation in some instances and numbers in brackets have been added editorially in the following text of this Affidavit.

Affiant further says that according to the statements of his mother, his aunts and uncles, his grand father and grand mother always lived together, and that his grand father (McKellop) was an ordained minister of the M. E. Church, and a strict observer of all the rules and requirements.

Affiant further says that according to the best of his knowledge and belief that his grandfather (McKellop) was not the father of any other children, than those of his grand mother Susan Perryman McKellop, herein before mentioned,

David M. Hodge.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 17th day of May, A.D. 1897.

SEAL.

E. G. Tollett, Jr.,

U. S. Commissioner

NOTES ON SAMUEL WILLIAM BROWN, JR., YUCHI CHIEF

By Orpha B. Russell

Yuchi Chief Samuel William Brown, Jr., was told by specialists that he had "the heart of a 43-year-old," after a thorough physical checkup on December 30, 1957. His mind was keen, his memory phenomenal, and because he had scheduled a series of lectures for the month of January, in the state of Georgia, his daughter, Dorothy, had insisted that his physical condition be thoroughly checked. His fatal heart attack the following night was a great shock to his family and friends.

Chief Brown was a man of small stature, five feet, five inches and weighed around 175 pounds, but he was large in in thought and deed. His life was devoted to showing the world that the Yuchi Tribe of Red Men was a distinct tribe with its own identity, culture and religion. Indian Ball Players coached by the Yuchi Chief, aroused international curiosity, and when the Honorable Richard Wood, son of Lord and Lady Halifax, spent a day in Sapulpa one of his major items of interest was learning something about the kind of ball game played by the young Indians. One of Chief Brown's creations, a large float for the first Oil Exposition Parade held in Tulsa in 1923, took high honors.

Born June 9, 1879 near the Old Creek Agency, four miles west of Muskogee, Chief Brown reached the climax of his lifelong ambition during the summer of 1957, when he returned to Georgia and fulfilled the prophecy of Yuchi leaders made in 1832. They prophesied that their Chief would one day return.

Pondering all the facts his father had related about Yuchi lands in Alabama and Georgia, Chief Brown, Jr., persuaded his daughters, Dorothy and Jewel, to drive him into that land so that he could look for the horseshoe shaped falls and old fish traps on rivers fished by his forefathers more than one hundred and thirty years ago. They hacked their way through thick jungle growth to reach the falls and found remains of Yuchi fish traps, just as the elder Chief Brown has described to his son. In October, 1957, with daughter Dorothy and nephew Samuel H. Brown, Jr., the Chief returned to that area to perform the ancient ceremonial "busk" dance on the banks of the Chattahoochee.

Prior to the death of his mother, Samuel Brown, Jr., attended the Creek boarding school at Eufaula. The Creeks and Yuchis just did not get along, and this included the children.

His short stay at Eufaula ended with a fight with three Creek boys, who teased him about being a Yuchi. Brown whipped all three and ran away before he could be punished. Despite the fact that the ground was covered with deep snow he walked to Muskogee, where he found friends who kept him until his father, who had been notified by the school authorities, found him.

After the death of his mother, in 1897, he lived with two great-uncles, brothers of his father's mother, Suttah, who was a granddaughter of Cosena Barnard (Cussine Barnett) of Euchee fame, who was part Scot. One of these great-uncles was *Sakasennay* (Little Bear) also known as Nocosogee. The other was *Sincolah* (Fus Hudge). They operated large cattle ranches near Kelleyville and Brown worked for them as a cowboy.

Chief Brown often stated that he was a graduate of the "School of Hard Knocks" on the prairies of what is now Oklahoma and along cattle trails to shipping points in the north. It was on a cattle drive that he met the girl destined to become the mother of his five children. During long cattle drives it was customary, when in the vicinity of a ranch known to be friendly to the cowboys, to stop for a big, hot meal. Brown was working with a large herd of cattle moving through the Territory. Mattie Mae Payne had gone to the home of her half-brother, Tom Payne, to help during the birth of his child, and was cooking the meal to be consumed by the Payne regular ranch hands plus the hungry cowboys enroute to a shipping point in Kansas.

The young Brown made three or four return visits during the following year, and on August 14, 1904, he and Mattie Mae Payne were married in Sapulpa. They established their first home near what is now Leonard, Oklahoma, near the site of old Wealaka Mission, where their first two children, Juanita and Sam, were born. Then they moved to Sapulpa where Alice, Jewell and Dorothy were born. All children, except Alice, survive.

Early in life Samuel W. Brown, Jr., assisted his father in tribal affairs and entered into the affairs of the Nation. His services as a representative of the Creek Nation, in problems concerning the Government, were soon in demand because he was an excellent interpreter and his integrity was respected. With a knowledge of several languages and dialects he interpreted in both local and federal courts. In 1894 he accompanied Isparhechar (*Katcha Emarthla* was his Square Ground name) and Cowee Harjo to Washington.

As one of meticulous nature, he kept letters, papers, documents and personal notes of occurrences throughout the years, not only pertaining to the Yuchi, but of all tribes.

On July 17, 1951, Chief S. W. Brown, Jr., filed a petition before the Indian Claims Commission of the United States of America: "The Yuchi (Euchee) Tribe of Indians, and S. W. Brown, Legus Brown, Jacob Rolland, Willie Tiger, Fred Skeeter, John James and Jesse James, all members of said Tribe, band or group of Indians, for themselves and for the use and benefit of all other members of said Yuchi (Euchee) Tribe, band or group of Indians, Claimants, the United States of America, Claimee." Page two of this petition in part: "In 1867 they commenced to keep, and still keep, an accurate written roll of the Yuchi Tribe, band or group of Indians. It was and is revised annually, to show births, deaths and marriages, since the last revision. The 1951 revised rolls show a membership of 1,365."

This Yuchi document states:

The lands taken from the predecessors of claimants by the Treaty of August 9, 1814, is described as follows, to-wit:

Commencing at a point on the Atlantic coast in the State of Georgia due east from the most southerly part of the Jackson line thence west across the States of Georgia and Alabama to the Tombigby River; thence down that River to the old line of the Spanish Domain; thence east, south and east along that line to the Atlantic Ocean thence northerly up the coast to the place of beginning, containing more than 11,200,000 acres.

* * * * *

That the value of such lands August 9, 1814, was two dollars (\$2.00) per acre or twenty-two million four hundred thousand dollars (\$22,400,000.00).

On November 23, 1956, Samuel W. Brown, Jr., dictated and sealed a transfer of his chieftainship to his fourth child, Jewell Brown Caton, and asked that the transfer not be opened or recorded before six months time had elapsed after his death. He predicted that the six months waiting period would reveal any traitors to the tribe. Early in July 1958 the original document was carried from Mathis, Texas, where he had died, to Muskogee, Oklahoma and opened and recorded with the United States Indian Office:

Dictated this twenty-third day of November, 1956, at Mathis, Texas, San Patricio County.

On account of age and may be called by the Breath Master at any time, and while of sound mind and body, with custom of lineage of the Cho-yah-hah, known as Uchees of present day, I have herewith declared the following: This decision being made after lengthy deliberation, and with the protection of my tribe, the Uchee Tribe of Indians, their welfare, and future being my sole consideration, in this decision.

My heritage coming down, of the royal blood, from the rulers of this once Great Uchee Tribe, after seeing in action and having the interest of the Uchee People at heart; being hereditary blood, of the

king blood, to do the duties and carry on for my people, as I have done in the past many years, fight their battles, honestly and honorable, for the rights of each and every individual, of the Uchee tribe, I do hereby name;

My fourth child, Jewell Brown Caton, my daughter, *Whee-Lee-Tche*, my successor to the Uchee Queen, to act, as if I were present, for spiritually, I will be close beside her, and known by others as Chief of the Uchee Tribe.

This has been a study of many years for me, there also will be a council, with a chairman of this council, to meet, subject to call by the Queen or Chief, and Chairman, as often as need be, to attend to the affairs of our people. This Council, must be at all times, in full membership, of a quorum, in every meeting.

There will be many pains and conflicts, as I have met in the past, as your humble servant, but right will win for the the generation to come; *THEREFORE*: You will recognize the lineage of this blood that never ceases.

I do appoint, with the fullest confidence, Jewell Brown Caton, and with the cooperation of the Uchee people, the able Council, together, will meet every trial and obligation that might arise, concerning the Uchee tribe. This is the law followed traditionally, in carrying out the right and erasing the wrong.

Signed: This 23rd day of November, 1956 by Samuel W. Brown, Jr.
Chief of Uchee Tribe

Witnessed: Lena G. Green,
Ralph W. Caton
L. J. McLish

Although Brown had friends everywhere and never met a stranger, he kept aloof and very few knew him well. He affiliated with no organizations or church. After services in the Little Cussetah Indian Church and graveside rituals, the last hereditary Chief of the Yuchi was buried in South Heights Cemetery near Sapulpa, among his relatives.

On June 7, 1958 the "Yuchi Council Fire" was rekindled on the site of the ancient Yuchi Town of Custifica on Yuchi Creek, seven miles south of Phenix City, Alabama, and large portraits of the two Chief Browns were unveiled in the Columbus, Georgia Museum by the late chief's surviving sister, Mrs. N. P. Maxey of Bixby, Oklahoma.*

*Note**

The Yuchi return visit to Georgia in June, 1958, an outstanding event in that state, was given front page publicity from June 2 to 9, in the *The Columbus Enquirer*, and as special news elsewhere by the press throughout the country. Joseph B. Mahan, Jr., archeologist, University of Georgia Center history professor and curator of the Columbus Museum Indian Collection wrote a series of articles explaining and describing this event, as well as other writers in *The Enquirer*. Three bus-loads of Yuchi from Oklahoma made the journey to Phenix City, Georgia, from Oklahoma, in June, 1958, for the dedication of 100 acres of the site of the ancient Yuchi town in the Columbus-Phenix area, which was presented to members of the tribe by the people of Georgia, under the auspices of the Columbus Museum of Arts and Crafts. Plans were outlined to build an exact replica of the ancient Yuchi town on this site as a memorial to the tribe. This project as well as the gift of the

100 acres and the great interest in the history of the Yuchi was the result of the visit of Yuchi Chief S. W. Brown, Jr., in the summer of 1957, to "fulfill a lifelong desire" to see the ancient homeland of his people. He was delighted by the warm welcome that he received from the citizens in and around Seale and Columbus, and jokingly remarked, "Some of the old people I knew thought you people out here were pretty rough," recalling the days of 125 years before this time when the Yuchi were forced to leave Alabama and Georgia with the Creeks over the "Trail of Tears" to the Indian Territory. Chief Brown talked with historians and museum authorities in Georgia, and much of his vast store of the lore and history of the Yuchi, gathered through many years, fitted in and helped explain what they had discovered in their studies of this American Indian tribe.

Chief Brown, Jr., had looked forward to the 1958 event at Columbus, Georgia, but death had come for him six months before this time. His funeral services at the Little Cussetah Church three miles from Sapulpa carried on tradition and history of the Yuchi. This is significant when one reads Dr. Mahan's brief review of Yuchi history (*The Columbus Enquirer*, June 4, 1958), and notes this remark. "The Cussetas were the Muscogean group closest to the Yuchi and were always their friends. The two peoples had lived near each other ever since the Cussetas had come into the Southeast."

During the ceremonies of the last day at the Columbus Museum, Dr. A. R. Kelley, Head of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Georgia, appeared on the program, and described some of the "amazing" events of the past year. He said that new information which was available through the papers of the late Chief Samuel W. Brown, Jr., and his father, the late Chief Samuel W. Brown, Sr., along with new excavations might result in "new and rather startling interpretations." He pointed out that the Yuchi had been thought by students of American Indian culture to "have splintered, divided and scattered early in the 18th Century." However, they "appear to have retained, throughout their scattered existence, their religious and political leadership, and they have more knowledge of their medicine than is possessed by any other tribe." Dr. Kelley said, also, that many archaeological excavations which have been classed as Muscogean or Creek in the past may now be interpreted as Yuchi.—Notes compiled by the Editor of *The Chronicles*, from special data and the series of clippings from *The Columbus Enquirer* (June, 1958) sent by Mrs. Ella Burgess, of Oklahoma City, a Yuchi descendant of Cosena Barnard.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society will be held in the Auditorium of the Historical Society in Oklahoma City at 9:30 a.m., Thursday, April 28, 1960. The five members elected to serve for the next five years on the Board of Directors of the Society will be announced at this meeting.

MESCHACH H. COUCH LETTER, 1885

The following letter was written by Meschach H. Couch to his brother-in-law, Harden Holbrook of Trap Hill, North Carolina. Captain William H. Couch, who lived in Oklahoma City in 1889 and who had been leader of the "boomers" after the death of David L. Payne, was born in December, 1850, at Trap Hill, a son of Meshach H. Couch. The original of this letter was discovered by Meshach's great-granddaughter, Miss Edna Mae Couch of Supply, Oklahoma, on a visit to Trap Hill in 1957, where it had been in the possession of the descendants of Harden Holbrook for seventy-two years. Her brother, Charles Couch of Shawnee, presented a photostat of Meschach's letter to the Editorial Department, of which this is a transcript with a few punctuation marks added for clearness:

Douglas, Butler Co. Kan.
Feb. 8, 1885

Dear brother: It is with pleasure that I set myself to drop you a few lines to let you now that I have not forgotten you. Though I have not had a letter from you in a long time though I think of you often. We are all well and hope that these few lines will find you all well. Times are hard here. Though stock is bearing a good price, corn is twenty five cents a bushel and plenty. Wheat sixty five, hogs four dollars grose. I think times will be better soon after the president takes his seat. A great many people are howling about the defeat of Blane. I think it is all right for the democricy has got to be so corrupt that poor men cannot have justice and nothing but a change will open the eyes of the people. We have been combaten with the government for over four years trying to settle the Oklahoma lands which does belong to the U.S. and is government lands and we as American citizens have a right to settle on as homestead ore preanption. but we have been rejected by the milatery, tied and hauled out and turned over to the U.S. depity marshal and reign before the U.S. cort and tried and decided that it is government land and is no crime to go there. Yet the president of U.S. and the secatary of the inteariar and the secatary of war uses the army to put us out, leaves the cattle kings and their plauere (pleasure) to hold the oklahoma country for graising purposes. They hold their cattle thear. I think time has come when we aught to all sheare alike. If we afto be brought out, I think they aught

OFFICIAL BALLOT

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In accordance with Section 3 of Article IV of the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society the following are submitted as nominations for Directors of the Society with term expiring January, 1965:

- ☐ N. B. Johnson
- ☐ Baxter Taylor
- ☐ Robert A. Hefner
- ☐ Fisher Muldrow
- ☐ J. Lloyd Jones*

(Vote for 5)

*Nominated by the Board of Directors by special action to replace Judge Edgar S. Vaught, who died in December, 1959.

NOTE: No additional nominations were received from the membership in accordance with Article IV of the Constitution.

This ballot submitted through *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in accordance with action of the Executive Committee on October 15, 1959, as provided by the Constitution:

Five members of the Board of Directors shall be elected annually by ballot by members of the Society in the following manner: Prior to the tenth day of January of each year the Administrative Secretary and the Treasurer shall prepare ballots upon which appear the names of the five directors whose terms will expire that year, unless otherwise directed in writing by such director, and the names of such other eligible persons who may be nominated thereto in writing filed with the Administrative Secretary by the first day of such year by twenty-five members who at said time are entitled to vote at the annual meeting. Such ballot shall be mailed by the Administrative Secretary to each member of the Society entitled to vote at the annual meeting, who shall mark such ballot for not more than five, and shall then return same in a double envelope, the inner one being a plain envelope upon which the member must sign his name. Upon prior direction of the Executive Committee, in lieu thereof, such ballot may be printed in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, in which event the Executive Committee will provide adequate instructions for the return and protection of the ballot. On the fourth Tuesday in January, or as soon thereafter as possible, the President, a Vice-President, the Administrative Secretary, and the Treasurer shall meet and open the ballots, counting the same, and retaining the envelopes and ballots in a safe place until the next regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors, when such ballots, together with the envelopes and the results of the canvass shall be delivered by proper certificate to the Board. After being satisfied as to the correctness of the canvass, the Board of Directors shall declare the five receiving the highest vote as directors of the Society.

This ballot shall be returned within 10 days after receipt in an envelope marked "Ballot" and with the member's name on the face of the envelope.

to bring out the cattle kings. If I am not aloud to settle on one hundred and sixty acres, I dont think that any other livin man ought to be aloud his thousands of acres, no not even president of the U.S. this land nowned (now owned?) as the oklahoma land is not claimed by any tribe of Indians nor do not object to the settlement there by the whites. It is nothing else but the cattle kings and their money paid to the officials at washington that ceeps us out. I now say that we will start from arkansas city the fifth of March with ninety days rashiens, each beleaving that the president will not reject us from the promas land any more and that we will be aloud to hold our claims under the squaters right as law abiding citizens. We believe that on the fifth day of march we will have promptly on hand from five to ten thousand people to go with us to oklahoma country. Lots of people are going to take their women and children beleaving that they will not be molested any more. I have located my clame on the north canadian. also all the boys that is old enough have located their clames there. the north Canadian is a very fine stream. the bed of the river is about thirty yards wide, the banks from ten to thirty feet high so you can see that it cannot over flow its botoms. the valey is from two to three miles wide, mostly parrier as leavel as the floor. no rock in the bottom, some in the hills.

Now, harden I will give the description of the oklahoma country. There is a strip called the cherocees strip lays south of the Kansas line fifty miles wide between Kansas and the oklahoma lands running east and west. The oklahoma north line is about one hundred miles due south of here. The first stream is about one hundred miles due south of here. The first stream of much size is the simerone river which runs east and a little south, which has many tributaries furnishes plenty of water for stock. the simerone is salt water which is fine for stock. The next stream south is deep fork twenty five miles. The water is free stone water. The next stream south is the north canadian. this is soft water ore free stone water. this is the pertiest stream I ever saw. the bed of the river is sandy and there is no edy water in the stream unless there is a drift of logs to back the water. the water is from two to three feet deep in a comon time, runs purty swift. The next stream south is the south canadian. the bed of the river is sandy, the bank is low, dont afford (as-mu) any more than the north canadian. The next stream south is the washita is the south boundary of the oklahoma lands. the most of these valies along the streams are parries. Along the banks of the streams are timber and back of the slopes of the hills is timber. A great deal of the upland is parrier, fine farming long. this country is a fine countries for farming perpises. as fine a stock country as I ever saw Kentucky not excepted. The grass grows fine among the timber also on the parries. these cattle men hold their stock there through the winter. they live on the grass without any hay or feed prepared from them. It is considerable warmer there that it is here. after reading my letter I see that I have not said any thing about the valies along the streams. They are as fine farming land as a man can wish. we have taken seven clames. a hundred and sixty acres each, all in Canadian bottom. I have been writing to your son James. we have been coresponding some. he talks like he was comming here and going with us to oklahoma. I think it is the best thing he can do. I expect him here in a ffew days. If you have anv noting of ever coming west to settle this the best opertunity you will ever have. I would be glad have you to come and go with us and any others who wish to go. I now that it looks like a long ways to go on and unsertanty yet I believe we will be able to get there this spring. I consider when ever the government exnowledge our (sentiment) settlement we each will be three thousand dollars ahead. The reason whv I say this whin I came here taken this clame I give three hundred dollars for it and now I can get six or

eight thousand dollars. I certainly can do as well in Oklahoma. so can you or any one else that goes there and takes a first choice claim. so will close from M. H. Couch.

to H. Holbrook and family

Note:

(A sentence inverted at top of page 8 in the original letter) please show this to your friends. I would be glad to have you come & go with us.

GEOLOGICAL REPORT ON THE HEAVENER "RUNE STONE"

A report from William E. Ham, Associate Director of the Oklahoma Geological Survey, on his visit to the Heavener "Rune Stone," in LeFlore County, is given in the following letter to Mrs. J. Ray Farley who has devoted several years to solving the mystery of the great rock and its inscription:

State of Oklahoma
OKLAHOMA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY
Norman, Oklahoma
January 18, 1960

Mrs. J. Ray Farley
Heavener, Oklahoma
Dear Mrs. Farley:

The pictures I took of the inscribed stone at the time of my visit early in November were received from the processor last week. Two color transparencies are inclosed which you may keep. One of them shows the full line of characters, and the other shows a close view of the first five. It was a cloudy day when I took them, but by following your suggestion of marking in the grooves with chalk I was able to get a fairly good transparency.

I was not able to expose all the film on this roll until the middle of December, and with the Christmas rush the processing plant in Dallas could not give good service.

The observations I made and discussed with you in Heavener, you will understand, are those of a geologist rather than of an archeologist; and it is clear that at the present time there is no geological basis for establishing the date, even approximately, at which the inscriptions were made.

The inscribed stone is on the southwest face of Poteau Mountain about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles northeast of Heavener, in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 17, T. 5 N., R. 26 E. This stone is not "in place" but it is a detached part of a bed of sandstone 15 feet thick that crops out just above it as a conspicuous bench along the side of the mountain.

By field examination it can be readily shown that a pie-shaped block of the bedrock has fallen away from the face, tipping forward and at the same time separating into layered slabs. Each layer slid over the one below it, somewhat like the cards of a tipped-over deck. The top layer, about 16 inches thick, moved the greatest distance away from the face and it also moved the greatest distance down the slope, with

the result that it came to rest on end in an upright position where it lodged in rocky soil. This top layer is the slab on which the characters are inscribed.

The stone is a light brownish-gray fine-grained sandstone of the McAlester formation, Pennsylvanian in age. It is firmly indurated with silica cement, and is so tough that it can be broken by a geologists' hammer only with considerable difficulty. The characters were therefore cut into this stone with a sharp tool, such as a metal chisel or a sharp-edged flint striking stone.

Once engraved, the characters might remain virtually unchanged for hundreds of years, for the well-cemented sandstone rock is weathered slowly and is dissolved hardly at all by chemical action. Judging from this evidence, it is not impossible that the cutting was done a thousand years ago.

The line of characters is about five feet above the ground, approximately at the proper height to have been cut by a man standing upright. It therefore seems reasonable that the inscription was made after the sandstone slab had moved to its present position. There is no geological basis for estimating how long ago this, happened, as it could be less than 100 or more than 5,000 years ago. It certainly happened more than 75 years ago, for an oak tree estimated by Mr. Paul Timko to be that old is growing among the slabs of the detached block, between the inscribed stone and the cliff face. The stones could not have moved around the tree; instead it is clear that the tree has grown there after the stones had fallen.

There is hardly any more that I can do to help in solving the mystery. Unfortunately no decisive conclusions were reached, but the geological observations at least do not conflict with the concept that the inscriptions were made in antiquity.

Sincerely yours,

OKLAHOMA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY
/s/ William E. Ham, Associate Director

WEH:zr

cc: George H. Shirk

THE GRANT FOREMAN PAPERS: INDIAN AND PIONEER HISTORY

The work of gathering and compiling the data in 112 volumes, now well known as "Indian-Pioneer History" in the Oklahoma Historical Society, is itself a part of history of W.P.A. days of nearly a quarter of a century ago. Mrs. Elizabeth Williams Cosgrove, of Muskogee, who served as an editor on W.P.A. Project 131 in Oklahoma, has contributed the following interesting notes on this work:

Indian-Pioneer History Project, W.P.A. 131

In December 1936, W.P.A. project was set up in Muskogee under the direction of Oklahoma's distinguished historian, the late Dr. Grant Forman. It was sponsored by the Oklahoma State Historical Society, the University of Oklahoma and the Works Progress Administration. The working force comprised the supervisor, two editors, forty four typists and the field workers. Only the supervisor and the two editors

were non-relief workers. Field-workers, men and women who were paid small salaries were found in almost every county in Oklahoma. These field-workers were instructed to locate as many men and women, Indian, white, negro, mixed-blood or foreign born, as possible, who had lived in the Indian Territory during or prior to the year 1900 and to obtain from each, reports of his or her early-day experiences. In cases where the Indian or pioneer suffered from blindness or because of the infirmities of age, was unable to write, his or her narrative was dictated to the field-worker.

It is impossible to imagine a more heterogeneous group of people than those interviewed. There were cowboys, cooks, wranglers who had driven trail herds from Texas to Montana, from Camp Supply, Caldwell and the Kiowa Agency to market. Stage-drivers along the old Texas Trail as well as those who drove from Boggy Depot to Cherokee Town and White Bead Hill. Teachers, carpenters, farmers, students from old government and tribal schools and seminaries gladly told their stories as did missionaries among the Five Civilized Tribes. Indians on reservations, travelling salesmen, representatives of early-day insurance companies, U. S. marshals, railroad detectives, Light-Horsemen, Indian police, faro table operators, saloon-keepers, whiskey-peddlers and pioneer mine operators were all interviewed. The stories of town-site promoters, founders of now almost forgotten ghost-towns, of "boomers" who ousted "sooners" and of "nesters" as the quiet settlers were called, were recorded. The Grant Foreman Papers contain also stories of merchants, doctors, ministers and civic leaders who grew up with the towns which they helped to found. The Indians told of the details of early-day life, customs and traditions while the negroes contributed a priceless collection of folk-lore and legend.

These written interviews were sent to the Muskogee office by the field-workers where they were edited, typewritten and bound and, on July 29, 1937, by order of their sponsors, were named the "Grant Foreman Papers." Of the two sets of the Grant Foreman Papers, each set containing 112 volumes, one is in the library of the University of Oklahoma in Norman, the other in the Indian Archives of the State Historical Building in Oklahoma City, where, according to the Archivist, Mrs. Rella Looney, these books are in almost constant demand not only by students and researchers but by the police, F.B.I. and other organizations. Each volume contains 500 pages with about 100 interviews in each book, making a total of more than 45,000 pages and 11,000 interviews. Although it was realized that the surface of Oklahoma's "unpublished history" had barely been scratched, the money allotted for this project was exhausted and the work closed on January 24, 1938. It was on that date that the supervisor made his final report to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

In his foreword to these papers, Dr. Foreman writes:

"The field workers of the Indian-Pioneer History Project were instructed to record interviews as nearly as possible in the language of the persons interviewed so as to preserve the atmosphere and verities of the subject. . . . It is only of late years that the people of Oklahoma are beginning to realize the color, life, romance and tradition which have gone into the making of the history of our state. The saga of Oklahoma is like a great tapestry into which are woven threads of the lives of men and women of many varying races and creeds. The Indian has left in Oklahoma largesse of legend and phantasy as well as an abundance of history. From the pioneers whose lives are builded into the very bone and sinew of the state, we have priceless records of times when a one-room box house was considered a palatial abode and when

most of the dauntless men, women and children who came to early-day Indian Territory lived with fleas, pole-cats and rattlesnakes in caves dug out of the earth. There may be occasional mistakes of historical fact in these papers. These stories are intended to preserve simply the recollections of old-timers, both Indians and Whites and such accounts are necessarily subject to the vagaries and limitations of the human mind but the great preponderance of the stories in these volumes are correct. In the aggregate, they present an accurate cross section of life in the Indian Territory, absolutely authentic in its broad, historical application. The pictures of pioneer living, especially, given in these interviews may be relied upon."

Here are some verbatim excerpts from the "Grant Foreman Papers":

"I walked most of the way from Georgia and helped to drive a herd of cattle. When we reached the Territory we made us a dugout and covered it with cottonwood lumber and it warped and my land! How it did leak!

"Big prairie fires would break out and we would have to get on horses and drive the stock all into the corral to keep them from burning to death.

"When we would go to herd the cattle, we would always carry a big stick with us as the rattlesnakes were so thick that we would kill four or five big ones every morning.

"My father was dead and although I was a girl, I had to work like a man."

"I have been to many an Indian dance; they would beat the drums just a whing, whang, whing all night long and then, they would give the warhoop."

"The Indians were our friends; the white men didn't treat them right. The Whites stole the Indians' wood and posts. Several times my mother traded a quilt for a load of wood for we did not steal from the Indians. We loved them."

"I have seen a string of Indians on horseback nearly a mile long passing our house. I have lived beside Indians and beside white men married to Indian women and I have never had better neighbors."

"I swam Red River with my year-old baby in my arms. I had a few safety matches and I struck them in my hair and when I reached land, I laid the matches out in the sun and they dried out all right."

"At Tecumseh, the men started a newspaper but the women got hold of all the news first and spread it and, pretty soon, the newspaper went broke and stopped."

"It was Memorial Day and we wanted to have us a celebration but no one had died and we didn't have no graveyard so we went down to the creek and had us a fish-fry."

"My husband left and departed for parts unknown. This gave me a widow's claim to the land, me and my seven children. Mary was the oldest, she was thirteen and I would leave her at home with the others and, with my Sammy, eleven, I would start out for El Reno, sixty miles away. There was no bridge over the South Canadian River and the sand in it was 'quicky' and, many times, Sam and me have camped out in bad snow-storms on the open prairie, waiting for the South Canadian to go down so's we could cross."

"My wife and I didn't mind the dust nor the heat nor the hardships. We followed runs and openings just like children going to circuses."

"In the Run of 1889, I seen an old man and old woman ridin' in a cart to a dog and a goat."

"There were no schools near our claim for about twelve years after we came to the Territory."

"We organized a Sunday School and church in the blacksmith's shop in Arcadia and the Baptist preacher came from Edmond once a month to preach us a sermon. He used the anvil in the blacksmith's shop to lay his Bible on."

"Every summer we would go to camp-meetings where we would all spread our dinners together and have a wonderful time, talking over our trials and hardships and when the preacher would get us all stirred up with one of his 'powerful' sermons, if we shouted our sunbonnets off and our long hair down, it was nobody's business but our own."

"The greatest amusement for all the young folks of the community was Singing School. We would gather at the different houses and sing of a night and about twice each month, the neighbors would hold 'Literaries' and spelling bees and box socials."

"In those days, it was very usual to bring calves, pigs and chickens into the dugouts to keep them from freezing to death just as old Noah did in the ark."

"Our oldest boy, nine years old was taken very sick and we got Dr. Davis, an old pioneer doctor living in a dugout on Elk Creek. He came and said that Bobby had appendicitis but that it was too late to operate."

"So Bobby died."

"We took some of the lumber that was for our new box-house and made him a coffin and covered it with black calico. Then we buried Bobby in the Aeral graveyard."

"Here is an old Indian; let him speak."

"The first man to be created was a Redman. Adam means 'Red' but when Noah built the ark, there was no room for the Redman and, as there was no water above the clouds, the Redman went to the high peaks above the clouds and there he stayed until after the flood was over so that the Redman was here before the flood as well as the white man and, if the white man wonders where the Indian came from, the Indian wonders the same thing about the white man."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Carolyn Thomas Foreman (Mrs. Grant Foreman) of Muskogee received the high honor of a Distinguished Service Award from the American Association for State and Local History in the summer of 1959, for her work in Oklahoma and American Indian history. Mrs. Foreman has given many years to research and writing that has appeared in publications over the country, her widely known books including *Oklahoma Imprints* and *Indians Abroad*. She is well known among readers of *The*

Chronicles of Oklahoma, in which more articles have been contributed by her than by any other one writer to this date, on a diversity of Oklahoma historical subjects—military men, government officials, Indians, pioneers, early towns and other places.

The Oklahoma History Section of the Oklahoma Education Convention met in the Auditorium of the Historical Building on October 23, 1959, with Dr. V. R. Easterling, presiding. Editor R. G. Miller of the "Smoking Room" column, *The Daily Oklahoman* and *Oklahoma City Times*, was the principal speaker giving an informative talk on points of interest in Oklahoma history and the present day, and stressing the promotion of state pride in its history, its achievements and its development. Mr. Don Odum of Guthrie told briefly of his efforts in the public schools for a better knowledge and respect for the Oklahoma State Flag and other emblems. Mrs. Mary McCain, Director of the Oklahoma history programs at the Educational Broadcasting Center at Central High School, Oklahoma City, told of the programs given during the week throughout the school year, urging Oklahoma history teachers to take advantage of this opportunity for their classes by tuning in on the KETA-TV history programs over Channel 13.

The Oklahoma Memorial Association met in the Auditorium of the Historical Society Building, the morning of November 16, 1959, with the Hon. Wm. J. Holloway presiding in the Memorial Program for those former honorees of the "Oklahoma Hall of Fame," who had died during the year since November 16, 1958. Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary Emeritus of the Oklahoma Historical Society, gave the address commemorating these honored dead: Judge Frank Bailey, Chickasha; Dr. W. G. Beasley, Ardmore; Mr. C. B. Goddard, Ardmore; Maj. Gen. Wm. S. Key and Hon. Luther Harrison, Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma Historical Society held its first open house in many years in the Historical Building on Sunday afternoon, November 22, 1959, with Mr. C. Harry Sacher serving as general chairman and co-ordinator for the Committee in Charge of the event. It was co-sponsored by the Committee on Education of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce and the Oklahoma City Federation of Women's Clubs, Mr. David Bridges and Mrs. George E. Calvert serving as chairmen, respectively, for the sponsoring agencies. The public was invited, and the event was outstanding in the history of the Society with more than 5,000 visitors in attendance. Lines stood three deep most of the afternoon viewing the rare historical exhibits of the museum on the fourth floor and the fine collections shown in the corridors and the Memorial Rooms elsewhere in the Historical Building. Beautiful organ music was provided by a gifted musician. In the gallery on the third floor, punch was served from the 12-gallon

bowl of the handsome silver service set from the historic battleship *U.S.S. Oklahoma*. Lieut. Gov. George Nigh was ex-officio host for the Committee in charge. Other hosts included Mayor and Mrs. James H. Norick, Dr. and Mrs. Melvin Barnes, Mr. and Mrs. Donald S. Kennedy, all of Oklahoma City; besides Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society who were present—George H. Shirk, President, and Justice and Mrs. N. B. Johnson, Judge and Mrs. J. G. Clift, Mr. and Mrs. Exall English, Mr. and Mrs. Milt Phillips, Dr. Emma Estill-harbour, Mr. and Mrs. Joe W. Curtis, Mrs. George Bowman, Dr. and Mrs. L. Wayne Johnson and Miss Genevieve Seger.

The Association of College History Professors in their Twelfth Annual Meeting convened in Oklahoma City, with Oklahoma City University as host, December 4-5, 1959. The Program on December 5 was given in the Auditorium of the Historical Building, with Dr. Rob Roy MacGregor, presiding and Mr. Elmer L. Fraker extending the Welcome to a large crowd of history professors attending from Oklahoma colleges and universities. The discussion topic for the morning session was "Problems of National, Regional and Local Archives," Dr. Joseph Stanley Clark serving as moderator. Participants in the discussion were Phillip C. Curtis, Director of Harry Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, "The National and Regional—A Review by means of Film and Discussion"; Mrs. Hope Holway, Archivist on "The Gilcrease and Alice Robertson Collections," Tulsa; Ralph Hudson, State Librarian, on "Resources of the State Library"; Muriel H. Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, on "Archival Sources of the Oklahoma Historical Society" in general; Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist of Indian Archives, "Sources in the Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society."

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, quarterly magazine of the Oklahoma Historical Society, was honored with the "Distinguished Service Award" given by the Oklahoma State Writers, Inc., on November 14, 1959, bearing the signature of Henry Carlton Jones, President of the Writers organization, by approval of its Board of Directors. The beautiful certificate of this Award states that it is presented "in appreciation of distinguished and significant service to Oklahoma writers, by providing facilities for their works, and in furthering, fostering and encouraging the writers of Oklahoma." Others in the state receiving the "Distinguished Service Award" from Oklahoma State Writers on the same day were the University of Oklahoma Press, publisher for over thirty years of many beautiful books on the history of the Southwest; *Orbit*, Sunday magazine of *The Daily Oklahoman*; and *Oklahoma Today*, the handsomely illustrated, quarterly magazine published under the auspices of the State Planning and Resources Board at the State Capitol.

BOOK REVIEW

Relations with the Indians of the Plains 1857-1861: A Documentary Account of the Military Campaigns, and Negotiations of Indian Agents—with Reports and Journals of P. G. Lowe, R. M. Peck, J. E. B. Stuart, S. D. Sturgis, and Other Official Papers. Edited, with Introductions and Notes by LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. (The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California, 1959. Pp. 310. Illustrations. Map. Index. \$9.50.)

Hundreds of books and magazine articles have been written on our wars and peaceful relations with the Plains Indians during the Civil War and for some twenty years after its close. For the four or five year period just preceding that conflict, however, little on that subject had appeared in print until the publication of this book. Yet it was a most significant period, for the reopening of the Santa Fe trade and the gold discoveries in the area about Pikes Peak had set in motion an enormous migration of people across the Plains, some seeking opportunities for trade, but the vast majority attracted by the lure of gold. As a result conflict with the Indians was inevitable.

The text of this volume is divided into three parts. Part I, "The Campaigns Against the Cheyennes, 1857," consists of 138 pages; Part II, "Relations with the Plains Indians, 1858 and 1859," has only 30 pages while Part III, "Campaigns and Negotiations, 1860," contains 108 pages

War with the Cheyennes had broken out in 1856, and early in 1857 Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, stationed at Fort Leavenworth in command of the First Cavalry, received orders to make a campaign against them. In order to cover more territory, Sumner ordered Major Sedgwick to take four companies of cavalry and march southwest to the Arkansas River and up that stream to the Rocky Mountains. He should then turn north to the South Platte River where Sumner and his command would meet him. Sedgwick started on May 18, and two days later, Sumner, with two cavalry companies marched northwest toward Fort Kearny on the Platte River. Upon reaching that post, he picked up two companies of dragoons and continued up the Platte to Fort Laramie.

He had received orders to detach the dragoons and leave them at Fort Kearny to join the Utah Expedition, but since he was far beyond Fort Kearny and near Fort Laramie when this order came, he left them at the latter post. With his two companies of cavalry reinforced by three companies of the Sixth

Infantry, he then marched nearly due south to the South Platte where, early in July, he met Sedgwick's command. The united forces moved southeast and, July 29, fought a bitter battle with the Cheyennes near the South Fork of the Solomon River. In this action, two soldiers were killed and eight wounded, including Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart who was struck in the chest by a pistol ball. The Indians were defeated and the march southeast was continued to a point near the site of the present Dodge City. Here Sumner received orders to end the campaign and send Sedgwick with most of the troops to Fort Kearny to join the Utah Expedition, while he with two companies of cavalry returned to Fort Leavenworth. A complete account of Sumner's part in this campaign is given in his own reports and in the lengthy journal of G. P. Lowe in charge of his wagon train. The role played by Sedgwick's command before it joined Sumner appears in the recollections of one of his soldiers, R. M. Peck.

Part II, for 1858 and 1859, gives Sumner's short report of his march southwest to the Arkansas River with six companies of the First Cavalry, during which nothing of importance occurred. In addition, there are reports of Agents Robert C. Miller and Thomas S. Twiss, two reports by William W. Bent, of Bent's Fort, and the report of a treaty made by Twiss with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and some bands of Sioux on September 18, 1859. All of these reports give a good account of the Indian situation on the Central Plains at that time.

Part III is devoted largely to relations with the Kiowas and Comanches. It consists of numerous letters and documents, including several letters of Major Sedgwick to his sister, as well as his official reports. To most readers, especially Oklahomans, the most interesting document in this part of the volume will be the official journal of the Sedgwick expedition, consisting of four companies of the First Cavalry from Fort Riley and two companies of dragoons from Fort Kearny. Sedgwick left Fort Riley on May 15 and marched southwest through Kansas to the Oklahoma line. The command continued south past the site of the present Fort Supply, followed up Wolf Creek to the Texas border and turned north into Oklahoma Panhandle. It traversed this nearly to its western border, turned northeast to the Arkansas, crossed and followed its north bank into Colorado. Beyond Bent's new fort it swung southwest up the Purgatoire River for some distance, then north to Bent's Old Fort. From this point Lieutenant Stuart and Captain William Steele each with a small detachment were sent out to the north where they fought an engagement with the Kiowa, killing two and taking sixteen prisoners. They returned to the Fort and the entire expedition then followed down the Arkansas, to a point near the present sit of Syracuse, Kansas, and turned north to a point beyond the Smoky Hill River and followed down it to Fort Riley.

Another campaign of interest to Oklahomans is that of Captain S. D. Sturgis since it consisted of six companies of the Sixth Cavalry detached from Forts Washita, Arbuckle, and Cobb. Early in June, the column started from the Canadian River to the Arkansas and then followed a hot trail of the Indians to a south branch of the Republican River. Here a sharp engagement was fought on August 6 in which 29 Indians were killed, with comparatively little loss to the soldiers. The campaign ended soon after.

The final section of the book deals with the establishment of Fort Wise, Colorado, later called Fort Lyon, and the Fort Wise treaty with the Cheyenne and Arapaho.

This is a good book which contributes much to our knowledge of Indian campaigns just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. It is tragic that men who had marched and fought together against Indians in 1860 should the following year be arrayed against one another in the bloody conflict of civil war. Sumner as Major General led one wing of McClellan's Army in the "Bloody Lane" at Antietam, and Sedgwick commanded the Fifth and Sixth Corps of the Army of the Potomac and was killed at Spotsylvania. Stuart, Lee's peerless cavalry leader, became a Major General in the Confederate Army and was killed at Yellow Tavern; Sturgis became a Major General in the Northern Army and served with distinction throughout the War. Steele became a Brigadier General of the Confederacy and early in 1863 was made Commander of Indian Territory Military District. Lieutenant John S. Marmaduke, in Sumner's 1857 campaign, became a Major General in the Confederate service, while numerous other officers referred to in this book as taking part in the Indian Wars from 1857 to 1860, attained high rank and served with distinction in either the Northern or Southern Armies during the Civil War.

—Edward Everett Dale

The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

The Philosophy of Abraham Lincoln: In His Own Words. Compiled by William E. Baringer. (Falcon Wing Press, Indian Hills, Colorado, 1959. Pp. 167. \$3.50.)

Often I hear the statement made of Abraham Lincoln. "His fame grows greater with the passing years." So far as I know he is the only mortal whoever lived who, in the eyes of men, grows in stature as the years roll onward instead of receding into the obscurity of the past.

And as his memory looms larger, remarks and episodes attributed to him grow in number. So numerous have these quotes become it is evident the man never lived long enough to make all the statements attributed to him and experience all the incidents ascribed to his life. So bad did this situation become, the average American was beginning to lose sight of the real Lincoln in the maze of inaccurate, incomplete and irresponsible articles and books written concerning him. At last a group of truly dedicated Lincoln scholars determined to do something about it. Edited by Roy P. Basler, Marion Dolores Bonzi Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, in eight volumes, was published in 1953 by the Abraham Lincoln Association and Rutgers University. Few of us can own this monumental work and fewer still have the time and desire to scan its wealth of material in search of the real Lincoln.

William E. Baringer, Professor of History at the University of Florida and Executive Director of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial has performed the task for us by gleaning the voluminous work and publishing a digest under the title of *The Philosophy of Abraham Lincoln*. Perusal of this delightful little book clearly reveals the reasons for the martyred President being so idolized a century after he passed from the stage.

In the life he lived and the statements he made and wrote, he personifies the American Dream. Born in a log cabin, denied all but the barest necessities for existence, bereft of all opportunity for a formal education, he went on to become one of the best educated of Americans, to abolish human slavery and weld the Union into an indestructible whole. His example demonstrates that we can accomplish about anything we desire in this life.

So fundamentally American was Lincoln in his every word, thought and deed that as the Editor's Introduction so aptly puts it, our present day international situation represents a conflict between Lincoln and Lenin. With this hypothesis in mind it would be well for everyone of our citizens to scan this volume. The road on which Americans should travel is well defined by a few Lincoln thoughts quoted from the volume. "The way for young men to rise, is to improve every way he can, never suspecting that any body wishes to hinder him." This is advice any of us would be wise to follow.

His innate honesty is well illustrated by excerpts from a letter written when he was a young lawyer. "Dear Sir: I have just received yours of the 16th, with check for twenty-five dollars. You are too liberal with your money. Fifteen dollars is enough for the job. I send you a receipt for fifteen dollars, and return to you a ten-dollar bill."

That Lincoln was no believer in the inviolating democracy which presently is destroying our way of life is well born out by: "I go for all sharing the privileges of the government, who assist in bearing its burdens. Consequently, I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage, who pay taxes or bear arms." Certainly he did not go for the inane idea so prevalent today that everybody should be permitted to vote whether they bear any portion of the burden of government or not.

His advice to a young lawyer is just as good for all of us today as it was in the century and a quarter that has elapsed since it was given: "The leading rule for the lawyer, as for the man of every other calling, is diligence. Leaving nothing for tomorrow which can be done today. Never let your correspondence fall behind."

Lincoln did not have time to be concerned with the theoretical invasion threat of the Western Hemisphere from across the ocean which caused our Internationalists to plunge us into two World Wars. He was faced with the actuality. Even as he fought a civil war he had the problems of the English and French invasions of Mexico on his hands. Despite those problems he made a statement which would be well for our internationalists to ponder: "If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide. It cannot come from abroad."

His views on religion are clearly set out:

That I am not a member of any Christian Church, is true; but I have never denied the truth of the scriptures; and I have never with intentional disrespect of religion in general, or of any denomination of Christians in particular. I do not think I could myself be brought to support a man for office, whom I knew to be an open enemy of, and scoff at, religion.

He fully explains our system when he says:

The prudent, penniless beginner in the world, labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land, for himself; then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. . . . If any continue through life in the condition of the hired laborer, it is not the fault of the system, but because of either a dependent nature which prefers it, or improvidence, folly or singular misfortune.

His determination and patriotism is well set forth in the dark days following the failure of the Peninsular Campaign in 1862. "I expect to maintain this contest until successful, or until I die, or until I am conquered, or my term expires, or Congress or the country forsakes me."

I was especially glad to see included the famous Hooker letter which is probably the best handling of a recalcitrant sub-

ordinate that has ever been put in writing. I only wish Professor Baringer had included the letter to his brother which represents an able handling of the always vexatious problem of relatives and friends who desire to borrow money.

If it were in my power I would make Professor Baringer's book a must for reading by every high school student. Then before any college degree was granted it would be a condition it be re-read in its entirety by the candidate.

—Henry B. Bass

Enid, Oklahoma

Oil on Stream! By John L. Loos. (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1959. Pp. 411. Illustrated. \$6.00.)

Oil is a word that encompasses considerable in Oklahoma that is important. The discovery of a new pool or the drilling of a successful well embodies much glamor yet such would be of little value if the production could not be transported to market.

Here is a history of a half century of transportation of the wealth of Oklahoma by pipe line. In fact, the volume is a case book of how to build, maintain and operate a petroleum pipe line.

In 1909, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey decided to build a refinery at Baton Rouge. At that time, Prairie Oil and Gas Company, a Standard affiliate, had forty-three million barrels of oil in storage in Oklahoma, awaiting transportation. A pipe line connecting the two was essential and inevitable. The Arkansas and Louisiana portions of the line were constructed by Prairie and Standard of Louisiana but the Oklahoma leg proved more difficult.

As most of the Oklahoma route crossed Indian tribal lands, action in Washington was necessary. Eventually, to resolve the requirements of the Secretary of the Interior and the new Sooner state, a separate corporation, chartered under Oklahoma law, was decided upon. On November 12, 1909, the Oklahoma Pipe Line Company, with headquarters in Muskogee was incorporated for \$2,500,000. The line originated at the Glenn Pool in Tulsa County and extended 155 miles to the Arkansas line. The first Oklahoma crude crossed the Oklahoma line on its journey in the newly completed line, on May 12, 1910.

The initial enterprise was followed by fifty years of growth and expansion. In 1944, the lines were merged into the Interstate Oil Pipe Line Company, which organization today continues to serve the oil production industry.

Commissioned by this company, the author had available all corporate records and files. The volume is presented in a readable and engaging manner. Author Loos has made a worthy contribution to the growing shelf of books on the petroleum industry.

George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City Oklahoma

The American Heritage Book of the Pioneer Spirit. By the Editors of American Heritage, the Magazine of History. (American Heritage Publishing Company, New York, 1959. Pp. 400. Ills. Index. \$12.95.)

This volume is something special for Americans of all ages, an ornamental and useful fixture for the family living room. Not a short-term conversation piece, the *Book of the Pioneer Spirit* portrays the glories of the American past and present as they have affected man's perennial hopes for a better future.

Readers of *American Heritage* will recognize the handiwork of the magazine's editors. They assure us, however, that "It is an original work . . . not a compilation of material previously published in the magazine." Allan Nevins has written prologues for each of the eleven chapters and other competent authors have furnished the narrative elsewhere.

The illustrations, nearly 500 with almost a third in color, are expertly selected to elucidate the theme. Three special picture portfolios are included; these alone are worth much more than the price of the volume. For example, the portfolio entitled "Portrait of the Western Frontier" has excellent reproductions from the works of George Catlin, Charles Russell, John James Audubon, Frederic Remington, Alfred Jacob Miller, and others. On these and other pages can be seen the "American Way of Life," what it was, what it was thought to be, and what it has become.

As usual, the contribution of the Indian to the "American Way" is mostly ignored. Perhaps America is still too young for its historians to understand how much the American phase of Western civilization owes to the Indian cultures of North and South America and the point will not be belabored here. Poets have sensed the fact, if historians have not, and Stephen Vincent Benet is quoted thus on p. 206:

"And they ate the white corn-kernels,
parched in the sun,
And they knew it not,
but they'd not be English again."

The "white corn-kernels" were among the many gifts of the Indians to American and world culture.

Oklahoma, the Indian state, rates two pages, most of which are covered by the familiar photograph of the run for the Cherokee Outlet in 1893. But there are so many facets to the "Pioneer Spirit," and the subject is so complex, that the omission of the debt owed the native Americans will be of concern to few. For few apparently realize that Oklahoma was the last stand for Indian leaders who dreamed of a state populated and governed by Indians. In this volume the "fascinating" Indian is still merely a curiosity who attempted unsuccessfully to block the spread of "civilization."

But enough of what will be considered petty, provincial carping by most. Practically every phase of American development is pictured. All the frontiers from then to now, economic, intellectual, social, political, have their place in this captivating book. No family will regret its presence for browsing in the most appropriate family room for that purpose. And who knows? A generation of such browsers might become interested enough really to learn some history.

—James D. Morrison

Southeastern State College
Durant, Oklahoma

I fought with Geronimo. By Jason Betzinez with W. S. Nye.
(The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1959.
Pp. 9 [front] and 214. Maps. Illustrations. Index. \$4.05)

Here is one of the most significant books ever published among the many volumes on the American Indian. It gives the true history of frontier wars in the Southwest from the viewpoint of the Indian, covering the years of strife and bloodshed, a period in which Cochise, Victorio and Geronimo became noted. Jason Betzinez, a full blood Apache who in recent years as he has approached the age of one hundred in 1960 has well recalled the exciting days when he was counted among Geronimo's warriors. He describes the early day life and habits of the oldtime Apache Indians—the way they lived and hunted and fought. There are real life descriptions of Apache women, among these one of Jason's mother and some of other kinfolk,—brave and courageous women, tender and sympathetic with family and friends. One reader of the book has best said: "*I fought with Geronimo* is a true account of stirring raids and battles, desperate affairs, difficult and rapid travel through the wilderness, the despair of the hunted, the humiliation of surrender."

Betzinez tells how Geronimo's band was sent to an arid reservation in Arizona, why and how these Apache went on the warpath and at last surrendered to Gen. George Crook and later to Gen. Nelson A. Miles. Geronimo with the men, women and

children of his band were taken as prisoners of war to Florida, and nearly ten years later still as prisoners of war, they were transferred to the Fort Sill military reservation where they remained for almost another twenty years. There is pathos in the telling of all this yet there is some humor, too.

Betzinez among the prisoners of war went from Florida to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania where he remained a number of years learning to be a "tame Indian." This part of his book and the account of his later life as a worker on the Fort Sill Reservation in Oklahoma are as interesting as that of the bloody war years when Geronimo lead his warriors in the western wilderness.

Jason Betzinez himself wrote the manuscript of his history in plain English but when it was considered for publication, he asked that it be edited. And the one chosen to do this was none other than his good friend, Colonel W. S. Nye, formerly in the Army stationed at Fort Sill, himself a well known historian and author of *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1937), and other works.

Colonel Nye explains in the Foreword of the book that in keeping with Jason's request, the original manuscript was edited, rearranged and paraphrased where necessary. However, the account is not an interview nor "as told to" type of work: "Since it represents personal knowledge gained from his experiences and those of his close associates, Jason's book is *source* material—there can be no bibliography."

The long list of fine illustrations include many from rare photographs furnished by the Author as well as from some furnished by the Editor, the Smithsonian Institution and the National Archives. Jason Betzinez made his own maps sketched to show the wanderings of Geronimo's Apache band, and these sketches were transferred to a map drawn by Editor Nye, based on a modern chart from the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, and checked against old maps in the Library of Congress and the Army War College. There are several reproductions of pen and ink sketches made by John Russell Bartlett when in the west in 1852. The other drawings, including that on the jacket, some of them real portraiture of Geronimo's Apache, are beautifully done by J. Franklin Whitman, Jr., of Pennsylvania. All these illustrations as well as the maps can be counted original materials that help make the book authentic history.

I fought with Geronimo is factual but it is fascinating reading, a fine production and an honor to the Author and the Editor.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING,
THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING
OCTOBER 29, 1959

On Thursday October 29, at 10:00 o'clock, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society held its quarterly meeting in the Board of Directors room. Due to the illness of President George H. Shirk, the First Vice President, H. Milt Phillips, presided.

The first order of business was roll call with the following members answering present: Henry B. Bass, Kelly Brown, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Joe Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Exall English, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Judge R. A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Judge N. B. Johnson, R. G. Miller, Dr. James Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, and Miss Genevieve Seger. Absent from the meeting were Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. T. J. Harrison, Mrs. Frank Korn, President George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught. Inasmuch as all absentees had submitted requests to be excused, it was moved by Miss Genevieve Seger that such requests be granted. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour, and unanimously adopted when put by the chairman.

In a few well chosen words Vice President Phillips welcomed Judge Orel Busby and Mr. Fisher Muldrow as new members on the Board of Directors, who were attending their first official meeting. Mr. Phillips said that Judge Busby had long been a distinguished jurist and member of the bar, with an intense interest in history, particularly Oklahoma history. In speaking of Mr. Muldrow, he said that the new member of the Board had an outstanding record in civic affairs in the state of Oklahoma and that he was the son of H. L. Muldrow, a long time member of the Board of Directors and an outstanding Oklahoma citizen.

Mr. Kelly Brown moved that the minutes of the previous meeting be approved. This motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried.

It was moved by Dr. Harbour that the minutes of the last Executive Committee meeting, along with the actions taken by that committee, be approved. The motion was seconded by Mr. Henry Bass, put and carried.

Mr. Elmer Fraker, Administrative Secretary, submitted the list of gifts that had been received since the last Board meeting. Mr. R. G. Miller moved the acceptance of the gifts. This motion was seconded by Miss Seger, and unanimously adopted when put. Mr. Fraker then submitted the list of forty-four new annual members and one new life member. Dr. E. E. Dale moved that the new members be accepted. The motion was seconded by Mr. Miller, put and carried.

Mr. Fraker announced the Open House for the Oklahoma Historical Society which was being sponsored by the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce. The date of the Open House, he said, had been set for Sunday November 22, from 1:30 p.m. until 4:30 p.m. The Administrative Secretary related that he and Mr. Stanley Draper, Secretary-Manager of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce had, several months ago, discussed the possibility of such an open

house. He stated further that the committee appointed to direct the work had held two meetings in making preparations for the open house. He reported that several sub-committees had been appointed to make detail arrangements for the affair. Mr. Fraker voiced the opinion that the open house to be sponsored by the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce would probably do more to draw attention of Oklahoma City people to the Oklahoma Historical Society than anything that had happened in recent years. He said the Chamber of Commerce was requesting members of the Board of Directors to act in the capacity of hosts and hostesses.

Attention was called to certain properties recently deeded to the Society and that it was necessary that the Board take formal action accepting the same. These included Cowboy Hill in Kay County and an easement for the Edwards Store marker located in Latimer County.

Dr. Harbour moved that deeds, recorded in Book 215, Page 68, and Book 215, Page 69 conveying to the Society real estate in Kay County, described:

A parcel of land off the Northwest Quarter (NW¼) of Section thirty-one (31), Township Twenty-five North (T25N), Range Two East (R2E) in Kay County, Oklahoma, Beginning at a point 468.5 feet south of the Northwest corner of Section 31 on the west line of the Northwest quarter at the right bank of the Salt Fork River, thence South on said section line a distance of 196 feet, thence East at right angles a distance of 900 feet, thence north at right angles 346 feet to the right bank of the Salt Fork River, thence along said right bank in a southwesterly direction to the point of beginning, containing 5.6 acres more or less.

and easement recorded in Book 25, Page 130 covering real estate in Latimer County, described:

Northwest Quarter of Section 15, Township 6N, Range 22E, be accepted. The motion was seconded by Mr. Bass. Motion carried.

In view of the fact that Mrs. Bowman was unable to attend the Board meeting, Mr. Phillips called on the Administrative Secretary to make the Treasurer's report. This report showed that as of September 30 there was \$2,937.00 in the state depository; that receipts had been \$1,659.70, with disbursements \$3,940.51. Cash in the state depository at the end of the period was \$677.21. The Administrative Secretary pointed out that almost \$200.00 more had been accumulated in that fund since the September 30 date.

At this point Mr. Phillips called attention to the action of the Executive Committee setting up a definite procedure as to the fund in which various income items were to be placed. He asked the Board members if there were any questions concerning this action or concerning the financial report. None was made.

Mr. Phillips introduced Hon. William McBee, former Speaker of the Oklahoma House of Representatives, who told the Board of his difficulties in securing pictures of the members of the House of Representatives over which he presided during the Governor Walton impeachment trial. He said that he had considerable difficulty in securing payment for his work in collecting and arranging the pictures. He requested the Board's assistance in finding some way in which he might be reimbursed for his work. It was moved by Judge Johnson and seconded by Mr. Bass that this matter be referred to the Executive Committee for further study. The motion was carried.

Correspondence was passed around to the Board members containing letters of thanks and compliments written to the City National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City in response to their distribution of a large number of MARK OF HERITAGE brochures to the various banks in the state. It was moved by Mr. Miller and seconded by Miss Seger that a resolution be drawn thanking the City National Bank and Trust Company and its officers for its purchase and distribution of the MARK OF HERITAGE.

Mr. Phillips called on Judge Clift to make a statement concerning his recent recommendations that Board of Directors meetings be held at various places throughout the State. Judge Clift said he at first thought it was a good thing for the Society, but that inasmuch as there were certain legal questions involved, it would be better to not go further with the matter.

Mrs. Redmond S. Cole, wife of the late Judge Redmond S. Cole, long time member of the Board of Directors, was introduced by Mr. Phillips. Mrs. Cole thanked the Board for the courtesies that had been extended to her and presented a number of magazines and a picture that had belonged to Judge Cole to the Board. Mr. Phillips thanked Mrs. Cole saying, "I am sure we don't have to say to you the keen appreciation all of us hold for Judge Cole and the fine work he did. Everyone associated with him has a warm spot in his heart for Judge Cole. Each of us has been inspired to do a better job because of our association with him."

The chairman then presented a letter from General deShazo that had been written to President Shirk. In the letter General deShazo expressed deep appreciation for his having been made an Honorary Member of the Society. Mr. Exall English said that he had attended the luncheon at Fort Sill on the dedication of Key Gate, and that without a doubt General deShazo was greatly pleased and exceedingly appreciative of action of the Board of Directors in making him an Honorary Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

A brief report was made by Mr. Miller on the continuing work in an endeavor to unravel the mystery of the rune stone near Heavener. He said that an outstanding authority who had recently visited the rune stone said that it undoubtedly dates back at least to 800 A.D. He further reported that U. S. Senator Robert S. Kerr is asking embassies and consulates in Copenhagen, Oslo, and other Scandinavian countries to supply as much information as they can on the ancient alphabets of their countries. Mr. Miller said that unless the rune stone should eventually prove to be a hoax, it would turn out to be one of the greatest archaeological finds in Oklahoma. He said the owner of the land had offered to donate the site on which the stone is located to the Oklahoma Historical Society, should it be definitely proved that the rune stone is authentic.

Dr. Wayne Johnson reported on the progress of the Will Rogers Home Committee. He said that from press reports it was evident that the Rogers home was being turned to the Planning and Resources Board of Oklahoma. He expressed the belief that the work of his committee and the contacts that had been made with the Rogers family had been a stimulus to having the Rogers home placed in the hands of an Oklahoma agency. Dr. Johnson said that he felt in view of the action of turning the Rogers home to the Planning and Resources Board there was no further work for his committee to do. Mr. Phillips stated that on behalf of the Board he wished to express appreciation to Dr. Johnson and his committee on a job well done. He said the committee is being discharged inasmuch as the objective had been accomplished.

Attention was called by Dr. Johnson to the LeFlore residence. He said that he believed the Society should take steps to see that the building is preserved. Mr. Miller said that the house referred to is located near Swink. He voiced the opinion that certain industries in that region might be prevailed upon to restore the old LeFlore home. It was moved by Dr. Johnson that this be made the responsibility of the Historic Sites Committee. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion, which was carried.

Mr. Miller announced tentative plans for the 1960 annual Oklahoma Historical Society tour. He said it was planned to leave Oklahoma City at an early morning hour and drive directly to Boise City in Cimarron County. He said that most of the day would be spent in visiting various historic spots in Cimarron County, including Black Mesa. Preliminary plans call for the first night stop to be made at Guymon with the second night being at Enid. Among places Mr. Miller mentioned that would probably be visited were: Alabaster Caverns near Freedom; Sheridan's Roost; and old Cantonment near Canton. It was moved by Judge Clift and seconded by Mr. Mountcastle that Mr. Miller be authorized to proceed with arrangements for the tour. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Some discussion was held among the members of the Board concerning the possibility of local historical societies and chambers of commerce cooperating with the Oklahoma Historical Society in holding meetings at various places in the state. At such meetings topics of local history and other subjects could be discussed.

Mr. Phillips stated that President Shirk had been authorized by the Executive Committee to name a special committee to make a study of how the various historical societies use or invest their income from life memberships. He announced that the President had appointed Mr. Muldrow, Judge Busby, and Mr. Bass as members of such committee. Mr. Muldrow, Chairman, stated that this committee had sent a questionnaire to thirty-one state historical associations. He said as soon as answers had been received to the questionnaire a complete report would be made to the Board. He reported that one answer had already been received which was from the University of Oklahoma Alumni Association.

Mr. Fraker read a letter from the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Sites in which it was stated that Florida had closely followed the Oklahoma marker program in setting up its historic sites organization.

After some discussion concerning the matter of a parking lot back of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building, it was moved by Mr. Bass and seconded by Dr. Johnson that the Executive Committee contact the proper state officials in attempting to secure such parking lot. The motion was carried.

Dr. Dale stated he was eager to see the influence of the Oklahoma Historical Society extended beyond the limits of the state. He pointed out that the American Historical Association, which he considered the greatest of its kind in the nation, is holding its meeting in Chicago the latter part of this year. He said he had not discussed the matter with Mr. Fraker, but that he thought the Administrative Secretary should be authorized to attend this meeting. Mr. Fraker observed that authorization for out of state trips had been delegated to the Executive Committee. It was then moved by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Dr. Johnson that the Board recommend to the Executive Committee that Mr. Fraker be authorized to attend the American Historical Association meeting in Chicago. The motion was carried.

The Administrative Secretary stated that he had received a letter from Dr. Dale relative to the possibility of having the biography of Judge Williams, written by Dr. Dale and Dr. Morrison, placed on sale at the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. He pointed out that such action might be setting a precedent, but that the relationship of Judge Williams to the development of the Oklahoma Historical Society, might be considered as making such sales an exception. Dr. Dale said that he had made the suggestion in the hope that such sales might be of some benefit to the Oklahoma Historical Society and that "if there is the slightest objection on the part of the Board, or any member, I would like for the matter to be considered no further". Mr. Joe Curtis stated he thought the matter of precedent could be entirely controlled by the Board and that he felt the sale of this book at the Oklahoma Historical Society would be entirely warranted. He followed this statement with a motion that the sale of PIONEER JUDGE be permitted in the Historical Society Building. Motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow and unanimously adopted when put.

Both Judge Busby and Mr. Muldrow made brief talks in which they expressed appreciation of being elected to membership on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Each said that he considered such election an exceedingly high honor.

It was agreed that filling the vacancy on the Board of Directors caused by the death of Judge Cole be deferred until a later meeting.

Dr. Harbour said she was sure that she was expressing the sentiment of the Board in expressing thanks to Mr. Phillips for the good job he did in presiding over the Board meeting in the absence of President Shirk.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the Board, Mr. Miller moved, with the second from Mr. Bass, that the meeting adjourn. The motion was carried and adjournment came at 12:00 noon.

(Signed) H. MILT PHILLIPS,
First Vice President

(Signed) ELMER L. FRAKER,
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED:

LIBRARY:

Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1954

File of newspaper cartoons from the Daily Oklahoman's Cartoon Book, 1905 and 1907

"Cherokee Seminaries Reunion Address"

"Lincoln Sesquicentennial Address"

Program: Dedication of Monument in Honor of Major General William Shaffer Key

"Why Dominicans Call Him El Benefactor"

Book of photostat maps from the Butterfield Overland Mail Committee
Diary of Winfield Scott Harvey, 7th U. S. Cavalry 1868-1871

Bibliography of the Space Law Collection, University of Oklahoma Law Library

"Safety in the 60's"

Oklahoma City Safety Council Board Member's Handbook, 1959

The Bureau Specialist, Volume 24, 25

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

2 Pamphlets on Indian Sign Language

"Guide to Historic Sites in the Fort Sill Military Reservation"

Program for the Dedication of Memorial Statutes of Charles Curtis, Quanah Parker and Sacajawea

Program of the Annual Seminar of American Indian Culture and History on the West

9 copies of the *Anadarko Daily News*, August 18, 1959.

Donor: Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma City

1 Roll Microfilm (1880 Census Population Schedules of Kentucky)

1 Roll Microfilm (1830 Census Population Schedules of Kentucky)

Donor: Mrs. Dayton Royse, Oklahoma City

Roll Microfilm (1870 Census Population Schedules of Illinois)

Donor: Mrs. John Witherspoon Ervin, Oklahoma City

Rules and Instructions Book of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, 1897

Map of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, 1883

Field Book of Rechainning Notes

Donor: R. B. Feters, El Reno

Scrap Book of Hobart, Oklahoma

Hobart Telephone Directory, 1928

Donor: Mrs. W. A. Phelps, Hobart

Free Man and the Corporation by Roger Blough

Donor: United States Steel Corporation, New York City

"Henry Hudson and the Dutch in New York", by Milton W. Hamilton

Donor: New York State Library, Albany, New York

Mixteco Texts, by Anne Dyke

"Proceedings of the Oklahoma Academy of Science, 1956"

Donor: University of Oklahoma Library, Norman

Mayflower Descendants in the State of Oklahoma

Donor: David A. Bartlett, Tulsa

"Loco Pioneers' Association Report, 1959"

Donor: Lieut. Colonel Percy W. Newton, Oklahoma City

Arizona Highways, October 1958

Program: Monument to Pioneer Airmen, Guadalupe Pass 1858-1958

Autographed Butterfield Overland Mail Centennial card

Group of Weather Bureau records from the ghost town of Steen, New Mexico, 1913

Donor: Captain Vernon H. Brown, Tulsa

Book in Russian

Donor: Mrs. I. Zolotarevskaya, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

157 copies of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*

Donor: Mrs. D. I. Johnston, Oklahoma City

Books by Leon Huner

Jews in Colonial and Revolutionary Times

Jews in America After the American Revolution

Essays and Addresses

A Book of Songs and Sonnets

Ballads and Stories in Verse

The Quest for Happiness

Donor: The Estate of Leon Huner, New York City

William and Jane McCormack McNees, 1742-1959

Donor: J. A. McNees, Ponca City

"Town of Hertford Bi-Centennial 1758-1958"

Donor: Board of County Commissioners of Perquimans County, Hertford, North Carolina

Manual for the General Court 1959-60

Donor: State Library of Massachusetts, Boston

Our Heritage

Donor: San Antonio Genealogical and Historical Society, San Antonio

MUSEUM:**Pictures:**

Photograph of \$1.25 Trade Script

Donor: M. Burgett, New Douglas, Illinois

New Hope School

Whistler Plot in Sac and Fox Cemetery

Indian Boys at Concho

Lake Roman Nose State Park

Finney Cottage at Dwight Mission

School House at Dwight Mission

Shelter at Dwight Mission

Murrell House

Home of Guy Whistler near Stroud

Marker at the Great Salt Plains

Scene near Seiling

Mrs. Foreman at the Salt Plains

Graves of Moses Keokuk and his two wives

Tomb of John Whistler, Sac and Fox Cemetery

Ruins of the school at the Sac and Fox Agency

Grace and Katharine Raymond

Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

Forty-nine photographs of Locomotive Engines

Donor: Charles E. Winters, Kansas City, Missouri

John A. Graves Hardware Store at Mountain View in 1910.

Mountain View Band, 1910

Donor: Mrs. Abbie West, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Rock Island Engine #6 used in the 1880's

Oklahoma City Rock Island Depot in 1895

Arapaho Indian Girls

Wichita Grass House

Rock Island Train loaded to make the Run into the Cherokee Strip

Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Depot at Haileyville in 1890

Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Shops at Shawnee, Indian Territory, 1900

Donor: R. B. Feters, El Reno, Oklahoma

Photograph of Statue of Sacajawea

Donor: Mrs. Robert Horne, Wahpeton, North Dakota

Jacob Albert Mood and wife

Samuel Mood

Donor: Fulmer Mood, Redlands, California

Graduating class at Bloomfield Academy

Photograph of Mrs. Wynne T. Jewell

Donor: Juanita Johnston Smith (Julia Davenport Collection), Oklahoma City

Color Photograph of Lawrence Zane, Wyandot Chief

Donor: Lawrence Zane, Miami, Oklahoma

Judge John D. Clapp

Four pictures of Frederick H. Smith, Attorney for Pleasant Porter

Frederick Smith in his law office in Okmulgee

Judge Clapp and Frederick Smith

Lee N. Boyer, who built first power plant at Okmulgee

First Power Plant at Okmulgee, Indian Territory, 1905

Donor: Mrs. Victor Reinstein, Cheekowago, New York

Exhibits:

United States Flag with 46 stars

Donor: Mrs. C. B. Taylor, Oklahoma City

Boots and Spurs, supposed to have been owned by Al Jennings

Donor: Mrs. Albert M. Barnes, Fort Stockton, Texas

Rolling Pin brought by Cherokee family over the Trail of Tears

Donor: Mack Brandewide, Detroit, Michigan

Small Bronze statue of President Theodore Roosevelt

Donor: Logan Billingsley, Katonah, New York

Buffalo Horn

Donors: Don Chilcutt and Wayne Bennett, Oklahoma City

Souvenir key to Oklahoma City used at Second Reunion of Rough Riders in Oklahoma City, July 1-4, 1900

Souvenir Badge, Rough Riders Reunion

Donor: Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, New York

Sewing machine used in 1880's

Donor: Mrs. Marie Wormstaff, Hinton, Oklahoma

Nail from platform of Judge Parker's Court

Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

Souvenir Plate, picture of Creek Council House (1890's)

Souvenir Plate, picture of the first brick school in Okmulgee (1890's)

Donor: Mrs. Victor Reinstein, Cheekowago, New York

Communion Set, pitcher and two goblets

Donor: Mrs. L. H. Crowder, Seminole, Oklahoma

INDIAN ARCHIVES:

Collection of letters, dating from 1889 to early 1900's written by Mrs. Anna Eliza Worcester Robertson to her daughter, Grace Robertson Merriman

Donor: Mrs. Faith M. Daltry, Puerto Rico

Four cartons of manuscripts and letters of the Grant Foreman Collection

Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

Copy of master's thesis entitled "Violence of the Oklahoma Territory—Seminole Nation Border: The Mont Ballard Case"

Donor: Mrs. Geraldine M. Smith, Oklahoma City

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL ROOM:

Six bound volumes of application papers of the Children of the Confederacy of Oklahoma Division

Donor: Mrs. Edward Bucher, Oklahoma City

Stamp, picture of Generals Lee and Jackson, with background of Stratford, the Lee home in Virginia

Donor: Angus Gillispie, Scott Field, Illinois

UNION MEMORIAL ROOM:

Canteen used in Union Army

Donor: John L. Gruwell, Oklahoma City

NEW MEMBERS FOR THE QUARTER JULY 30, 1959 TO
OCTOBER 29, 1959

NEW LIFE MEMBERS:

Hargett, J. L.

Okmulgee, Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS:

McCalla, Mrs. Woodrow
Funk, Mrs. Guy
Smith, Julia B.
Tenny, Mrs. Ada
Guenther, Ernest F.
Stogsdill, James L., Jr.
Schierer, Jas. S.
Henson, Mrs. Willard H.
Fisher, Wm. G.
Freed, John
Hoar, Mrs. Ida M.
Whitman, Mrs. Harry M.
Bush, Lee M.
Chaffin, Mrs. John J.
Held, Carl W.
Henke, Esther Mae
Hunt, Polly
Schall, Herbert L.
Tims, Mrs. Blanche Mildred
Walker, Lillian
Cope, Rev. Burney C.
Thornton, E. W.
Craig, Mrs. Lee
Davisson, Russell F.
Dott, Robert H.
Jones, Jenkin Lloyd
More, Esther McCullough
Williams, Clea Ruth
Leonard, H. R.
Prim, Lawrence Duncan
Hickox, Millar W.
Johnson, Mrs. Hunter L., Jr.
Peithmann, Edd
Palmer, David L.
Constant, Alberta Wilson
Callahan, Charles J.
Evans, O. D.
Horne, Esther Burnett
Sukenis, Cecil J.
Kinton, Maxine
deRossette, Corinne
Ayres, Mrs. Clyde
Troutman, R. D.
Beall, Forest W.

Amber, Oklahoma
Anadarko, Oklahoma
Bacone, Oklahoma
Blackwell, Oklahoma
Breckinridge, Oklahoma
Claremore, Oklahoma
Duncan, Oklahoma
Howe, Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma
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Okemah, Oklahoma
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Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
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Pryor, Oklahoma
Shawnee, Oklahoma
Stillwater, Oklahoma
Tulsa, Oklahoma
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Weatherford, Oklahoma
Long Beach, California
Los Angeles, California
Deerfield, Illinois
Rich View, Illinois
Lawrence, Kansas
Independence, Missouri
Kansas City, Missouri
St. Louis, Missouri
Wahpeton, North Dakota
Carlsbad, New Mexico
Mansfield, Ohio
Dallas, Texas
Houston, Texas
" "
Arlington, Virginia

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publication Committee.

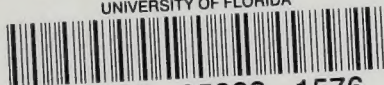
Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are \$3.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of \$50.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is \$4.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), \$1.00 each plus postage. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



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